

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

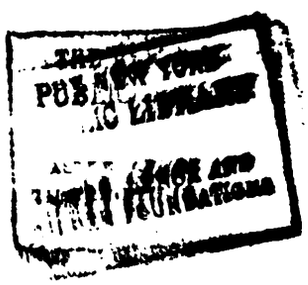
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

3 3433 08165497 6


PUB
LIC LIBRARY



Engraved by J. Shury. Published by W. Penaluna. September 1815. From a Sketch by M.P. Moyle.

A SOUTH WEST VIEW OF HELSTON.

Dedicated by permission to the Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation of the Borough of Helston.

by their Obedient humble Servant W. Penaluna

THE

HISTORY

OF

CORNWALL,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS AND TRADITIONS, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

COMPILED BY

FORTESCUE HITCHINS, Esq.

AND EDITED BY

Mr. SAMUEL DREW of St. AUSTELL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

HELSTON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM PENALUNA;

And Sold by Edwards, 53, Newgate-Street, London.

MDCCCXXIV.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

DEDICATION

BY THE PUBLISHER.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY!

WHEN the history of this county, now presented to your Majesty for protection was first undertaken, the publisher, emboldened by that liberality which as Duke of Cornwall had ever distinguished your royal character, presumed to solicit the honor of placing it, by a dedication, under your Majesty's most gracious patronage. But great as his presumption was, in thus approaching so august a personage, he had the happiness to find that his application was not unsuccessful; and this consideration, under every subsequent discouragement, has been to him a source of consolation. He anticipated with secret delight the arrival of that day, when he should have an opportunity of announcing the completion of his work, and of expressing an obligation which he cannot cancel, by making a public acknowledgment of your Majesty's sanction and condescension.

While, however, these volumes were rapidly advancing in a progressive state, many difficulties occurred, and several serious obstacles presented themselves to the publisher, which he had neither penetration to foresee, nor power to prevent. These, in their combined effect, greatly retarded his labours, and for a considerable time nearly blasted all his hopes.

It was during this period of suspension and delay, that it pleased the Almighty to call your royal and venerable father, his late Majesty, "like a shock of corn fully ripe," from an earthly crown to a heavenly inheritance, placing the sceptre of these kingdoms in your Majesty's hands, and the diadem, which its late wearer had rendered additionally illustrious by his virtues, on your royal head.

Since these mutations have taken place, this work has been resumed; and having reached its anticipated conclusion agreeably to the original proposals, the period has arrived in which the publisher enjoys not only the full consummation of his early wishes, but the additional pleasure of presenting his volumes to a monarch, not more revered among foreign nations for the extent of his power, and admired for

the wisdom of his councils, than distinguished at home for his encouragement of literature, and the affection of a loyal people, whose happiness has uniformly marked the progress of his auspicious reign.

When your Majesty was Regent of these kingdoms, and heir apparent to the throne, the readiness with which science was fostered by your watchful care furnished a pleasing presage of what the kingdom might expect, when the movements of its energies should be placed under your Majesty's direction. Events have proved that in these calculations the nation was not deceived.

The persevering efforts which have been made, and which are still making, to discover a north-west passage into the Pacific Ocean, develope to the world your Majesty's attachment to the interest of science and of commerce;—an attachment which no disappointment can repress, no dangers can paralyze, no expence subdue.

The establishment of "The Royal Literary Society" has fixed an era in your Majesty's reign, by giving permanence to a centre round which a constellation of literary characters will perpetually revolve. In the meanwhile, the munificent gift of your late royal father's extensive library, to the English Nation has erected a monument more imperishable than the pyramids, and engraven on it an inscription that will be surveyed with grateful feelings by generations yet unborn.

That the felicities which have marked the commencement of your Majesty's illustrious reign may continue to distinguish its future years, and that your Majesty may long sway the British sceptre over a free, a loyal, and an affectionate people, cherishing religion, science, literature, and the arts, is the unfeigned wish of your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subject and servant,

WILLIAM PENALUNA.

Helston, April, 1824.

PREFACE.

IT is perhaps somewhat questionable, if there be any department in literature in which a writer has less to hope; or more to fear, than in that of local history. As every man is an historian in his own parish, town, or village, the peasant is frequently much better acquainted with facts which exist in his own neighbourhood, than the man who has prosecuted his inquiries with diligence, devoted his time to profound researches, and who finally sits down to arrange his thoughts in philosophical retirement.

There is, however, unhappily in the human mind, a stronger propensity to detect faults, than to relish excellencies; and the former are frequently recollected with pleasure, when all traces of the latter are obliterated from the memory. An error, thus discovered, is but rarely suffered to perish from the want of propagation; and a tale, which begins in an audible whisper, having awakened attention, furnishes sagacity with employment and continues to circulate, until suspicion takes the place of confidence, and the writer receives his condemnation from persons who are totally incompetent to form any judgment of the facts which he has stated. To escape censure, is therefore a privilege which no writer of provincial history has any just reason to expect.

When the History of Cornwall, which is now brought to a conclusion, was first contemplated, a prospectus of its design, was sent into the world by Fortescue Hitchins, Esq. of St. Ives, who undertook to supply the materials, and to conduct the work through the press.

As a friend of the Muses, whose favours he had frequently courted, and sometimes obtained, Mr. Hitchins was well known in his native county; and the celebrity which he had acquired as a poet, and the writer of some sprightly notes, procured for his projected history the confidence of many respectable subscribers, who expected to find in its pages new combinations of past events, connected with the information he might be able to derive from actual observation, from local testimony, and from his own resources. Scarcely, however, had Mr. Hitchins begun to make his collections and arrangements, before he was arrested by the hand of death. No part of the history was at this time printed; but such of his papers as contained his compilation were put into the hands of the printer, Mr. William Penaluna of Helston, with whom they remained several months, until an agreement was made between him and the writer of this preface, to give completion to the work thus begun by Mr. Hitchins. Such were the circumstances under which it was announced to the public, as a "History of Cornwall compiled by Fortescue Hitchins, Esq. and edited by Mr. Samuel Drew."

To what extent it was the intention of Mr. Hitchins to carry this work, the present editor has no means of knowing, as no plan had been made, either for the extent of the work, or the arrangement of the materials. He therefore found himself, on succeeding to the arduous task, possessed of two sheets and a half of paper, from which nothing has been taken; the name of Mr. Hitchins as a compiler; and those resources which were yet unexplored.

Although the western parts of Cornwall, and some of its towns, in connexion with the Scilly Islands, have been known from the remote periods of antiquity, nothing but incidental remarks, and detached observations on its castles, kings, and the history of those ages had been preserved. The first topographical account which has been handed to us, is in the Itineraries of William of Worcester, who visited this county about the year 1464. His work contains much valuable information; but, unfortunately, its historical details are so polluted with the prevailing superstition of the age in which he lived, that it is not in all cases easy to distinguish fact from fiction.

William of Worcester was succeeded by Leland, in the days of Henry VIII. His work, though scarce, is still well known, and the minuteness of his researches, and the faithfulness of his details, have been deservedly appreciated by all his successors.

Camden, who first published his Britannia in octavo, in 1586, takes notice of Cornwall as a part of Britain; but he descends to no minuteness of description, giving only a general account of its most distinguishing features.

The first regularly digested history of this county which appeared, is the Survey which was written by Richard Carew, Esq. and first published in the year 1602. This work has undergone several impressions, and is deservedly held in much esteem. Carew's delineations appear to have been made with much fidelity, and he has marked, with commendable accuracy, not only the distinguishing characteristics of the county, but the prevailing propensities, pursuits, and dispositions of the people whose manners he describes.

Norden, whose topographical and historical description of Cornwall may be considered as contemporary with Carew's Survey, appears to have collected his materials about the year 1584; but his history does not seem to have been fully written, until Carew's work appeared, the outline of which he has evidently copied. Of this work Mr. Tonkin observes as follows:—That "though it is on the whole a mean performance, and full of egregious mistakes, with defective maps of almost every hundred, yet there are several things in it, hardly to be found elsewhere."

About the year 1685, Mr. William Hals, a gentleman of St. Michael Penkivell, began to make collections for a parochial History of Cornwall, which with unremitting assiduity, he continued to prosecute for nearly half a century. It was brought down by him to the year 1736, but no part of it was published until after his death, which took place in 1739. In 1750, the printing of this work was begun in Truro by Andrew Brice, who afterwards removed to Exeter. An account of seventy-two parishes, alphabetically arranged, beginning with Advent, and ending with Helston,

was printed in folio numbers, which are now become exceedingly scarce. Having proceeded thus far, the work was suspended, and never more resumed; in consequence of which, his manuscripts were thrown aside, lent to various persons, and otherwise dispersed, so that at present nothing but detached fragments can any where be found. The reason assigned for the suspension of this work was, that the author spoke with too much freedom of the ancestors of many respectable families in the county, who withdrew their patronage, and thus prevented the completion of the work. The parochial history of Hals is one which all subsequent writers think they have a right to copy, and a privilege to abuse.

Contemporary with Hals, as a collector of materials for a parochial history, was Thomas Tonkin, Esq. of Trevaunance in St. Agnes. Mr. Tonkin seems to have begun his history in the year 1702, at which time he was so intimate with Mr. Hals, as to have the use of his manuscripts; but some difference taking place between them, all communication was broken off, and Mr. Tonkin speaking of Hals in 1739, says, "It is between twenty-five and thirty years since I have seen any of his collections, and I believe at least twenty since I have seen him. And I can safely say, that in this present work of mine, I have not made use of one single line out of his compositions." In 1737, Mr. Tonkin had made such progress in his collections, that he published proposals for printing the work, announcing at the same time the plan which he intended to pursue. This work was to comprise the history and antiquities of the county in three volumes, imperial quarto. But after this annunciation of his intentions, very little was ever done by him towards the completion of his work. In the latter years of his life he was involved in pecuniary difficulties, which, preying upon his spirits, rendered him inattentive to study,—so that he died in 1742, without printing any part of his history. Many of his papers are still preserved, and some of them were published as notes on Carew's Survey, in an edition printed in 1811, by Lord de Dunstanville. Of this work no opinion can be formed by those who have not seen the manuscript, except from the notes which are printed; and so far as these appear, it is to be regretted that it was never completed.

In 1754, the celebrated Dr. Borlase published in one volume, folio, observations on the Antiquities of Cornwall, and in 1758, another folio volume, on the natural history of the county. A second edition of his Antiquities was published in 1769. Of these works, and their truly respectable author, an account may be found in our history of the modern literary characters of Cornwall.

In the year 1803, the Rev. Richard Polwhele, vicar of Manaccan, published three thin quartos; and in 1804, these were followed by a supplement to the first and second books, by the Rev. John Whitaker, rector of Ruan Lanyhorne, and well known in the literary world, as the author of the "History of Manchester," and other valuable works. This supplement contains remarks on St. Michael's Mount, Penzance, the Land's End, and the Scilly Islands. Of this history and its author some account has also been given among the modern literary characters of Cornwall.

In 1804, the Rev. John Whitaker published in two volumes, quarto, a work entitled "The ancient Cathedral of Cornwall historically surveyed." This work, though not a history of Cornwall, contains much valuable information on the introduction of Christianity, the saints to whom many churches are dedicated, and the changes which conquest and revolution have conspired to accomplish.

About the year 1802, Mr. John Britton in a large work entitled "The beauties of England and Wales," published his observations on Cornwall. His delineations are in general faithful; but the more prominent features of the county are chiefly those which engross his attention. He has said all that an author could be expected to say of any county, in a work which describes the beauties of an empire.

In the year 1806, the Rev. Benjamin Forster, rector of Boconnoc, in a small tract, quarto, published "Some account of the church and windows of St. Neots." This work has its excellencies, but it is confined to a single spot.

During this year, 1806, the Rev. R. Polwhele published two additional thin quartos, on the population, health, activity, longevity, diseases, language, and literary characters of Cornwall, with illustrations from Devonshire. These volumes were intended as continuations of the former, to give completion to the whole work, which contains much valuable information.

In 1809, the Rev. Richard Warner published his Tour through Cornwall, in a series of letters to his friend. They abound with classical allusions, and appropriate expressions; but are more remarkable for picturesque description and familiar communication, than for the variety of their materials, or the diligence of research which the author has displayed. "He caught the manners living as they rose."

On the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus, Sir Christopher Hawkins has published a thin octavo; but his views and observations are confined to Mount's Bay, and the Cornish Mount. This work appeared in 1811, and with its author has been noticed in the literary department of this history.

Of Dr. Pryce's Essay to preserve the ancient Cornish Language, which was published in 1790, an account has already been given. In the history of modern literary characters, this author is entitled to a conspicuous place; but as his work has only a remote connexion with the histories of Cornwall, but little more than his name can be expected to appear in this place.

In 1814, Messrs. Daniel and Samuel Lysons published, in their topographical account of the several counties in Great Britain, a quarto volume, comprehending the history of Cornwall. This work contains much valuable information, comprising the essential parts of what many others have given in detail, and is probably, on the whole, superior in its arrangements to any history of Cornwall that has hitherto appeared. It appears, however, from the copious errata which they give, that in many of their accounts they had, like several of their co-temporaries and predecessors, been deluded with false information. These errors they have endeavoured to correct; and in most instances they have been successful. From local and diminutive

inaccuracies no provincial history of any magnitude was ever yet exempt; and nothing of sufficient importance has thus far appeared to deprive this work of that intrinsic merit which it possesses.

Of the Scilly Islands, Dr. Borlase published in a thin quarto, a succinct account, in 1756. In this work he displays his usual abilities, in describing the islands from actual observation, and in comparing existing realities with the records of remote antiquity.

Mr. Troutbeck, chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Leeds, who resided several years on these islands, has published a more copious account of their appearance and productions than Dr. Borlase. It is also more modern by half a century; but unfortunately, neither the author, nor the printer, has given any date in which it was either written or printed. It appears, however, from a circumstance which is noticed in page 24th, that the author was on the islands in the year 1790, at which time his account was not written. This work, which cannot boast of much elegance in its composition, is replete with local information, and contains many curious facts, which serve to illustrate the ancient history of the islands, as well as to give information to mariners of the marks by which they may enter the harbours of Scilly with safety, and avoid those rocks which threaten the weather-beaten bark with destruction.

That all these works have their distinct excellencies, it is almost unnecessary to assert. Their respective authors either introduce new facts to our notice, or place those, with which we had been previously acquainted, in such combinations, as furnish new perceptions to their various readers, so that their individual labours have a claim on the gratitude of posterity. By surveying the state of civil society, of arts, of industry, and of the influence of moral principle, in the respective ages in which they lived, they give a kind of stationary existence to the characteristics which they display, and enable us to judge by comparing our condition with those conditions which they describe, of the progress which has been made in those various departments of civilization, science, and morals, which unitedly tend to soften the ferocity of the human character, and to exalt the offspring of ancient barbarians into men.

To all the preceding works and manuscripts so far as they were accessible, the editor has had recourse; collecting from them such observations as appeared most worthy of regard, and connecting them with others, with which they had previously had no association; and to their various authors he now acknowledges his obligations.

That this history, as it now appears, is a compilation, is a fact which has been uniformly avowed; nor is it possible that such parts as enter into the regions of remote antiquity, and detail the transactions of departed ages, can be otherwise, even though the combination of ideas should be new, and the language in which it is presented to the public, should assume the features of originality. Such, in no small degree, is actually the case with the present work; for although the radical ideas of many parts have often appeared, the language is chiefly new; while local

information and actual observation have supplied the deficiencies, and corrected the imperfections of historical narration.

That the editor, in filling up this department of his work, has succeeded to the satisfaction of his readers, is more than he can presume to hope, especially as he has not been able on all occasions to satisfy himself. For the local information which is inserted he acknowledges his obligations to many friends, and the reason why more has not been introduced, is, because more was not communicated. In some instances he has been enabled to correct a few errors of his predecessors; but he has his fears, that he has furnished employment for others in the same department. Nor can these blemishes be wholly avoided. The prosecution of inquiry produces diversified opinions on the same fact, which naturally tend to distract the attention of the writer. The mind, thus fluctuating in a state of indecision, imperceptibly communicates its hesitations to the work, and, by so doing, involves in uncertainty those statements which every reader wishes to receive detached from doubt. The progressive improvements also, which are incessantly taking place in machinery and arts, impose a new aspect on facts, so that records become questionable, where all due allowance is not made in the same proportion as history disagrees with existing realities.

Of family dignity, illustrious descent, and genealogical honors, but little, comparatively speaking, has been introduced into these volumes. To those who congratulate themselves on the pride of ancestry,—the superior blood which revels in their veins,—and on the titles which have accompanied their predecessors,—a memorial of pedigree would no doubt be pleasing; but few only, besides such as are personally concerned, would feel an interest in the splendid spectacle, or trouble themselves with climbing the genealogical tree; and for such as these this work is more immediately designed.

"The most lasting families," says Dr. Borlase, "have only their seasons, more or less, of a certain constitutional strength. They have their spring, and summer sunshine glare, their wane, decline, and death. They flourish, and shine perhaps for ages: at last they sicken; their light grows pale; and, at a crisis when the offsets are withered, and the old stock is blasted, the whole tribe disappears, and they leave the world as they have done in Cornwall. There are limits ordained to every thing under the sun. 'Man being in honor, abideth not.' Of all human vanities, family pride is one of the weakest.

"Reader go thy way; secure thy name in the book of life, where the page fades not, and the title neither alters nor expires;—leave the rest to Heralds, and the parish Register."

SAMUEL DREW.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

	PAGE
Ancient state of Cornwall, considered in connexion with that of Britain.....	1
Various observations on the government, manners, customs, and employments of the ancient Britons.....	49
Religion of the ancient Britons	73
Remains of the ancient Britons still visible in Cornwall	121
Cornwall first visited by foreigners, who were Phenicians.....	233
Cornwall visited by the Greeks	295
Britain invaded, conquered, and abandoned by the Romans.....	311
Roman remains in Cornwall	357
Effects of the Norman Conquest in Cornwall	451
Insurrections and civil vicissitudes in Cornwall.....	475
Lakes, canals, rivers, harbours, and wells.....	509
Geographical situation, general appearance, vegetable productions, soils, land-holders, agricultural resources, and public roads	553
Animalculæ, insects, reptiles, birds, and quadrupeds	581
Ochres, clay, stones, semi-metals, and gems	591
Metals, particularly tin and copper	599
Origin, history, and privileges of the Cornish boroughs	627
Ancient and modern literary characters of Cornwall	657
Health, longevity, customs, manners, and general character of the Cornish .	707

VOLUME II.

List of parishes, extent of population, number of acres, &c . &c.....	1
Extent of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall	6
Benefices of Cornwall—their value	7
Account of ancient religious houses, hospitals, &c. in Cornwall	8
Great increase of population in Cornwall within the three last centuries..	9
Parochial history, alphabetically arranged	16
High Sheriffs of Cornwall	685
Historical account of the Scilly Islands.....	687

THE

HISTORY OF CORNWALL.

CHAP. I.

Ancient State of Cornwall considered, in connexion with that of Britain.

SECTION I.

General Observations.

It frequently happens, that the origin of tribes and nations is buried in impenetrable obscurity. A cloud which is too dense for the eye of the historian to penetrate, rests on the regions of remote antiquity; and, in proportion to the lapse of time, obscures those scattered rays of light, which might otherwise guide him in his researches. Hence it is, that those primitive facts, which every reader fancies he should behold with admiration, are alike concealed, both from him who reads, and from him who writes.

An ardent desire to penetrate those hidden recesses of darkness, naturally awakens a principle of curiosity, which, when called into exercise, it is more easy to indulge than to repress. But curiosity, unable to bear disappointment with fortitude, and finding no gratification in established facts, has recourse to conjecture, whose magical influence instantly transforms possibilities into probabilities, and probabilities into certainties. And where probability fails, the assistance of some marvellous cause is introduced by fancy, which, instead of furnishing new light, nearly extinguishes those scattered rays which remain; and, blending itself with romantic tradition, covers the whole with an air of fable.

Nor is it difficult to assign a reason, why the seeds of provincial, and even of national history, should be thus enveloped in obscurity. In the barbarous ages of the world, the migrations of families and tribes, whether dictated by caprice,

excited by interest, or produced by accident, exhibit a state of society, in which few are able, and perhaps none are disposed, to transmit their scanty memorials to posterity. And when nothing of an extraordinary nature attends their origin, the period and occasion of their settlement must be too insignificant to demand a permanent record from others, whose minds have been enlightened by civilization and science. In this state the infancy of colonies passes away. And as the progression of colonies from infancy to maturity are slow and imperceptible; before they can acquire a sufficient degree of importance to excite public attention, the circumstances of their origin are either wholly forgotten, or remembered only in the legends of tradition.

If we turn from the origin of tribes and nations, to survey the names by which they are respectively distinguished, we shall find the same obscurity, the same impenetrable cloud, the same conjecture, and the same disappointment. In both instances, imagination, operating under the influence of foreign or imaginary causes, supplies the place of fact, and finally leaves us with suspicions, that the most plausible theories, and commanding derivations, are rather specious than incontrovertible.

But these difficulties, though formidable against actual certainty, can present no obstacle to inquiry. We have a right to examine, even where we have no right to decide; and to state opinions where we cannot furnish commanding evidence. Agreeably to this principle, while treading on those obscure margins of history, where light and darkness seem to meet, and to lose themselves in each other, we shall have recourse to the more plausible derivations of the learned; and, placing them before the reader, finally submit the selection to his own judgment and choice.

Cornwall, it is well known, was originally, in common with other parts of this island, inhabited by some of those tribes, which, although distinguished among themselves by local appellation, were afterwards known to foreigners, under the general denomination of *Britans* or *Britons;* a denomination evidently taken from that of the country in which they resided.

When these tribes were oppressed by their invaders, and unable to preserve their primitive independence, a considerable portion of them fled to this extremity of the island, and took up their final residence in Cornwall; in which place they continued, until both the vanquisher and the vanquished were blended together in one undistinguished mass. Some notices however, of their ancient manners and customs, we may still gather from the memorials which they have left behind them, in the monuments of their superstitions, and in the remains of their language, which is now become orally extinct, and which may be said to have

expired in Cornwall. These circumstances form a connective link, which unites the ancient history of this county with that of Britain at large, and which opens before us an ample field for investigation.

SECTION II.

On the Etymology of the word BRITAIN.

The learned authors of the Ancient Universal History assert, that Nennius and some other British writers, derive the word ***Britain*** from ***Brutus***, or ***Brito***, the fifth in descent from the celebrated Eneas, who survived the independence of his country, and escaped from the destruction of Troy. But this derivation is generally considered as fabulous; although, as we shall hereafter have an occasion to notice, the story of ***Brutus*** or ***Brito*** is derived from remote antiquity.

Dissatisfied with the preceding derivation, Mr. Camden proposes another, deriving Britain from the term ***Brith***,* which in the ancient language of the original inhabitants, signifies painted. To this he has added the Greek word *tania*, which signifies *a region, or country*. These terms united together form the word ***Brithtania***, which in process of time became softened down into ***Britannia***. According to this derivation, the name is expressive of the people, and of the region which they inhabited; so that ***Brithtania*** implies the country of the *painted people*.

Somner, not pleased with either of the preceding etymologies, proposes another, in which he derives the word ***Britain*** from the old British word ***Brydio***, which signifies rage or anger; and to give plausibility to his opinion, he refers to the violent agitation of the sea which surrounds the island, and particularly to that rage with which the waves burst upon our northern and western shores.

Against these latter derivations there is one formidable objection, which seems fatal to both. It is admitted by most, that we can no where find any name, which the ancient Britons gave, either to themselves or to their country;† and consequently, the appellation as it applies both to the inhabitants and to their country, must have been imposed by foreigners. And it is totally unreasonable to suppose, that these foreigners, who occasionally visited the western shores, would have had recourse to a language which they could scarcely understand, for the derivation of a term, sufficiently comprehensive to include both the natives and

* ***Brith***, in the old Cornish language signifies streaked, parti-coloured; whence ***Brithel***, a Mackerel. See Price's Vocabulary, word ***Brith***.

† See Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 3.

their country; and more especially as these natives had no term by which they could direct their researches. A name that is imposed by foreigners, must in all probability be of foreign derivation; and we may more reasonably expect to find its origin, in the language of those by whom it was given, than among the tribes on whom it was bestowed.

Repelled by the preceding objections, Dr. Borlase has recourse to another mode of inquiry; and rising still higher in the scale of antiquity, he attempts to derive *Britain* from *Brit*, the root of which he thinks he discovers in the Hebrew language. The primitive import, he contends, implies, "to separate, or to divide, or to cut off; which is the first idea that strikes us, when we compare the situation of Britain with the neighbouring nations on the continent."* No doubt can be reasonably entertained, that the Hebrew is the primitive parent of the Phenician and ancient Celtic languages; but this will afford but slender evidence, that the name of Britain should be derived from a Hebrew root. The interposition of nations and of ages, between the primitive Hebrew and this island, presents to us a barrier which seems to cut off all immediate communication, although it may supply us with a link that may serve to connect this primeval source of language, with that name after the origin of which we inquire.

The learned Bochart, when speaking of the colonies and language of the Phenicians, presents us with a derivation, wholly distinct from all that we have hitherto surveyed. And so far has the opinion of this man received the approbation of succeeding writers, that his views have been very generally adopted, as more rational and natural than any others which have been presented to our examination.

The Phenicians, according to Bochart, who, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice, were the first foreigners that visited the shores of Britain, called this island, and some others near it, *Barat-anac*, a word, which, in their own language, signifies the *land* or *country of tin or lead*. From *Barat-anac* he argues, that in pronunciation it was contracted into *Bratanac*, which name passing from them to the Greeks, might have been softened into *Britanniæ;* and from the Greeks to the Romans, when it assumed the name *Britannia*, which it still retains.†

It must not however, be dissembled, that how plausible soever the opinion of Bochart may appear, it cannot be considered as making any near approaches to absolute certainty. We know, from the conduct of all modern voyagers and circumnavigators, that caprice and accident have given names to innumerable places on the globe. And although science, and the productions of the discovered

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 3.

† See Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 70.

country, have occasionally given existence to a name, yet nothing certain can be inferred from local coincidences.

Against the derivation of Bochart, Dr. Borlase has started some objections, of which the following is the substance. It is not probable that the whole island of Britain was ever famous for producing tin; and it can scarcely be supposed, that the mere produce of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, should ever obtain a sufficiency of credit to give a name to an island, of which the former is only a diminutive part, and the latter a mere appendage. That the Islands of Scilly should receive their name, *Cassiterides*, from their tin, he thinks highly probable; but that the vast island of Britain should be denominated *Barat-anac*, or *Bratanac*, from metallic substances found only in its remote and scattered extremities, is with him a supposition that is not worthy of much credit. Agreeably to that natural principle, which led the ancient Greeks to confer the name of *Cassiterides* on the Scilly Isles, in consequence of their yielding tin as their principal production, he contends that Britain should have received its name from some commodity easily to be found throughout its provinces. And consequently, in proportion as we suppose those who gave the name *Britain* to our island, to be influenced by this principle, it could not have been derived from a Phenician word which signifies a land of tin. Such is the substance of Dr. Borlase's objections against the derivation urged by Bochart, of *Britain* from *Barat-anac*.*

That Dr. Borlase was right with regard to the principle of his argument, against the preceding derivation, no doubt can be entertained. His error, if any, must be found in the application of his objections.

It is admitted by Dr. Borlase, as a fact highly probable, that the Scilly Islands have received their name *Cassiterides* from the tin which they afforded. This will readily be granted. But on the common application of the same argument, we must also allow, that it was equally natural for the Phenicians to give a similar name to any other country, agreeably to the principal commodity which it afforded. Now it is well known that they visited Cornwall, and were well acquainted with its western shores; but it is not equally certain that they visited any other parts of this island. And if they did, it is almost morally certain, that they established no trade, introduced no traffic; and consequently, we can only view them either as transient visitors in quest of curiosities, or as adventurous merchants in pursuit of wealth which they could not find. In the western parts of Cornwall they

* See Borlase's Antiquities, p. 4

however discovered tin, which they found to be a lucrative article of commerce. In this commodity they began to trade; and, regardless of all the other productions, resources, and capabilities of the country, tin must naturally have appeared to them as its principal and only production. It is therefore perfectly consistent with Dr. Borlase's own principle, to admit that *Barat-anac*, a land of tin, might with the strictest propriety be applied to Cornwall; and, as being connected with Cornwall, by contiguity of situation, to the whole island, of which in all other respects they scarcely knew any thing.

But while Dr. Borlase allows, as we have already seen, that the Scilly Islands might have obtained their name *Cassiterides*, from their yielding tin, he does not confine the application of that name exclusively to those insulated territories. He extends it to the shores of Cornwall; and includes the western parts under the general denomination, in the following words:

"In the next place, I would here observe, that we are not only to reckon the Scilly Islands, but the western parts of Cornwall, among the *Cassiterides;* for the ancient workings for tin in the Scilly Islands are neither deep, nor many, nor large; and therefore it cannot be conceived, that the tin for so many ages could have been raised there, in sufficient quantity to supply the demand: it may be conjectured therefore, and the conjecture supported by many arguments, that the continent (i. e. Cornwall) being in view from these islands, and appearing to them not very extended, but narrow, and like an island, (as indeed the juttings out of Cornwall thitherward, plainly do to every eye) the active Phenicians soon resorted thither, and finding the sea on either hand of them, and taking it for granted, that this land was every where encompassed by the sea, counted it no more than one of the cluster of islands, and ranged it among the *Cassiterides*, finding it rich in the same treasures, and therefore deserving the same name. Ortelius, therefore, not without reason, makes the *Cassiterides* to include not only the Scilly Islands, but also Cornwall and Devonshire."*

It is evident from Dr. Borlase's own words, in the preceding paragraph, that the name *Cassiterides*, included in one embrace, the Scilly Isles, and Cornwall, and Devonshire; because tin was the principal, if not the only commodity which these districts afforded. And, as we have reason to believe, that the Phenicians were but imperfectly acquainted with the other parts of this island, and could have no inducement to view them in any other light, than as subservient to the

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 30.

tin which the western parts produced, they could have no reason to give to the island a distinct appellation; or to withhold that of *Barat-anac*, which designated the western parts, from an application which should include the whole. And consequently, all the objections which Dr. Borlase has urged against Bochart's derivation of the word Britain, lose their force on his own principles; and in the application of them they wholly disappear.

SECTION III.

On the Etymology of the word CORNWALL.

If we turn from the word Britain, after the etymology of which we have inquired in the preceding section, to examine that of Cornwall, we shall find nearly the same uncertainty, and the same diversity of opinions.

According to Geoffry of Monmouth, Brutus, whose name we have already noticed, landed on this island about 1108 years before Christ, at which time the whole country was inhabited by giants, whom he encountered and subdued. Nearly related to Brutus, was one Corinæus, who, while Brutus vanquished these British Anaks, and acquired immortal renown, encountered a mighty giant at Plymouth, and having been victorious, was rewarded for his valour with this western territory, which was called *Cornwall* after his own name. Such are the fables which spring up in the unenlightened regions of remote antiquity.

Dismissing this gigantic derivation, Sammes contends, that Cornwall is so named from *Cern*, or *Kern*, or *Cheran*, a Phenician word which signifies a headland, promontory, or point of land projecting like a horn. Cornwall, no doubt, has two such projecting points towards its western extremities, which seem to give a sanction to the conjecture. On the south of Helston we find an extensive tract of country which terminates in the Lizard. A part of this tract is still denominated *Meneage*, which is evidently of Phenician origin, and is derived from the Phenician word *Meneog*, which signifies a peninsula. Proceeding to the western extremity of Cornwall, we reach another promontory, originally called *Belir*, or *Promontorium Belerium*, now known by the general name Land's End. These are the two projecting lands, from which Sammes professedly derives the present name Cornwall.

That this county has derived its present name from some ancient word, which signifies a *horn* or *horns*, seems to be almost universally admitted. But whether this idea is to be traced to the ancient British, or to the Phenician language, is a point not so easily decided.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD CORNWALL.

In the ancient British, we find the word *Corn*, which signifies *a horn;* of this word the plural is *Kern*, signifying *horns*. In the Phenician language we find the word *Coran*, which signifies a *horn;* of which word the plural is precisely the same, both in spelling and import, as in the British. Under circumstances so analagous, it is therefore impossible to determine with certainty whether the word Cornwall is derived from the ancient British, or from the Phenician language.

Mr. Camden, speaking of Meneage, observes, that "it is a demy island; *Meneog* of the Phenicians, signifying *kept in by the sea;* so that to sailors afar off, Cornwall appears with two horns, striking itself into the sea, which part of England, I believe was first discovered by the Phenicians, who without question finding a world of tin in them, secured them to themselves."

Both Dr. Price, and Dr. Borlase, in their vocabularies of the Cornish language, tell us, that *Kernou* signifies Cornwall, and the latter has appealed to the Welsh to confirm his opinion; but in both languages, the primitive import of the term implies *horns*, as the following passage will satisfactorily prove. "*Pou Kernou*, the country of *Kernou;* (says Mr. Lhuyd, Archaeol. p. 222.) i. e. the county of Cornwall. This word is sometimes written *Cornou*, and the adjective derived *Cornouak*, and *Cornow* (alias *Curnow*) by the family of that surname, of which there are many remaining in Cornwall; but *Kernou*, as Mr. Lhuyd writes it, seems to be the true reading, Armoricè *Qernou*. Wallicè *Cerniw*. i. e. *horns*." *

But although we admit the preceding derivation, either from the ancient British word *Corn*, or from the Phenician *Coran*, we shall still find ourselves at a loss to account for the termination of the word Cornwall. This seems to be an addition made to the primitive word *Corn*, or *Coran*, and is evidently of more modern date and derivation, and may most probably be traced to the times of the Saxons.

The British tribes, according to Mr. Whitaker, who took up their residence to the west of the Severn and the Dee, were by the Saxons denominated *Wealas*, or *Welisse*, and even by themselves so early as the sixth century, they entitled their own country *Wallia*, or *Wales*, which appellation it still continues to bear. Thus also the Britons of Cornwall, bearing the general title of *Welsh*, were distinctively entitled, at times, the *Western Welsh*, as the Britons of Wales were the *Northern*. But as the Northern Welsh have retained in all ages their primary names of *Brython*, and *Brythoneg*, both for themselves and for their language, notwithstanding they have adopted that which the Saxons originally imposed; so the British of Cornwall retained their ancient name *Kernou*, which signifies

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 324.

the horn or *Kernou* of Britain, as it was denominated in its own language, or *Kerniw* as it is still called in its kindred language the Welsh. And at last by the duplication of one name upon the other, as prefixing *Kernou* to *Wallia*, the land and the natives were denominated *Cornu-wallia*, or Cornwall, and *Cornwallish*, or *Cornish*.*

"When the western part of *Dunmonium* (says Dr. Borlase) was first distinguished by the name of *Cornubia*, I am not certain, any more than what were the primitive bounds of the *Dunmonii*. That which seems most probable is, that though the Romans called this western part of Britain *Danmonia*, *Dunmonium*, or the country of the *Dunmonii*, the native Britans, always remarkable for affixing such names as the natural properties of places suggested, called it *Kernou*, as they still call the adjective *Kernoueck*, (i. e. Cornish) probably from the many sharp projections or promontories shooting on each side into the sea. After frequent communications with the Latin language, first by means of the Roman governors, and afterwards by an intercourse with the church of Rome, this *Kernou* or *Kornou* became Latinised into *Cornubia*. Thus it continued, till the Saxons imposed the name of *Wealas* on the Britans, driven by them west of the Severn and Dee, calling their country in the Latin tongue *Wallia*. After which, finding that the Britans had retreated not only into Wales, but into the more western extremities of the island, which were called by the natives *Kernou*, and in Latin *Cornubia*, the Latinists changed *Cornubia* into *Cornuwallia;* a name not only expressing the many natural promontories of the country, but also that the inhabitants were Britans, of the same nation and descent as those of Wales; and from this *Cornuwallia* is derived the present name Cornwall."†

Having such a mass of evidence before us, respecting the derivation of the word Cornwall, it will be as needless to seek for another, as it will be to notice other derivations which have occasionally been given. It is however, worthy of remark, that the same causes which led to the settlement of the retreating Britons in Wales and Cornwall, led others of the same race to embark for the continent, and to take up their settlement at Armorica, in France; in which province, although all communication has been at an end for several ages, some striking resemblances in names may be traced even to the present day.

"The Gauls of Armorica," says Mr. Whitaker, "were called Britons assuredly, as some Gauls of Picardy certainly were; and as all the Gauls of our island avowedly were at the time of the Roman reduction of them; yet were, from some

* Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. I. p. 13.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 324.

circumstances unknown to us, generally called Armoricans then; and, from others equally unknown, were commonly entitled Britons afterward. By the same process of critical chemistry, (which as we have already seen, united *Kernou* with *Wallia*, and made Cornwall) the Gallic region, at that angle of France which corresponds with this angle of Britain, assumed, in the sixth century, the very same appellation of *Cornu-Gallia*, or Cornwall. A religious clergyman of the name of Paul, or Paulinus, who afterwards lent his name to that city of Bretagne, in which he presided as bishop, (St. Paul de Leon,) and has equally lent it to one of our parishes in Cornwall, denominated Paulin, in Pope Nicholas's valor, but in Henery's, as in popular language now, *Paul;* is said to have lived a hermit in the sixth century, upon the Isle of Osa, which is separated in a direct passage from the continent of Armorica, called *Cornu-Gallia*, by a sea of sixteen paces."*

In the same century, (the sixth) one Budic is said expressly to have been born in Cornu-Gallia; to have gone into South Wales; to have there received an embassy from his native region of Cornu-Gallia, inviting him to receive the royalty of Armorica; to have reigned accordingly over all Armorica; and to have been visited by a Welsh bishop at Cornu-Gallia, which was afterwards called *Cornu-Budic* from Budic. Cornwall, therefore, was the appellation for the whole province of Bretagne, and it has surprisingly remained the appellation for a part, to the present day; a peninsular projection of the coast to the south of Brest, and near the city of Quimper, being called, though little known to be so, *Cornouaille*, or Quimpertin now; just as our Cornwall is called *Cornaille* in French at present, and *Cornu Gallia* in Latin by an English writer (Malmesbury) of the twelfth century."†

These circumstances, which are evidently derived from existing facts, corroborate the records which we find in the page of history; and prove beyond the possibility of successful contradiction, that the ancient inhabitants of Cornwall, the aborigines of Wales, and the settlers in Bretagne, sprang from one common source; and that their provincial affinity may be traced in their respective localities even to the present day. To these circumstances, we may add the relations which subsist in the languages of these distinct provinces. Those who have examined them with attention, unite in declaring, that they carry with them every mark of one common original; varying only as distinct dialects of the primitive British language. That these dialects have their respective peculiarities, we have no reason whatever to doubt; and in proportion as the communication between the

* Usher, 290 from Aymoinus.

† Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. I. p. 16.

respective inhabitants has been suspended, or broken off, it is natural to suppose that these peculiarities must have increased, even in those provinces where the radical principles of the dialects remain. The intercourse which subsists between provinces and their respective nations, will also have a natural tendency to cause the provincial to approximate towards the national language; and this will cause the provincial dialect to recede more and more from its primitive purity. The introduction of one innovation makes way for another; and enables the future to draw a precedent from the past. The door therefore seems to be already open, for the utter extinction of those dialects of the ancient British language which still exist; so that hereafter, in all probability, it will be as vain to seek in oral pronunciation, the dialects of Wales and Brittany, as it is now to discover that of the Cornish. The only repositories in which we may expect any permanent remains to be found, must be the vocabularies of the learned, the descent of local appellations, and the traditional communication of provincial idioms.

SECTION IV.

Original Extent of Cornwall.

What we now call Cornwall, says Dr. Borlase, is but a portion of that territory, which, in the Roman times, was called ***Danmonium***, or ***Dunmonium***. What the exact bounds of Danmonium were, it is difficult to say. Mr. Horsley (p. 463, 464) thinks that the south parts of Somersetshire, where the inhabitants were not much unlike the Dunmonii, belonged formerly to Danmonium. Borderers, however, may contract a likeness in manners, customs, and religion, from a neighbouring country to which they do not belong; and therefore there is no settling the limits of a country, without something more decisive than such a resemblance. Whether Alfred divided England into counties, and then fixed the limits of Devonshire, where the ancient eastern boundary was between ***Belgæ*** and ***Durotriges*** on the east, and the ***Danmonii*** on the west, is uncertain, but not improbable; and if true, it will shew that ancient Cornwall included all the present Devonshire, as well as what is west of the river Tamar. When the western part of Danmonium was first distinguished by the name of ***Cornubia***, I am not certain, any more than what were the exact bounds of ***Danmonium***.*

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 324.

That Cornwall anciently extended far beyond its present boundaries, may be easily gathered, not only from historical records, but from the fierce contentions which subsisted between its ancient inhabitants and the rapacious Saxons. For, although the latter were finally victorious, so tenacious were the British tribes of their ancient inheritance, that they disputed the encroachments of their invaders, and defended their hereditary rights against them for several centuries. And even after many unsuccessful efforts, when they were obliged to abandon the eastern part of Danmonium, all the western parts remained in their possession; so that the river Exe became the eastern boundary of Cornwall. It can only be in allusion to this boundary, that we can understand the following passage from Sheringham:

"Britain, Wales, and Cornwall, were the portion of Belinus, elder son of Dunwallo; and that part of the island afterwards called England, was divided into three shares; viz. Britain, which reached from the Tweed westward as far as the river Ex; Wales, which was inclosed by the rivers Severn and Dee; and Cornwall, which extended from the river Ex to the Land's End."*

When England was divided into counties or shires, which, as we have already noticed, was in all probability done by Alfred; Dr. Borlase thinks that Danmonium, which then extended from the river Exe to the Land's End, was divided into two portions, of which the Tamar was made the line of demarcation. He however conceives, that this division was made solely for the accommodation of government, and that it had no interference whatever, with the habitancy and rights, either of the Britons or the Saxons.†

Whether Dr. Borlase be right or wrong in his opinion, respecting the division of Danmonium, when the river Exe was made its eastern boundary, this much is known with certainty; that the Cornish Britons lived in Exeter in common with the Saxons, shortly after the above period, without being either placed under any particular restrictions, or deprived of any authority, by their successful invaders and powerful associates in citizenship.

Such was the eastern boundary, and such were the dimensions of Cornwall in the year 927. At this period the Cornish Britons had only been deprived of those territories which extended to the east of the river Exe. In all other respects they had preserved their ancient possessions from the rapacity of the Saxons, or the dominion of their laws. Howel, whom the Cornish Britons acknowledged as their

* Sheringham, p. 129.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 325.

legitimate sovereign, still swayed the sceptre in Cornwall, and cherished in the bosoms of his subjects that proud idea of independence, which, from time immemorial had been transmitted from their forefathers. Exeter, it is true, which had long been their capital, they had actually lost, as to the exclusive dominion of it; but from its being unwalled, and from the cessation of hostilities, as it was always as accessible to them as to their incorporated rivals, their loss was scarcely felt, and this caused the degradation to be forgotten.

"In this manner had the Cornish and the English lived for some generations; mixing together at this common point of their confines, and preparing their spirits gradually for a full incorporation. But Athelstan now came. He wanted not to disturb the serenity, yet he resolved to have his sovereignty acknowledged by the king of Cornwall, as it had already been by the kings of Wales. Howel was then king; bearing a name as familiar in Cornwall still, as it formerly was in Wales. But our Howel was as little inclined as his brothers of Wales, to acknowledge the supremacy of Athelstan. He even came into the field, like the king of South Wales, to engage in battle with the Saxons. Athelstan attacked them with vigour. The battle was plainly fought near Exeter, and probably upon Haldon Hill. Howel and his Cornish were beaten, as Wer and his Welsh had been before. This victory was decisive. All resistance was crushed at once; and the crown of Cornwall became subordinate to that of England. Cornwall also, like South Wales, lost much of its territories. With its share of Exeter, it lost all its land between the Exe and the Tamar. All Devonshire now became for ever a part of England. The Tamar now formed, as it forms at this day, the contracted limit between England and Cornwall. And this was the era of the first subjugation of the Cornish to the English."*

But although Dr. Borlase has declared himself unable to determine the original limits of Cornwall, and Mr. Whitaker has passed it over in silence, as being foreign to his design, the language of Hooker has marked the boundaries with too much precision to leave us in a state of uncertainty.—"The name of *Danmon*, says this writer, the country or province of Devonsheere, now by syneresis or contraction named Denesheere, was sometimes one and the same province with Cornewall, and so by all the old and ancient cronographers were reputed, and both by the name of *Danmonia* were called, which is to say, the country of the valleys, whith the old Britons, and now the Welsh, (which be the remaynents of the Britons) soe name it, which signifyeth deepe and narrow valleys. For the

* Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. I. p. 19.

country is full of hills and mountaines: and where be many hills there consequently be also many valleys.

"And notwithstanding that the river of Tamar is the boundes and limitts betweene Devon and Cornewall, saving that in some particular places the one borroweth of the other, yet they both doe retain their old and ancient name in the Latin tongue, with this difference, the one being called the *East Danmonia*, and the other the *West Danmonia;* but when these two were joyned in one, it was much greater, and did reach in length ffrom the ffarthest parte and pointe of the Isle of Sillye in the west, unto the confines and marches of *Durotines* and the *Belgianes* in the east, which is Dorsetsheere and Somersetsheere."* Thus we perceive that under the general name *Danmonium*, the county of Cornwall originally extended over the whole of Devonshire, and was bounded in the east by "the confines and marches of *Durotines* and *Belgianes*, which is Dorsetsheere and Somersetsheere."

Nor was it only by the incursions and depredations of the Saxon armies, that the ancient territories of Cornwall have been exclusively diminished. The ocean, according to many credible accounts, has also been an invader, and has overwhelmed an extensive territory in the west. It is in allusion to this general belief, that an extensive tract of country was actually buried by an inundation of the sea, that the author last quoted proceeds as follows:—

"In times past, some writers doe hold, that Sillye was continent land with Cornewall, but by the violence of raging seas, in processe of time, the land betweene them hath bin wasted and devoured; and whereof some instances be given, because in a ffair summer and sun-shining day, the seafaring men doe see and discerne sundry monuments of houses and churches vnder and in the water. And yet notwithstanding the open space and partition betweene them, they be both in one and the same province, of Cornewall; and both it and the province of Devonsheere be in one diocesse, and vnder one and the same bishop of Excester. These two provinces when they were both but one, were also called *Corinia*. And albeit some doe not allow this, yet fforasmuch as antiquity hath left it vnto us ffor a matter of truth, it were against all humanity to denye the same, and to derogate that creditt which hath ffor ever hitherto been received."†

Mr. Carew, when speaking of the western shores of Cornwall, concurs in sentiment with Hooker, and delivers his opinion in the following words:—"The encroaching sea hath ravined from it, the whole country of *Lionnesse*, together

* Hooker, pp. 1, 2, as cited in Polwhele's Historical Views of Devon, p. 173. † Ibid.

with divers other parcels of no little circuit: and that such a *Lionnesse* there was, these proofs are yet remaining. The space between the Land's End and the Isles of Scilly, being about thirty miles, to this day retaineth that name, in Cornish *Lethowsow*, and carrieth an equal depth of forty or sixty fathoms, (a thing not usual in the sea's proper dominion) save that about the midway, there lieth a rock which at low water discovereth its head. They term it the *Gulf*, suiting thereby the other name of Scilla. Fishermen also, casting their hooks thereabouts, have drawn up pieces of doors and windows. Moreover the ancient name of Saint Michael's Mount, was *Caraclowse-in-Cowse*, in English, *The hoare Rocke in the Wood:* which now is at every flood encompassed by the sea, and yet at some low ebbs, roots of mighty trees are descried in the sands about it. The like overflowing hath happened in Plymouth Haven, and divers other places."*

"That there existed formerly such a country as the Lionesse, stretching from the Land's End to the Scilly Islands, is much talked of, says Dr. Borlase, in our parts. Antoninus places a little island called Lissa here; but whether he means what Mr. Carew calls the *Gulf Rock*, but which is now known by the name of the *Wolf Rock*, or any portion of the Scilly Islands, is quite uncertain. This much however is clear, that there are no appearances of any island in this channel at present, excepting the Wolf Rock, to which we can hardly apply that name. In the family of Trevilian, now resident in Somerset, but originally Cornish, they have a tradition, that one of their ancestors saved himself by the assistance of his horse, at the time when this tract of country (Lionesse) was destroyed by the inundation. And the same tradition reports, that the arms of this family were taken from this fortunate escape, to commemorate his providential preservation.

"Some fishermen also have insisted, that in the channel between the Islands of Scilly and the Land's End, there are the tops of houses, and other remains of habitations; but I produce these arguments only as proofs of the tradition, and of the strong persuasion, which from time immemorial has prevailed among the inhabitants of Cornwall, that such a country as Lionesse once existed, but is now buried under the sea."† To substantiate the fact, these traditionary reports and strong persuasions must be admitted to be wholly incompetent; since the Cassiterides, from the most ancient accounts which have reached us, appear always to have been islands.

It is perhaps rather more probable, that the tradition of the Lionesse, and of a large tract of country between the Land's End and the Scilly Islands, being

* Carew, p. 3.

† Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 92.

overwhelmed by the sea, might have taken its rise from that subsidence of the land, or that inundation of the sea, which not only the Scilly Islands have undergone, as we shall hereafter notice, but which parts of the shores of Cornwall have certainly sustained, and of which the evidences in the vicinity of St. Michael's Mount, are various and commanding.

The principal anchoring-place which still bears the name of *Gwavas Lake*, is now an open harbour; which carries with it a presumptive evidence, that it must have undergone some considerable change since its name was first imposed. St. Michael's Mount, as Carew has justly hinted, must, from its Cornish name, have originally stood in a wood, although at full tide it is now half a mile from the main land, and no tree is to be found near it.

Leland, in his Itinerary, Vol. III. p. 7, when speaking of St. Michael's Mount, says, that an "Ould legend of St. Michael speaketh of a townelet in this part, now defaced and lying under water." "In confirmation of these alterations, says Dr. Borlase, I must observe, that on the beach betwixt the Mount and the town of Penzance, when the sands have been dispersed and drawn out into the sea, I have seen the trunks of several large trees in their natural position, as well as I can recollect, worn smooth just above their roots, upon which, at full tide, there must be now twelve feet of water."*

In confirmation of this opinion, which we plainly perceive to be substantiated by actual observation, as well as sanctioned by popular report, that a considerable subsidence of the land has taken place in these parts, an observation of Heath is worthy of attention. "A person, says he, taking a survey of the channel in 1742, took one of his stations at low water, as he told me, upon the Gulph Rock, (Wolf Rock) where he observed a *cavity* like a brewer's copper, with rubbish at the bottom, without being able to assign a cause for its coming there."† On this observation, Dr. Borlase makes the following remark: "This *cavity* could be no other than a rock bason; and consequently, this rock is greatly sunk, being now entirely covered with the sea, at least nine hours in twelve."

Nor have the encroachments of the sea been confined to the western shores of Cornwall alone, if we may credit the account which Mr. Scawen has recorded in his manuscripts. There was, says he, "a valley between Rame head and Loo; and there is still to be seen in a clear day, in the bottom of the sea, a league from the shore, a wood of timber lying on its side uncorrupted, as if formerly grown therein, when it was dry ground, thrown down by the violence of the waves.

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 94.

† Heath on the Scilly Islands, p. 157.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Engraved by J. Shury.

Published by W. Lewis, 17 Newman Street, Oxford Street.

From a Sketch by M.P. Moyle.

MEAST VIEW OF ST. MICHAEL'S, AMOUNT.

Of this several persons have informed me, who have, as they said, often seen the same."*

But whether the record of Mr. Scawen be deemed genuine or fabulous, concerning the subsidence of the land between the Ramehead and Looe, the evidence which applies to the inundation of the sea on the western shores is not liable to such uncertainty. Dr. Borlase, in his Natural History, marks with precision the very year and day when the remains of the wood in Mount's Bay made their appearance, in the following words:—"On the strand of Mount's Bay, midway between the piers of St. Michael's Mount and Penzance, on the 10th of January, 1757, the remains of the wood, which according to tradition, covered anciently a large tract of ground on the edge of Mount's Bay, appeared."†

But amidst these corroborating accounts, which seem to place the fact on a ground which no inundation can overwhelm, it is natural to inquire how far that land extended, which is now inevitably lost. On this point we must be satisfied with the records of historical testimony, since no natural vestiges remain to guide us in our researches.

"The Mount, says a celebrated historian, was formerly no less than five miles from the sea." We can confirm the circumstance by an evidence which is clear and certain, yet carries the distance to a still greater length. "St. Michael's Mount, we are informed by Worcester himself, was originally inclosed with a very thick wood, distant from the ocean *six miles*. The Cornish name of it is *Carreg Lúg en Kúg*. Worcester is the oldest writer who gives the signification of it; he informing us, that the Mount was formerly denominated *Le Hore Rok in the Wodd*. The ravages made by the sea are not merely the silent encroachments, and slow depredations of the waters upon the land, but the sudden impression given to the whole weight of the Atlantic, in sending it with a hasty violence upon our south western coasts at one particular period, and in keeping it to bear with a regular violence upon them ever since."‡

Next to the certainty of knowing that a catastrophe, similar to that which has been described, did happen to a large tract of country, is the solicitude which it excites within us, to know at what period this melancholy event took place. But this period can no more be known with certainty, than the number of acres can be ascertained with accuracy, which the restless ocean has torn with violence from the diminished land.

* Scawen's MS. pp. 9, 10, cited by Borlase, Scilly Islands, p. 94.

† Borlase's Natural History, p. 222.

‡ Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, by Mr. Whitaker, pp. 16, 17.

It is well known, that several inundations have happened at distinct periods, which have considerably affected various parts of the adjacent shores; but to which of these, the subsidence of the land, both in Mount's Bay, and in the Scilly Islands, ought to be attributed, no historian has attempted positively to determine. That such an event should happen, of which no written particulars are extant, is exceedingly strange; but that such a tradition should prevail, and that so many evidences in favour of its certainty should exist, if no such event did take place, is not only exceedingly strange, but utterly unaccountable.

In the days of Edward I. there was a great subsidence of the land on some of the southern coasts of England, in consequence of which, Winchelsea, near Rye, in Sussex, a town said to contain sixteen churches, was totally swallowed up, and its ruins are now no less than three miles from the shore.* It was to repair in some measure, the effects of this disaster, that Edward I. purchased for the unfortunate inhabitants, that land on which the present Winchelsea stands.

But this calamity, Dr. Borlase is decidedly of opinion, could not be that which so fatally overwhelmed the Cornish shores, because no memorial of the disaster is preserved in any of the ancient records of the Mount, which refer to this period. And on the same principle we may be assured, that the catastrophe in question could not have happened at any subsequent period, because no record of such an event having recently taken place, is any where extant.

It is highly probable, at what period soever it happened, that the Scilly Islands and the western shores of Cornwall were involved in the same catastrophe; since visible remains of a similar disaster are conspicuous in both, even to the present day. It seems however, quite certain, that no such calamity had recently happened at this period, because the monks who inhabited the islands, on presenting a petition to Edward I. setting forth their calamitous condition, and praying for his protection against pirates, say nothing respecting any inundation of the sea, either in the Scilly Islands, or on any part of the Cornish shores; which in all probability they would have done, if any event of this kind had happened so recently as the submersion of Winchelsea implies.

In the Saxon Chronicle, another great inundation of the sea is said to have happened in the year 1014; and, from the singular nature of the phenomenon, and the place in which it most probably occurred, it seems to direct our views to the period after which we inquire. "In this year, says the Chronicle, in the *watchings, stations*, or *posts* of *St. Michael*, a great inundation of the sea, which

* Norden's Survey of Cornwall.

flowed farther over this extensive country than it ever had before, overwhelmed many towns and an inexpressible number of men."

But how much soever this description may coincide with the loss which we suppose Cornwall to have sustained, and although the *watchings*, *stations*, or *posts* of *St. Michael*, perfectly agree with the Cornish Mount, considerable doubts have been entertained respecting its application. Dr. Borlase thinks that the calamity must have happened at a still earlier period; and he founds his supposition on the same principle which prevents us from admitting the calamity which destroyed Winchelsea.

The monks, Dr. Borlase observes, were placed in the Scilly Islands about the year 938, and as they continued there for several centuries, they must have known if any such phenomenon had occurred in 1014, as that which is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle; and if they knew, it is highly probable that they would have recorded it. These islands of Scilly appear to have been united to the Abbey of Tavistock so early as 961; but no memorial whatever of this calamity, appearing in any papers belonging either to the abbey or the islands, induces Dr. Borlase to conceive, that it must have happened long before the days of Athelstan. And if this be admitted, the reason why it is passed over in silence, must have arisen from its having happened a considerable time before, without ceasing to be notorious.

But if Dr. Borlase's objections be valid against the Saxon Chronicle, because the monks of Scilly who must have resided on the islands at that time are totally silent on the subject, they will acquire an additional strength when we apply them to St. Michael's Mount. When this celebrated rock was first consecrated to religious purposes, we have no means of knowing with certainty. The earliest time in which as a place of devotion it appears on record, is in the fifth century. But even then it appears to have been a place of much renown, since the record states that St. Keyna, a holy virgin of the ancient British royal blood, daughter of Braganus, prince of Brecknockshire, visited it as a place of no common sanctity. From this period, until the dissolution of monasteries took place, this singular rock continued to be inhabited, by men who must have known, and who in all probability would have recorded the circumstance, if such an event as we have supposed, had actually occurred during their long residence on it.

It is obvious from hence, according to the principle of Dr. Borlase's objection, that no inundation could probably have taken place, during the period that St. Michael's Mount was inhabited, which will carry us from the fifth century down to the dissolution of monasteries; and if we add to this, the silence of public records, from the dissolution to the present time, we are furnished with a sweeping

principle, which bears down every inundation, from the fifth century to the present hour.

But whatever weight may be attached to Dr. Borlase's objection, Florence of Worcester has specified the time, when an extraordinary inundation of the sea took place. He informs us, that "on the third of the nones of November, in 1099, the sea came out upon the shore, and buried towns and men very many, and oxen and sheep innumerable." Another account relating to the same event is still more circumstantial. It is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 1099, in the following words:—"This year eke, on St. Martin's Mass Day, the 11th of November, sprang up so much the sea flood, and so myckle harm did, as no man minded that it ever afore did, and there was this ylk day a new moon."* These testimonies are certainly sufficient to substantiate the facts which they record, although they are silent as to the minuter circumstances which associated with these phenomena. And we have no more reason to infer from the silence of the inhabitants of the Mount, that no disaster took place during their long residence on it, than we have to infer from the records which have reached us, that no circumstances of an extraordinary nature were connected with the phenomena, which they respectively attest, because their authors have not given them to us in detail.

But although Dr. Borlase has expressed his doubts, that either the Scilly Islands or the lands in Mount's Bay, were injured by any of those inundations which have been mentioned, he is willing to admit, that in both places the catastrophe has been produced by the operation of a cause which strongly resembles those that we have been called to contemplate; with this additional circumstance, that the period in which the disaster happened, lies buried more deeply in antiquity. But his observations and authorities shall appear in his own words.

"I conjecture that this inundation must have happened before Athelstan's time; and by the Irish annals, I find an inundation which might probably have affected the south of Ireland, and at the same time have reached Scilly and the coast of Cornwall, which are not above fifty leagues distant from it to the east, nor much more than a degree to the south of it." After having made the preceding remarks, Dr. Borlase then introduces the following quotation from Smith's History of Cork:

"In the end of March, A. D. 830, Hugh Dorndighe being monarch of Ireland, there happened such terrible shocks of thunder and lightning, that above a thousand persons were destroyed between Corca-Bascoin, a part of the county of

* Cited by Mr. Whitaker, in his Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall.

Cork then so called, and the sea side. At the same time the sea broke through its banks in a violent manner, and overflowed a considerable tract of land. The island then called Innisfadda, on the west coast of this county, was forced asunder, and divided into three parts. This island, says my author, lies contiguous to two others, viz. Hare Island, and Castle Island; which, lying in a range, and being low ground, might have been very probably then rent by the ocean."

To this passage Dr. Borlase subjoins the following sentence:—"As this inundation in the southern parts of Ireland, seems well attested, and might not unlikely have reached Cornwall and Scilly, I should think it most suitable to history, that this was what reduced, divided, and destroyed the Scilly Islands, and overran the lands on Mount's Bay."*

What could have induced Dr. Borlase to prefer the inundation of 830, which affected Ireland, to all the others which he has rejected, it is exceedingly difficult to discover. It seems to have nothing to recommend it but its remote antiquity; while at the same time it is equally liable to every objection which he has urged against the others, without bringing with it that internal presumptive evidence of which the Saxon Chronicle can boast.

It is well known that the Cornish Mount was consecrated to religion so early as the fifth century; and that until the dissolution of monasteries it continued to be inhabited, throughout the succeeding centuries. And consequently, if that inundation which affected Ireland in 830, overwhelmed the Cornish lands, we have as much reason to conclude that some memorial of the catastrophe would remain, as if it had happened at any other period while the Mount was inhabited; but of which Dr. Borlase entertains doubts, because no records of its circumstances have been transmitted to us. His objections therefore are equally valid or equally weak in every instance. And though the silence of historians respecting the particulars of this event, is involved in obscurity, and though the variety of inundations which have happened, may prevent us from ascertaining the period of the calamity, yet the evidence adduced in favour of the fact, places it on a permanent foundation. But since nothing but probable conjecture can, on the present occasion, afford us any light, as to the time of this disastrous event, our views must be directed, either to one of the periods recorded in the Saxon Chronicle, or to the inundation of Ireland, on which Dr. Borlase has taken his stand. These periods appear more probable than any others; but which of these

* Dr. Borlase on the Scilly Islands, pp. 97, 98. The passage which Dr. B. quotes, is taken from Smith's Natural and Civil History of Cork, Vol. II. p. 11; in which we are referred to Keating, p. 52—an old Irish Manuscript.

is to be preferred, must be submitted to the discretion of the reader, who, from the adoption of either, cannot but conclude, that the dimensions of Cornwall have been considerably diminished.

SECTION V.

Original Divisions of Cornwall.

Those dominions of Britain which now comprehend the kingdom of England, and the principality of Wales, were originally divided by their primitive inhabitants into no less than seventeen petty states, each of which were subdivided into cantreds, and these were again subdivided into a number of clanships. Of these petty states, that which lay farthest west, was, on the arrival of the Romans, distinguished by the general name ***Danmonium***, and its inhabitants by that of ***Danmonii***. This state, as we have already seen, included Devonshire and Cornwall; on the east of which resided the ***Belgæ*** and the ***Durotriges***, who spread themselves over the counties of Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. On every other side the Danmonii were surrounded by the sea, as Devonshire and Cornwall are at present.

In this extensive tract, or peninsula, as it may be termed, as it stands in relation to the whole island, we find several names mentioned by Ptolemy, as of great antiquity, and considerable distinction in the geography of Danmonium. Ptolemy, who flourished in the second century, under the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, informs us, that the high or mountainous tract or ridge of land which passes onward from the Land's End to the extremity of Devonshire, was originally called the ***Jugum Ocrinum***, and served as a line to divide the cantreds of the north, from those which lay on its southern side. This elevated ridge formed the primary and grand division of Danmonium; but whether it was considered as a barrier which prohibited all communication between the cantreds, since Ptolemy is silent, we have no means of knowing.

On the northern side of this barrier, or ***Jugum Ocrinum***, Ptolemy mentions the promontory of Hercules; the promontory Antivestæum, sometimes called Bolerium; and the promontory Danmonium, occasionally called ***Ocrinum***. In this description the promontory of Hercules is undoubtedly Hartland Point, in the north-west extremity of Devonshire; a word evidently of Phenician extraction, although adopted by the natives, long before the Romans visited these shores. By the promontory Antivestæum, or Bolerium, nothing but the Land's End can be meant. And it is not improbable, that the former of these terms is derived

from the British words *An-dieux Tir*, which signify the Land's End; while the latter being derived from *Bel-e-rhin*, implies the head or the extremity of a promontory. By the promontory Danmonium, or Ocrinum, we cannot but understand the Lizard; which term, if of British origin, is in all probability derived from *Lis-ard*, which signifies a lofty projection. Hence it appears, that all these names are of British origin, with the exception of Hartland Point; and that they are derived from terms expressive of such ideas as these projecting headlands are intended to convey.

Proceeding eastward, from the Lizard on the southern shore, Ptolemy next mentions the mouth of the river *Cenion*, the mouth of the river *Tamarus*, the mouth of the river *Isca*, and the mouth of the river *Alaenus*. By the term *Cenion*, it is generally understood that Ptolemy means Falmouth Haven, or the principal river that discharges its waters in this harbour. It is furthermore admitted, as a fact highly probable, that the term *Cenion* is derived from the old British word *Genou*, or *Genau*, which signifies a mouth, of which the plural is *Genuow*. And of this original British word, we still find some vestige in the word *Tregony*, which, in the same language signifies *the dwellings on the common near the river;* and which was anciently spelt *Tre-Gon-y*, or *Tre-Gûn-y;* so that it is attended with little or no difficulty to trace the resemblance which leads to the situation of *Cenion*, as mentioned by Ptolemy.

By the river *Tamarus*, it is almost impossible not immediately to perceive the Tamar; since, with only a trifling variation, it still retains its ancient name. But whether this name has been derived from the word *Tamaraw*, which signifies *the gentle river*, or from the Greek word *Tam-mawr*, *the great river*, is rather uncertain; it being equally evident, that both the appellations *gentle river*, and *great river*, may with equal propriety be applied to its waters, which are discharged in the haven of Plymouth.

In the river *Isca*, we perceive the river Exe; which, passing from Exeter, falls into the sea at Exmouth. And by the river *Alaenus*, some have supposed that the river Axe, on the banks of which the ancient town of Axminster is situated, is to be understood. Mr. Polwhele conceives that it might have been called *Alaenus*, from *Alun iu*, signifying *the full river*."*

Besides these rivers, or mouths of rivers, mentioned by Ptolemy, several towns are noticed, which still exist, and are evidently of great antiquity. These towns, which are four in number, he names in the following manner:—*Volnba*, *Uxela*,

* Polwhele's Historical Views of Devon, p. 14.

Tamare, and *Isca;* but in what places we are to discover their respective situations, historians and antiquarians have not yet agreed.

The town of *Voliba*, or *Voluba*, both Camden and Baxter unite in declaring to be Grampond. Horsley however, thinks it to be Lostwithiel; and the authors of the Universal History, without any hesitation, assert it to be Falmouth. In the former of these opinions Dr. Borlase concurs, but he does not seem to support his conjecture by any other evidence than that which arises from a reference to the customs of the ancients, who generally erected their towns and cities at some distance from the mouths of navigable rivers. And to give plausibility to his theory, he imagines that the Greek historian commenced his list of the towns of Danmonium with that town which lay farthest west. But as neither coins nor antiquities have been discovered in the vicinity of Grampond, all conclusions which may be drawn in favour of its being the ancient *Voliba* or *Voluba* of Ptolemy, must be very uncertain.

Nearly the same observations that have been made respecting the situation of *Voluba*, may be made with regard to *Uxela*. This town, Mr. Camden supposes to be Lostwithiel, while Mr. Baxter imagines it to be Saltash, and Mr. Horsley, Exeter. Amidst such a diversity of opinions, it is totally impossible to decide with any tolerable degree of precision. But it must not be dissembled, that the general mass of opinion is wholly in favour of the supposition of Camden, although neither antiquities nor other evidences have been adduced in support of the popular belief. The testimony of Dr. Borlase may add some weight in favour of Camden, so that Lostwithiel is at least fortified with authority, if not decorated with such venerable ruins as we might reasonably expect to find, if it really were the Uxela of the ancients. Mr. Camden supposes that the ancient town originally stood on that hill where the remains of the ancient fortress of Restormel now stands; and in favour of his conjecture, the voice of tradition still continues to speak, although no remnants of walls, nor any foundations of ancient buildings have ever been discovered to give confirmation to the conjecture.

Nor is the situation of ancient *Tamare*, known with more certainty than that of *Voluba* or *Uxela*. There can be little doubt that this town originally stood in the vicinity of the river Tamar, but in what particular place, is a point that has given rise to a diversity of opinions. Mr. Baxter thinks that it was Tamerton, so that it still retains its ancient name; and in this opinion he is supported by Mr. Camden. Horsley however, thinks that it was Saltash, and the authors of the Ancient Universal History suppose it to be Tavistock. Such is the perplexity in which the local geography of Danmonium by Ptolemy is involved.

As we know not with precision the exact situation of these towns, of which Ptolemy has given us the names, so we have little reason to expect certainty, when we inquire into the relative position of any of the ancient tribes.

Mr. Polwhele, who contends for an eastern aboriginal colony, supposes, that upon their arrival at this country, they spread themselves at first over little more than the southern coasts of Devonshire. That they afterwards extended their line along the shore of Totness, and occupied the country both to the south-east and south-west, while they had the *Jugum Ocrinum*, or that high tract of country which runs through Cornwall and Devon, for their northern boundary. These aboriginal settlers, he seems fully persuaded, were the Danmonii; there being, he observes, no evidence to the contrary.*

But besides the Danmonii, whether we admit them to be of remote and distant eastern extraction, or view them in point of antiquity and extraction, on an equal footing with the other tribes that inhabited Britain, it is admitted by all, that Danmonium, which included Cornwall and Devon, was originally inhabited by two other considerable tribes, respectively known by the name of *Cimbri* and *Carnabii*. These without all doubt, had emigrated from the shores of the neighbouring continent; and long before Britain was invaded by the Romans, had formed considerable settlements in this island. The Cimbri, says Mr. Whitaker, occupied the south-west of Somerset, and the north-east of Cornwall, so far as the river Cambala; while the Carnabii spread over the remaining part of the north of Cornwall, and over all the south-west as far as Falmouth Haven.

But these different tribes were not permitted to enjoy their territories in peace. A powerful tribe denominated the *Belgæ*, made an expedition into this country from Gaul, as we learn from Richard of Cirencester, about 350 years before the Christian era; and in about 250 years from that period, as Mr. Whitaker conceives, extended their conquests over several counties. On the arrival of Diviticus with reinforcements from the continent, these Belgæ actually invaded Cornwall; and after many severe conflicts, compelled great numbers of the native tribes to emigrate to Ireland. How far the successes of the Belgæ extended in Danmonium, we have no means of knowing with certainty. It has been thought by some, that they possessed themselves of Exeter; but that their continual depredations united together the distinct forces of the Britons who resided on the coast, and urged them to repel the attacks of the common enemy; and that under the command of Cassibelinus, the Britons prosecuted the war with such vigour, as to rescue Exeter from their hands, since it was in the possession of the Danmonii before the arrival of Cesar.

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 16.

But the defeat of the Belgæ dissolved the compact which the tribes of Danmonium had made, in the time of their common danger. And being no longer actuated by the same motives of common defence, they turned their arms against one another. It was in these domestic conflicts, that the Cimbri and the Carnabii were overpowered and lost, being totally swallowed up by the Danmonii, who annihilated their power, and usurped their dominions.

In this plenitude of dominion and power, Danmonium was divided by the conquerors into six cantreds, in a manner which bore some resemblance to the nine hundreds by which Cornwall is at present distinguished, and from which these hundreds are in all probability derived. Of these cantreds, four appear to have been marked on the south-east side of the *Jugum Ocrinum*, and two on the north-west. On the south-east, the first seems to have extended from the southern extremities of Dorsetshire, so far as the river Isca; the second, from Isca to the river Durius; the third from Durius to the river Tamarus; and the fourth from Tamarus to the Land's End. On the northern side, the easternmost extended from the eastern territories of Danmonium to the Cambala, and the westernmost from the Cambala to the Land's End.

In this north-eastern district, Mr. Whitaker supposes that the Cimbri originally resided, extending from the south of Somersetshire along the north of Cornwall, so far as the Cambala, the Camel, or Padstow Harbour; while the Danmonii, before they began their conquests, possessed the rest of Cornwall, (except what the Carnabii enjoyed) all Devonshire, and a considerable part of Somersetshire. But being intoxicated with power, they engaged in war with their less quarrelsome neighbours; and being more fortunate than just, the Cimbri and the Carnabii submitted to their dominion; so that at the time of the Roman invasion, all Danmonium, from Dorsetshire to the Land's End, was found under one power, and the name of Cimbri and Carnabii was nearly lost in that of the Danmonii.

SECTION VI.

Probable Source of the ancient Inhabitants of Cornwall.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the story of Brute, or Brutus, which every one considers to be fabulous, but which history and tradition have conspired to keep alive, should be interwoven with almost every account which is transmitted to us, respecting the original inhabitants of this island. Brutus, according to the prevailing tradition, was the son of Sylvius, and grandson of Ascanius, the son of Eneas, who had escaped from the destruction of Troy. Brutus, it appears,

who was born in Italy, having had the misfortune to kill his father by accident, while he was hunting, fled into Greece; where, finding many of the Trojans in a state of slavery, he stimulated them to revolt; and placing himself at their head, so far succeeded in his enterprise, as to procure their emancipation, and to take Pandrasus, who had held them in captivity, prisoner. In conjunction with these fugitives, whom his late success had inspired with confidence, he hastened to procure ships to quit the Italian shores, in order to avoid any reverse of fortune. In these ships he and his companions sailed for Gaul; but being directed by an oracle to steer farther to the west, after a series of adventures, they at length reached this island, then known only by the name of Albion. The place of their landing is said to be Totness in Devonshire; the inhabitants of which point out the very stone on which Brutus is presumed to have set his foot, when he first descended from his vessel. And it is somewhat singular, that although the sea has long since retired from this spot, yet the records of former ages, as well as some natural remains, carry with them several remarkable coincidences to prove that there was a period, when the sea actually flowed up to the walls of the town.

Albion, according to this tradition, was at this period inhabited by giants, whom Brutus and his followers were compelled to encounter; and having been as successful here, as he had been before in Greece, he destroyed these giants, and after his own name called the island Britain. From Totness Brutus and his followers travelled to the banks of the Thames, where finding a situation congenial to their wishes, he laid the foundation of a city, which he called *Troja Nova*, or *Troy Novant*, which is now London. In this place he is reputed to have reigned twenty-four years, and at his death to have divided his kingdom between his three sons, Locrine, who had that part which is now called England; Camber, who had Cambria, now Wales; and Albanact, who had Albania, now Scotland.

It was in one of the encounters of Brutus with the giants, shortly after his landing at Totness, that his cousin Corinæus is said in the same fable to have distinguished himself, by overthrowing an enormous giant called Gog-Magog, whom he killed by throwing over the cliff at Plymouth Hawe. In consequence of which, he was rewarded by Brutus with all the western part, which he called Cornwall, after his own name.* Such are the gigantic fables which disfigure the twilight of our history!

* On the story of Brutus, Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 5, makes the following observations:— "Moreover, upon the Hawe at Plymouth, there is cut out in the ground the portraiture of two men, the one bigger, the other less, with clubs in their hands, (whom they term Gog-Magog) and (as I have learned) it is

A MONUMENT NEAR PLYMOUTH, COMMEMORATING THE DEFEAT OF A GIANT.

The invention of this singular fable has in general been ascribed to Geoffry of Monmouth; who, as Leland conjectures, was born and educated in a Benedictine convent at Monmouth, of which order he afterwards became a monk. It is generally asserted, that he was made bishop of St. Asaph, in 1151, in the reign of king Stephen, and that he finished his history about the year 1138. In this history he gives an account of all the British kings, from Brutus, who begins his list, and whom he supposes to have reached Britain 1108 years before Christ, down to Cadwaller, in A. D. 690. But though Geoffry has propagated this fable, the evidence is unquestionable, that he was not the inventor of it. What Geoffry has given to the world, is a translation of an old manuscript, written in the ancient British language, and brought to England from Armorica by his friend Gualter, who was archdeacon of Oxford. Of this manuscript the origin is unknown. The fable however, was in circulation long before the days of Geoffry and Gualter. It is mentioned by Sigebertus Gemblasensis, who preceded Geoffry about one hundred years, and is accompanied with the tale of his passing through Gaul with his adventurous associates, in their way to Britain. Neither is this the origin of this extraordinary fable. Nennius, who flourished upwards of three hundred years before the days of Geoffry, recounts the exploits of Brutus; and, like most of his successors in fable, brings him to Britain to subdue the giants, to lay the foundation of an empire, and to give his name to the island in which we live. It is therefore evident, from these combined circumstances, that the fable of Brutus, which almost every historian mentions, but which few persons believe, may be traced back, nearly three thousand years from the present time.

---

renewed by order of the townsmen when cause requireth, which should infer the same to be a monument of some moment."

On this passage Mr. Tonkin in his Notes, proceeds as follows:—"The citadel of Plymouth being, just after the restoration, built on that spot of ground on which these representations were, the very remembrance of them is now blotted out from the minds of the inhabitants, who have been much to blame for not preserving some such monument on some adjoining part of the Hawe: for I cannot but be of Mr. Carew's opinion, that the same, upon what account soever cut there, was to perpetuate the memory of some considerable action. I know that the story of Corinæus, and Brute himself, is exploded by most of the learned; and Geoffry of Monmouth accused as the forger of it. I shall not pretend to justify his whole history; yet that it was a forgery of his, though he might add a great deal of the embroidery, I presume few will believe, after they have read what Sir J. Price, Dr. Powell, Dr. Davies, Mr. Sheringham, and Mr. Wynne, in his Preface to the History of Wales, have said in defence of the same. 'And then,' saith Mr. Lhwyd, 'balance them with the arguments and authority of them who wholly reject it.' Especially if they consider what Mr. Lhwyd farther says in the forequoted place, and in his Archaeologia, that there are several ancient copies in British, of the said history, still in being; particularly one in Jesus College, Oxford."—*Tonkin's Notes on Carew, by Lord de Dunstanville*, p. 5.

REASONS WHY BRITISH CUSTOMS RESEMBLED THOSE OF THE ANCIENT TROJANS.

But although the history of Brutus and his followers is now considered as a legendary romance, there was a time when it commanded more attention, and obtained more credit. Edward I. in his letter to the Pope, Leland, Sir John Price, and Sheringham, have favoured the opinion that the story of Brutus was real, and given new vigour to popular belief. Even Dr. Borlase does not wholly discard the fact, that Brutus visited these shores with a train of followers, although he wholly discountenances the idea, that these foreign fugitives should ever have subdued this country by force.

"If Brute, says Dr. Borlase, should be allowed to have landed, and made a settlement in this island, as some learned men have thought, yet with the small number of followers which such a fugitive could persuade to follow his fortunes, he can scarcely be imagined to have seized by violence, or retained by conquest, any considerable part of so large an island: he may with more likelihood be supposed to have settled here by the friendly entertainment and consent of the inhabitants, in the same manner as the Phenician and Grecian colonies transplanted themselves into Thrace, Libya, Sicily, and Spain. The island being in those early days thinly peopled, a colony of men more civilized, and skilled in the arts of peace and war, than those of the western world, was not unlikely to take a footing in the most convenient place they found, and upon very good terms also with the original inhabitants. This is the first entrance of strangers into Britain, which either history or tradition affords us; and supposing this story true, as being thus far attended with no improbability, it must be granted, that the curiosity and reciprocal wants of the strangers and inhabitants, would beget such an intercourse as mutually to affect the language, manners, and customs of both. It could not be wondered at, therefore, if some British customs were like those recorded of the ancient Trojans."*

Struck with those numerous coincidences, at which Dr. Borlase has hinted in the preceding paragraph, between the character of the orientals and that of the ancient Danmonii, and yet rejecting as fabulous the legendary tale of Brutus, Mr. Polwhele has introduced a new theory, in which he contends for a primitive colonization of Danmonium immediately from Armenia, without abandoning altogether the generally received hypothesis, that this country was peopled from Gaul. This primitive colonization from Armenia, he places at an early period of the world, when the characters of mankind, and the customs which prevailed among them, had not submitted to that spirit of innovating diversity, which soon began to distinguish the tribes and nations of the earth.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 26.

THE SAXON CHRONICLE WRITTEN BY A MONK AT LINCOLN.

"That the original inhabitants of Danmonium, says Mr. Polwhele, were of eastern origin, and, in particular were Armenians, is a position which may doubtless be supported by some shew of authority. But while I assert, that our first colonists were of eastern origin, I do not intend to deny, what I conceive cannot be denied, that all Europe was peopled by emigrants from the east. I mean only to draw a line of distinction between the aborigines of this country, who came from the east by sea, and settled at once in Britain, and those tribes who came from the east by land, and gradually spread over the continent.

"That this distinction is not fanciful, may possibly appear hereafter, from the religion of our first colonists, as well as their language, their manners, their usages, and several other particulars, in which they bore not the least resemblance to the Celtic race that peopled Europe. With the Celtic race, indeed, they had no communication; and to the Celtic race they were not known.

"In the mean time, let us consider the testimony of one of our chronicles, which speaks to the point of the Armenian emigration. The Saxon Chronicle positively asserts, that 'the original inhabitants of Britain came from Armenia, and that they seated themselves in the south-west part of the island.' The same Chronicle next records the arrival of the South Scythians, by sea, in long ships, whom the Scoti in Ireland declined receiving, but advised their settling in Scotland, which they did. And afterward the Scoti of Ireland intermarried, and were variously connected with this people.

"The Saxon Chronicle is said to have been written by a monk at Lincoln; and similar chronicles were kept by the most learned monks in several monasteries throughout the kingdom. The monk of Lincoln seems to have been well informed; and there is no more reason to dispute the authority of the passage before us, than that of any other part of the book. For it is not a conjecture: it is not hazarded as an opinion: it is a positive assertion, and relation of an event, as a thing generally known and understood to be true.

"The only doubt that can be thrown upon this passage, must arise from a note in Bishop Gibson's edition of this Chronicle, in which a different reading is suggested, and the word *Armorica* substituted for *Armenia;* and Bede is quoted as authorizing the conjecture. But the context of the passage does not seem to warrant the word Armorica. The Saxon Chronicle, speaking of the original inhabitants, plainly intimates that 'they who settled first in the south or south-western parts, came a long voyage by sea.' And next, says the Chronicle, 'came also by sea the Southern Scythians.' About the Southern Scythians there seems to be no dispute. In the mean time, it is absurd to describe a colony from the opposite coast of Gaul, as coming a long sea voyage. If indeed, the original

inhabitants settled in the western parts of the island, before the Southern Scythians came, they must have formed their colony in Britain, when the coasts of Gaul were uninhabited: when on the coasts of Gaul there were no settlers of any description, and of course no Armoricans. The Armoricans indeed, are comparatively of a modern date.

"Our first settlers not coming overland by way of Europe, the conclusion is, that they came by sea. Nor does there seem to be any difficulty in this supposition, if we allow that the Phenician merchants came hither afterwards by the same channel. From the passage I have quoted, it further appears, that a colony of South Scythians touched at Ireland, and passed thence to North Britain. This is abundantly confirmed in the Irish records, which never appeared so advantageously as in Vallancey's ingenious vindication of the antiquity of the Irish. If the Picti, then, came from South Scythia, why not the Danmonii from Armenia? Whilst the one was able to come from the east, was there any charm to prevent the other?

"With respect to the part of the island where our eastern emigrators settled, I have already observed that it was probably in South Devon. This is intimated, as we have already seen, by the Saxon Chronicle. And that the South Hams were inhabited in very early times, may be fairly, I think, inferred from the story of Brutus, though with regard to facts, we reject it as legendary."*

But it is not merely on the Saxon Chronicle, that Mr. Polwhele founds his hypothesis. He examines the subject in various lights, and has recourse to distinct topics of argument; from all of which he endeavours to derive some favourable circumstances, which, though singly taken, might be considered of no great importance, unite in their combined effect to strengthen the general conclusion, that the Danmonii were of Asiatic extraction, and that they had fixed their residence in this country when the coasts of Gaul were without inhabitants.

Cesar, he contends, could neither obtain, nor give, any satisfactory account of their origin. And so long had the Danmonii been separated from their original hive, that no traces of their origin remained among their own traditions. The only account which they could give of themselves was, that they sprang from *Dis*, or from the earth, while the other tribes who lived on the coasts, invariably asserted that they came originally from Gaul. Strengthened by the authority of Bochart, Mr. Polwhele argues that *Dis* is the same person as the Egyptian Mercury, or *Thoth*, who was one of the leaders that conducted a tribe from Babel immediately after the dispersion, from whom it is presumed that the ancient Danmonii sprung.

* Historical Views of Devon, pp. 3—5.

In addition to this, it is argued by the same author, that Cesar, though well acquainted with the modes of warfare which the Gaulish and other continental tribes had adopted, was so ignorant of the mode of fighting adopted by the Britons, when he first landed, that his veteran legions were terrified and thrown into disorder. That the war-chariot, in the use of which the Britons were so expert, was wholly unknown in other parts of the neighbouring continental coasts, and that the name of Danmonii was no where to be found in Europe, except in this particular warlike tribe. That as all the other tribes of Britain knew their origin, and as corresponding names were to be found on the continent, from whom it was evident these other tribes had originated, while those of the Danmonii could trace no affinity to any; the conclusion is even more than presumptive, in favour of their more remote and more early extraction.

Mr. Polwhele furthermore contends, that as Druidism, which was but a particular branch of that common idolatry which overspread the world, was understood in Britain so much better than in Gaul, that the inhabitants of the latter were obliged to solicit information from the former, respecting a variety of rites which were practised by all, it must have existed in this island, and have been matured into a system, at a much earlier period than among the tribes of the neighbouring continent; all of which would have been impossible if the Danmonii had been a Gaulish colony. That from the coincidences between the ancient Britons, in manners and customs, in objects of worship, and in the monuments which still survive them and the Asiatics, and particularly from their resemblance to the ancient Persians in many striking peculiarities which he has distinctly noticed, he hesitates not to place the ancient Britons among the first emigrators of mankind.

Finally, it is well known, that the adventurous Phenicians found their way into the Atlantic Ocean, more than a thousand years before Christ; soon after which early adventures, in all probability they discovered Britain, which they found already peopled on the Danmonium shores, with a race of men who had made discoveries of the metals which enriched the Scilly Islands and Cornwall, and were not ignorant of the nature of trade. These circumstances carry back our views to a period still much more remote, and finally direct us to terminate our inquiries in those eras of the world, in which we behold the early nations of the earth emerging from the family of Noah.

Such is the general outline of Mr. Polwhele's hypothesis, and such is the nature of those arguments by which he endeavours to support it. Those however, which I have noticed, may rather be considered as a specimen than as an epitome of the whole. His theory is simple, but his arguments are numerous, and their sources

various, from the whole of which he draws the following conclusion:—"Thus have I inspected a few leading traits in the character of the Danmonians, chiefly as illustrated by their manners and customs. And on this view also, it appears, that the aboriginal Danmonians came not from the continent of Europe; since far other manners and customs characterized the other inhabitants of Britain, who emigrated long afterward from Gaul. We may therefore conclude, that the first inhabitants of the South Hams (i. e. the Danmonii) instead of being a colony from Gaul, made their settlements there, independent on the neighbouring continent. From their retaining so lively an impression of the Asiatic fashions and usages, we may also infer, that they advanced hither with the greatest expedition, and probably reached this island very soon after the dispersion.

"But I do not rest my argument on the resemblance of the Aborigines to the eastern nations, in this particular only. Review the whole chapter, and mark the circumstantial evidence on which it is founded. That the settlers in this island were not a colony from Gaul, has been proved, on every view of the subject. And the vulgar theory of the original European plantations, would be abandoned, I think, on all hands, after a candid and liberal investigation of it. To such an investigation I should be happy to excite the learned. From the dubiousness of the common theory, I had a right to form a new hypothesis. And I have imagined a rapid emigration to these islands, for the most part by sea, from Armenia, or one of the neighbouring countries. I have not grounded my supposition on the sole authority of the Saxon Chronicle. The Saxon Chronicle is one of its weakest supports. The evidence of Cesar himself is strong in my favour: and the voice of the Greek historians and geographers, is still more decisive. But the character of the Orientals, so strikingly contrasted with that of the Europeans, and yet according with that of the aboriginal Danmonii, seems almost to determine the controversy. The Orientals at the time of their first emigration into different countries, were impressed with various traits of character, such as we have discovered in their modes of settlement, their civil government, their religion, their commercial communications, their language and learning, their genius, and their customs. The wandering spirit, and patriarchal policy of Armenia and Arabia, and the religious peculiarities of Persia and India, were originally fixed to one spot. And at the time of their first colonial separation, these characteristic lines were equally discernible in the Armenians, the Arabs, the Persians, and the Indians. At this crisis was kindled the flame of adventurous colonization. At this crisis the Orientals emigrated to Danmonium. And while the Armenians and the Arabs were nationally distinguished by one part of the primitive eastern

character, and the Persians and Indians by another, the Dannonians seem to have retained the leading features of the whole."*

On the comparative strength or weakness of the arguments by which Mr. Polwhele has supported the preceding hypothesis, although it may be easy to risk an opinion, it is exceedingly difficult to decide. To many formidable objections they are certainly liable; and much opposition the hypothesis must be expected to encounter, from the simple circumstance of its being new. But this in process of time will cease to exert its magical influence; and if the theory be founded on the solid basis of historical truth, it will silently and slowly work its way, and acquire vigour and advocates, in proportion as it advances in years. That many of the arguments which are urged in its favour, are strongly presumptive, and highly probable, must be obvious to all who read them with attention. And if we view them in all their bearings, and, connecting them with that hypothesis which they are urged to support, make a proper allowance for that deficiency of evidence with which the twilight of antiquity shines, we have more reason to admire their united force in their aggregate effect, than to express any astonishment why some branches of the theory are still involved in obscurity. To those whose minds are already trammelled with the shackles of a preconceived and opposite hypothesis, such favourable results are not to be expected. Yet even here, where candour and liberality prevail, among those who examine the theory and arguments of Mr. Polwhele, it must be acknowledged, that what he has urged will always be entitled to respect, even where his system is deemed too hypothetical to produce conviction.

But how plausible soever the hypothesis, or strong the arguments of Mr. Polwhele may appear, it cannot be denied that the stream of public opinion flows in a quite different channel, and carries our views to Gaul for the origin of the ancient Britons.

The ignorance of their origin, which Mr. Polwhele ascribes to the ancient Britons, Dr. Borlase attributes even to the Gauls themselves, in the days of Cesar. These, as well as the Germans and Britons, according to this author, had so far lost sight of their real ancestors, that they united in one opinion respecting their origin; all declaring, though in different language, that they knew not whence they came. The Gauls informed Cesar that they were sprung from Dis, or from the earth; which was interpreted by Cesar to mean Pluto, or the god of darkness. The maritime inhabitants of Britain informed the Roman conqueror, on his

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 211.

arrival among them, that they were descended from Gaul; but the inhabitants of the interior parts, who seemed to be a distinct people, called themselves *e Terrâ nati*. Now, both those who descended from Dis, whether living on the continent or on the British shores, and those who called themselves *e Terrâ nati*, meant nearly the same thing; plainly acknowledging that they knew not whence they came, or how they came thither, unless we admit the following interpretation.

If *Dis* be the same as *Tuisco*, or *Tuisto*, as some have supposed, and this Tuisco be the allowed father of all the German nations, then those Druids, if such they were, who informed the Gauls, or even communicated it to Cesar, that they were the descendants of Dis, must have preserved among their traditions some faint memorials of their origin, through which they traced themselves up to one common source. And consequently it will appear, that the Germans, Gauls, and Britons, were only different branches of that primitive tribe, which, under the conduct of Tuisco, peopled all the western parts of Europe, at an early period of the world. Such at least was the declaration of Tacitus, that in his time it was the opinion of the whole German nation, that they originally sprang from Tuisco or Tuisto; although many modern writers, because Tuisco is surrounded with fable, have endeavoured to bring the tradition into contempt.

But who, it may be asked, was Tuisco, who is thus the reputed father of the Germans, Gauls, and Britons? According to Bochart, Tuisco is the same as Thoth, or the Egyptian Mercury,* who, it is well known, was the god of travellers; and was thus denominated, in all probability, because, when stripped of the disguises of fable, he will be found to be no other than Noah, or than one of the leaders of a tribe from Babel. Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, believes Thoth to be Noah.

"The history of Noah, says Mr. Bryant, has been recorded by the ancients, through their whole theology. But they observed it by giving him so many different titles: Thoth, Menes, Hermes, Osiris, Prometheus, &c. All the deities of the sea were related to him. But this history is most plainly laid down under the title of Saturn and Janus. Janus was represented with two faces, with which he looked both backward and forward. He had generally near him a ship, particularly on the money coined to his honour. Some of his coins had a dove on the reverse. He was represented as a just man, and a prophet, and as the author of time, and the god of the year. And Cronus, or Saturn, is styled the father of gods and men. He is represented as one that sprang from the earth, and at the same time was the offspring of heaven."

* Bochart, p. 463, cited in Borlase's Antiquities, p. 19.

THE NORTH BRITONS A DISTINCT RACE FROM THE SOUTH AND WEST BRITONS.

Now, according to this theory, if Dis be the same as Tuisco or Tuisto, as Dr. Borlase supposes; and Tuisco be the same as Thoth, as is asserted by Bochart; and if Thoth means Noah, as Mr. Bryant affirms, then it must be acknowledged that the ancient Britons retained some traditional memorials among them, of their distant ancestor, even while in all probability they were totally ignorant of what the term Dis implied.

But if on the contrary, we reject this interpretation of Dis altogether, and imagine that by Dis, or e Terrâ nati, the Britons meant, that their distant ancestors were not descended from parents like themselves, but from the earth, like trees and flowers, we cannot even then but behold in this false representation, some vestiges of this primitive truth, that the human body was originally formed out of the dust of the ground, by the power of an almighty Creator, although they had excluded the cause, while they admitted the effect. And consequently, in either case, whether we admit Dis to be the same as Tuisco, Thoth, and Noah, or suppose that nothing more than the ground itself be implied in their representation of their origin, our views are immediately carried up to the fountain of Revelation. In the former case, we perceive the unintentional traditions of the ancient Britons confirming this important truth, that the nations of the earth considered themselves as the descendants of Noah; and in the latter, that God formed man out of the dust of the ground, even while they were ignorant that he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, by which man became a living soul.

It appears from the whole, that the ancient Britons had nearly the same confused opinions concerning their origin, that other nations of the Gentile world had of theirs. The Greeks had their Titans, who were sons of the earth. The Gauls and the inhabitants of the maritime coasts of Britain, believed themselves to have descended from Dis; those of the interior believed themselves to be Terrâ nati; while the Germans admitted Tuisco, of whom they knew nothing, to be their common and original parent.*

It is admitted both by Cesar and Tacitus, that the more northern inhabitants of Britain, were a distinct race from those who peopled the southern and the western shores. This has been inferred from their want of affinity, in language, customs, and manners, to those of Gaul, and the southern and western inhabitants of this island. And from some striking peculiarities in the appearance of their limbs, and from other circumstances, while Cesar called them Aborigines, Tacitus concludes that they were of German extraction.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 19.

But from whatever source the northern part of Britain might have derived its inhabitants, the southern and western territories, according to Cesar, were peopled from Gaul. Tacitus is of the same opinion. "If we consider all circumstances," says he, "it is probable that Gaul first peopled Britain, which lies so near it." This opinion, which is followed by most of the ancient as well as modern writers, is chiefly founded on an agreement which the Romans discovered between the two nations, in their customs, manners, language, religion, and form of government. It has been furthermore contended, that as the Gauls sent colonies into Italy, Spain, Germany, Thrace, and Asia, it is but reasonable to conclude that they did the same with respect to Britain, which was so contiguous, that it was even discoverable from the continent; and must on inspection, have been found not less inviting, than several other countries, in which it is well known that they planted colonies.

It is well known, that the great tide of human population rolled originally from the plains of Shinar, and spread from this central point over every inhabited portion of the globe. It is not however, to be reasonably imagined, that any tribes would remove from their primitive habitations, to seek an abode in a distant and insulated region, until the adjacent country was nearly filled with inhabitants. To accomplish this must have been the work of several ages; and consequently, whatever dissimilitude or resemblance we may find between the tribes and nations of the earth, the boundaries of antiquity are immovably fixed. These boundaries were fixed by the Deluge, and they present us with a barrier which we cannot pass.

Under circumstances so striking, and so commanding, since we cannot but conclude that the habitable territories which lie in the vicinity of Shinar, became peopled before those which were more remote, we cannot but infer that Gaul was peopled before Britain received its earliest inhabitants. And, from the vicinity of this island to the continental shores, it is more reasonable to suppose that Britain was peopled from them, than from any other source, although a variety of coincidences may conspire to give another direction to our views.

"The derivation of the Britons from the Gauls, does not however depend," says Mr. Whitaker, "upon any precarious reasonings from the vicinity of the countries, and a similarity in the nations, as Cesar and Tacitus have placed it. The fact may be founded upon better principles."* It may be traced through the natural progress of causes and effects, without compelling us to have recourse to a train

* Genuine History of the Britons asserted, p. 28.

of phenomena, which reason can scarcely admit, without committing an outrage on common probability.

" The Gauls," continues Mr. Whitaker, " says Diodorus, who in ancient times overran all Asia, were denominated Cimmerii: and the Galatæ of the Greeks, says Josephus, were formerly called Gomarians. The Celtæ of Germany therefore must, equally with the Celtæ of Greece and Asia, have carried the common name into all the countries which they conquered. And it was not any appropriated distinction of the Celtæ of Germany or Greece, from the Celtæ of Gaul. It was the standing signature of the original derivation of both from the stock of the Cimmerii in Gaul. And it was obviously the first and original characteristic of that great family, which was afterwards denominated Galli and Celtæ. Distinguished by the epithets of Galli and Celtæ from their mode and manner of living, as I shall shew hereafter, they must naturally have been distinguished by some primeval and family appellation; by something that carried the note of their descent from the great patriarch of their line. And such appears to be the name of Cimmerii; variously written *Cimbri*, *Cimmerii*, *Cumri*, *Gumri*, and *Gomerite*. It bears all the marks of an original and hereditary signature, and points fully, as it is expressly referred by history, to the patriarch Gomer. The name therefore did not commence about three centuries before Christ. It had been a name for ages before that period. The denomination was not given to the German Celtæ by the Gauls, for their re-entrance into Gaul at that period, and as a mark of ignominy for their devastations in it. It was at that time the hereditary denomination of the Gauls themselves. And the appellation was not borne by the Belgæ, or any or all of the German Celtæ, as the appropriated name of the Germans; because it was borne equally by the Gauls of Greece, the Gauls of Macedonia, and the Gauls of Asia.

" This directly accounts for the discovery of the same name in Britain, without calling in the extravagant and unwarranted supposition, that the Celtæ of North Germany settled in the island. I have already shewn the name to have not been the appropriated appellation of the German Celtæ, but the one universal title of the Gallic, the German, the Grecian, and the Asiatic Gauls. The fixed indigenous denomination of the Gauls at Rome, it was carried with their colonies into the East, into Germany, and into Britain. And the fixed indigenous appellation of the Gauls abroad, it was retained by them equally as the general title of all, and the particular designation of some. Thus one third of the Gael on the continent was particularly denominated Galli, and one third of the Celtæ in Gaul was distinctively denominated Celtæ, in the days of Cesar. And the Gauls of Asia

Minor were called Cimmerians, or Gomerites, in the days of Josephus. Thus when all the German Celtæ were denominated Cimbri or Cambri, there was a nation of Si-Cambri upon the banks of the Rhine, and a tribe of Cimbri within the peninsula of Jutland. And the common appellation of all the tribes in Britain is still retained by the descendants of three of them in Wales."*

It appears from Mr. Whitaker's reasonings on the first peopling of this country, that although it is asserted, that the earliest colony came originally from the Gauls, the difficulties to which the supposition is liable, may be easily removed, by making the Gauls a generical term, rather than a particular national appellation. This point, his reasonings, of which I have produced a specimen, tend most convincingly to establish. He traces the different tribes that originally peopled Europe, up to a close connexion with their patriarchal stock, and applies the term Gaul rather to a people than to any country which this people inhabited. The Gauls he traces to a close affinity with Gomer, who was the son of Japheth, and the grandson of Noah;† and thus deduces the nations of Europe from the venerable patriarchs who had seen the antediluvian world, and survived the inundation which overwhelmed the earth, and drowned its inhabitants.

According to Josephus, Gomer was father to the people of Galatia, the ancient inhabitants of that country being called Gomares or Gomerites, before the subsequent Galatians made themselves masters of it. It is very probable that Gomer, or rather the Gomerites his descendants, not only peopled the country of the Cimbri or Cimmerians, but likewise Germany and Gaul: the name of German is not very different from Gomerim. The Gauls, or Galatians, or Celtæ, were derived, they say, from Aschenez,‡ the eldest son of Noah; but Cluver pretends, that the ancient Celtica comprehended Illyria, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and the British Isles. His reason for this assertion is, that all these people originally spoke the same language. He further supposes, that Gomer, or his family, peopled the countries which lie in Asia, between the Paropamisus and the mountain Imaus, and between the confluence of the Oxus and the Oby; and that from thence these people are called Gomares by Ptolemy and Mela.§

Although it is exceedingly difficult, if not utterly impossible, to distinguish with precision all the particular nations that sprang from the three grand divisions of the family of Noah, yet it is pleasing to reflect, that some vestiges and memorials still remain in all, through which they may be traced up to one common source.

---

* Whitaker's Genuine History of the Britons asserted against Macpherson, pp. 52—54.

† Gen. x. 2.

‡ Ashkenaz was the son of Gomer.—*Gen.* x. 3.

§ See Calmet's Dictionary. Article *Gomer*.

The difficulty of tracing the whole with precision, arises from the changes which have taken place in the names of the various tribes, through the ages which have elapsed, from the period of the Deluge to the present hour. Some few still retain their primitive names, which may be easily discovered by comparing them with the records which are preserved in the tenth chapter of Genesis: a chapter, which if it were destitute of all importance in every other light, we cannot but consider as one of the most valuable pieces of history that is in the world.

SECTION VII.

Probable Period when Cornwall was first peopled.

It is an attested fact, that the descendants of Noah had so far multiplied, as to enable them to undertake the building of Babel, within less than two centuries after the waters of the Deluge had subsided. It is also well known, that the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of the tribes took place, about 2247 years before the commencement of the Christian era. This period sets a boundary to our retrospective inquiries. And consequently, it will be as vain for us to seek for the origin of any tribe or nation in any antecedent period, as it will be useless to attempt to derive them from any independent source.

But while it is admitted that no part of Britain could have been peopled until the dispersion took place, a diversity of opinion has been entertained, respecting the time that elapsed from the dispersion, until a colony was established in this island. The advocates for the most prevailing opinions, may be divided into two classes; those who contend for a colonization immediately from the plains of Shinar, and those who think that the migrating tribes moved on by slow and successive marches, as necessity compelled, or occasion allured, from the paternal seat, towards the regions in which they became stationary and resident. Those of the former class argue, that Britain was peopled at a much earlier period, than the latter are willing to allow; and the condition of Cornwall, and the state of its inhabitants, when the Phenicians first visited our shores, are urged as circumstances that favour their hypothesis.

It is contended on the contrary, that while the country which lay in the vicinity of Shinar, and while almost the whole continent of Europe was uninhabited, it is unreasonable to suppose, that mankind would remove at an unknown distance from their original residence, and finally take up their abode in an island, to which, from their ignorance in maritime affairs, it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that they could have access.

PROBABLE PERIOD WHEN CORNWALL WAS FIRST PEOPLED.

Dr. Borlase supposes, that "In all probability the island of Britain was not a long time uninhabited after its neighbouring nations, Gaul, Germany, and Spain, were once peopled; and, considering the temperate climates of these nations, the fertility of their soils, and the quick increase of mankind, but more especially the will of God, which plainly appears to have been, that what he had ordained for the use of man should be enjoyed, this cannot be supposed to be very long after the dispersion of mankind at Babel. Mankind, as they passed from one country to another, left none without inhabitants, there being hardly any situation or climate, which would not engage some particular tempers to settle in it; not to mention, that the aged and weary, with those whom they could influence, would willingly put an end to their journeyings. All this while, for the same reason that God at first dispersed them from Babel, his predisposing power made them curious to visit foreign countries, and anxious to form occasional settlements wherever they came."

For the mutual preservation both of man and beast, Dr. Borlase further contends, that this wandering disposition was necessary; and hence it is, that we find the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob, so unsettled, changing their country, and removing from place to place, as the want of provender urged, or the prospects of new discoveries incited them. Their mode of travelling, he supposes to be similar to that of the ancient Scythians, who lived in waggons, and were almost continually in a state of motion even down to the time of Augustus. "This custom of the Scythians," he adds, "I must observe, could be no new thing, no improvement of what was before; but was very likely the manner in which the dispersed from Babel conveyed their wives, children, and aged, and continued ever after so to do."

Stimulated by these principles, Dr. Borlase thinks, that immediately after the dispersion, it became the fashion of the age to emigrate; and from a persuasion that every region which was undiscovered, was more valuable than that which they actually possessed, after resting a little from the fatigues of travelling, they were again tempted to renew their journies. Nor were trifling impediments sufficient to check their progress. Mountains, he supposes to have been scaled, and rivers to have been forded, by the adventurers; while the more ingenious would readily contrive rafts and floats for the accomplishment of their purposes; and invent ships on principles which they had acquired from traditions which had reached them concerning Noah's ark, to convey them over lakes and seas.

Thus, according to Dr. Borlase's view of things, the increase of numbers, the natural curiosity of man, and the inability of the earth to support in one spot its augmenting inhabitants, before the invention of tillage; and above all, the

gracious design of God to have the earth peopled, all conspired to one important end. These combined circumstances induced their more ingenious mechanics and artists to invent new machines, and to improve old ones, to put their adventurous designs into execution; and the event has shewn with what varied success their distinct endeavours have been crowned. And that this must have happened very soon after the dispersion, nay at the very dispersion itself, he thinks will appear to every one who will give himself the trouble to survey the country of Mesopotamia; from whence, without boats, or some contrivance of the same kind, no people could convey themselves into any country beyond the great and navigable rivers of Tigris and Euphrates.*

In point of time, Mr. Polwhele's opinion coincides almost exactly with that of Dr. Borlase; but he supposes the first colonists to have been introduced into Britain in a very different manner; not by slow and tedious marches, from Mesopotamia to the western shores of the continent, but by making a bold adventure by sea from their neighbouring coasts, and by pursuing a perilous voyage until they reached the southern and western shores of Britain.

"If it be asked," says he, "at what period are we to fix the emigration from the east, or from the shores of Armenia to the British Isles?—I answer, that probably it was not long after the dispersion from Babel, at the destruction of the great monarchy or empire of Nimrod. Polydore Virgil recites the various traditions and accounts of the first peopling of Britain, and inclines to the opinion, that it was originally colonized not long after the dispersion. Humphrey Llhuyd quotes Aristotle de Mundo, addressed to Alexander the Great; where it is asserted, that Britain, which he calls Albion, was settled A. M. 2220, and was so named by the ancient inhabitants long before the Roman name was ever known in Britain.

"But without entering into conjectures on a period so remote, it seems unquestionable, that Britain, as well as Ireland, was peopled in very early times, from the eastern countries. The Danmonii, in short, are entitled beyond dispute, to rank among the most ancient nations of the world, as the Romans termed them Aborigines; that is, among the first race of mankind. The Romans never employed this expression in any other sense. This much for the peopling of the island, or rather the south-west parts of it. For I consider the south of Devonshire as actually colonized, while the rest of the island was yet a desert; and while even the opposite continent of Gaul, and the greater part of Europe, were uninhabited."†

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 7, 8.

† Historical Views of Devon, p. 10.

PROBABLE PERIOD WHEN CORNWALL WAS FIRST PEOPLED.

If we turn from the theories of Dr. Borlase and Mr. Polwhele, to consult the opinion of Mr. Whitaker, we shall be presented with a distinct hypothesis. The hypothesis of this venerable historian, he has supported, by a train of analogical reasonings, through which the peopling of Britain is brought down to a period, less remote than that which we have just surveyed. According to this hypothesis, no perilous voyage is presumed to have been undertaken; no concussion of Nature is introduced to make way for the ships of these daring adventurers, to pass from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic; and no stormy seas are presumed to be navigated by men, wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, in their strange expeditions to discover unknown lands, at a period when nearly all Europe was a desert. Neither are we compelled by the hypothesis of Mr. Whitaker, to suppose these first colonists of Britain to have proceeded in their instinctive career, over bogs and mountains; to ford rivers; to navigate lakes and seas; to leave the aged and infirm behind them; and to march with a degree of rapidity, which even the modern Tartars committing devastations in their rear, and following them in close pursuit, can scarcely be imagined to inspire. The progress of his reasonings, like that of the colonists, whose movements he describes, proceeds with a firm but steady step, and conducts us to a period, in which our inquiries may hope to enjoy repose.

"The first migration of the Gauls," says Mr. Whitaker, "that is recorded in history, was made in the reign of the elder Tarquin, and about 600 years before Christ. This was a double one. An expedition into Italy, and an invasion of Germany. And it was clearly after Britain had been peopled by the Gauls. As long as the latter had a vent for their growing numbers into the uninhabited regions of Spain or Britain, they could not have been obliged to turn back upon their progenitors behind them. The great current of European population, which had fallen for ages into the West, could not be compelled to return upon itself, till it had filled the whole of its extended channel, and found itself stopped in its progress by insuperable barriers. And the Gauls could not have chosen to enter Italy and invade Germany, where they were sure to encounter opposition, and where their settlements must be precarious from the uncertainty of their success, and exposed to danger from the remoteness of their countrymen; when all the region of Britain, in particular, lay open to them, was ready to receive their colonies, and by its daily appearance to the eye, seemed actually to invite them to it. At this period therefore, the island of Britain was certainly inhabited. And it must have been inhabited long before.

"When the Gauls first began to discharge their numbers into Britain, the island would naturally remain the great reservoir of the continent for ages.

Gradually, as the people multiplied to be troublesome, they would all find a safe and easy conveyance into Britain. And Gaul could not begin to be overburdened with her progeny, till the population of Britain was nearly completed, till the uninhabited parts of the island were too remote from the continent, or till the islanders were obliged, in their own defence, to forbid any future migrations into the country. This must have been the actual state of population in Britain, for some time before the expeditions of Bellovesus and Sigovesus from Gaul. And fresh colonies, for some time before, had ceased to find their way into Britain.

"The tribes of Gaul were now pent up within their own continent. And as the multiplication continued, and the former resources were exhausted, they were obliged at last to recoil upon the more easterly colonies, to explore an unpractised way over the snows and mountains of the Alps, and to open to themselves a new receptacle among the inhabitants of Italy and Germany. A long time therefore must have elapsed, before the superfluous numbers of Gaul could have filled up the greater part of the island, and have any occasion to prohibit the entrance of more into it. And some time must have intervened before the effect of this prohibition could have appeared upon the continent, and still more before it could have burst out in the great and necessary migrations into Germany and Italy. Four or five centuries must have passed betwixt the commencement of population in this island, and the era of those migrations on the continent. And the position is strikingly confirmed to us by the parallel history of Ireland, this island serving equally as a drain to Britain, and the population of it not being completed in less than five hundred years.

"This reasoning settles the first inhabitation of Britain about a thousand years before Christ; and about a thousand years before Christ, it is actually fixed by some of Richard's* authorities. And about the same period the progress of population, as far as it can be traced in the island, concurs with the argument to settle it. From the one reason it may be concluded, that the island was inhabited no less than this number of years before the Christian era. And from the other, it appears highly probable, that the island could not have been inhabited many years before it. And the coincidence of two such arguments, that derived from the state of population on the continent, and this deduced from the progress of it in the island, the concurrence of both with the authorities of history, and the convergence of all to one common point of time, give us as much certainty on the subject as we must ever expect in inquiries of this remote nature, and fix the migration of the Gauls into Britain, with as much precision as the difficulties of

* Richard of Cirencester.

the question will admit, about a thousand years before the coming of our Saviour, or about the reigns of David and Solomon among the Jews."*

Such is the nature, and such the progress, of Mr. Whitaker's reasoning, to ascertain the period when Britain received its first inhabitants; and such is the conclusion which he draws from it. According to this learned antiquarian, it appears, that about twelve hundred years were necessary, to bring onwards, from the banks of the Euphrates, by slow and steady movements, as an increase of population rendered an enlargement of territory indispensable, the masses of mankind which occasionally swarmed, and to fix them on those shores of the continent which lie in the vicinity of Britain. It was on these shores during the above period, that the inhabitants must have so far multiplied, that their superfluous numbers must have found their way across the Channel, and fixed their abodes on our southern and western shores.

To complete the population of this island, Mr. Whitaker's calculations allow between four and five hundred years; when no more inhabitants being either permitted or disposed to augment the colonists, the accumulating numbers were compelled to turn in another direction, and to find an asylum either on the shores of Italy, or among the forests of Germany. In both directions an expedition was undertaken; and in both regions the adventurers obtained settlements. These migrations to Germany and Italy, Mr. Whitaker, on the authority of Livy, asserts, to have been the first that the Gauls ever made in these recoiling directions.† And the same authority which determines these expeditions to have been undertaken in the days of the elder Tarquin, enables Mr. Whitaker to place the fact about six hundred years before the Christian era.

Strong and commanding as the preceding reasonings of Mr. Whitaker are, it must not however be dissembled, that the period which he has fixed for the first peopling of Britain is liable to some objections. But these objections may be easily obviated by placing the date which Mr. Whitaker has assigned, at a period still more remote, which may be easily done without affecting the principle on which his hypothesis rests; and if this be done, the observations which may now be made against what he has advanced, may be urged with equal, or even additional strength in his favour.

It has been objected, that while Mr. Whitaker fixes the first colonization of Britain a thousand years before Christ, he chiefly reposes, in determining this point, on the authority of Richard of Cirencester. Whereas the passage which Mr. Whitaker has cited from Richard, if taken in connexion with its context, which

* Genuine History of the Britons, pp. 30—32.

† Ibid. p. 24.

Mr. Whitaker has omitted, instead of leading us to determine when the island was first peopled, will direct us to a period when the inhabitants first began to trade with the Phenician merchants, which presupposes the parts which these merchants visited to have been peopled long before.

The obvious meaning of Richard, it is argued, doubtless is, that about A. M. 3000, and about a thousand years before Christ, this island was in general peopled, and cultivated in every part, insomuch that the Phenician and Greek merchants were beginning to trade with the natives. But who can imagine that a race of adventurers, just landed on a desert island, could find themselves immediately in a situation to establish a mercantile connexion of any kind, much less such an intercourse as the Phenician trade implies? By what divination, if the island had only then received its inhabitants, were they instantaneously directed to the minerals of Danmonium, whether those treasures were buried deeply in the bowels of the earth, or whether they lay not far below the surface of it? By what wonderful process could they so rapidly prepare their tin for exportation? Surely we might allow some time for the settling of emigrators on an unknown island—for clearing away part of its woods to make room for human habitations—for the culture of the soil, to supply the necessaries of life, before they looked for a discovery of its subterranean riches? Such a discovery is generally prompted by motives of avarice, of curiosity, or of luxury: motives which do not operate until the immediate wants of life are supplied. But after those productions of the earth were brought to light, could the natives have suddenly converted them into articles of commerce? And when the Danmonium tin was become a marketable commodity, was it not by a strange concurrence of circumstances, that a regular trade began that very moment with so remote a people as the Phenician merchants? Yet all these circumstances must have concurred, if the island was destitute of inhabitants until a thousand years before Christ. The only fair conclusion therefore to be drawn from this passage of Richard is, that so far from its being now first colonized, the island about a thousand years before Christ was well cultured and peopled; and that foreign merchants had begun to trade with its inhabitants. So that the passage in question, while it memorizes the fertility and populousness of the island, refers to the first establishment of the British commerce. As to the inhabitation of the island, it must necessarily have taken place many centuries before.*

It cannot be denied, that the objections contained in the preceding paragraph are really formidable against the supposition, that the trade of Cornwall with the

* Historical Views of Devon, pp. 7, 8.

Phenicians, and the period of its being first inhabited, commenced together. Much time must necessarily have been taken up from the era of its being first peopled, to that of the establishment of its trade. And consequently, if the authority of Richard directs us to the Phenician trade a thousand years before Christ, we cannot but admit that the island was peopled some ages before.

But this may easily be allowed, in perfect concurrence with Mr. Whitaker's hypothesis. For surely we may admit with the utmost safety, that some roving bands of adventurers might have left the interior of the continent, to explore its western shores, without waiting for the regular flow of accumulating population, which Mr. Whitaker has supposed. And we can easily conceive that such bands of adventurers might as well contrive vessels to convey themselves across the Channel fourteen hundred, as well as a thousand years before Christ. And we may admit this early emigration from the continent, agreeably to the principle of Mr. Whitaker's hypothesis, without being compelled in every step which we take, to attend to its regular movements. On this ground we may fairly allow all that the objection can demand, and what the hypothesis can easily spare without sustaining any injury, and thus transform opposition into a corroborating evidence. This alteration, it must be acknowledged, will imply a longer period than Mr. Whitaker has allowed for the peopling of the island. But several ages might have elapsed between the time, when the first band of adventurers crossed the Channel, and that in which they were visited by any of their forsaken countrymen, who might actually have gone from the shores of Gaul at the very time, and from the same causes which Mr. Whitaker has assigned. And we may thus give to Britain its repletion of inhabitants, about the period that Mr. Whitaker has noticed, from Livy, the migration of the Gauls into Germany and Italy to have taken place, namely, about six hundred years before the Christian era.

All this may be done without offering any violation to the hypothesis of Mr. Whitaker, and without compelling us to have recourse to those rapid marches which Dr. Borlase has supposed, which rather resemble the flight of a routed army, than the result of a gradual overflow of inhabitants, expanding itself on every side, to people the various territories of the globe. Thus may we secure the advantages of the hypothesis before us, without introducing the absurdities of any other, and without being compelled to encounter those difficulties to which it has been exposed, but which, from formidable objections may be made subservient to that cause they were intended to oppose.

But after all that can be advanced, either in favour of any particular hypothesis, or with a design to reconcile those which seem hostile to one another, it must be admitted, that a considerable degree of uncertainty accompanies all. The original

peopling of Britain, is a subject on which ancient history seems totally silent; so that the light of conjecture, issuing from distant facts, and existing analogies, is our only guide. These distant facts are, the universal Deluge, the re-peopling of the world from the offspring of Noah, and the dispersion of the tribes at Babel. But how long it was after this latter event took place, that Britain received its first colony, we have no means of determining with accuracy. The Phenicians visited this country at a very early period; perhaps not less than a thousand years before Christ; at which time this country was inhabited; and the people were in a condition to engage in trade, which shews that the colonists were not recent settlers. It must therefore have been between these two periods, namely, the dispersion of the tribes at Babel, and the first expedition of the Phenicians to this country, that Britain was peopled. It was on the shores of Cornwall and on the Scilly Islands that the Phenicians established their trade; and, from the conditions of the inhabitants, as we shall hereafter discover, we shall find reason to conclude that the earliest settlers fixed their habitations in these western parts.

CHAP. II.

Various Observations on the Government, Manners, Customs, and Employment of the Ancient Britons.

SECTION I.

Government, Legislators, and Laws.

WHILE man is in a state of nature, the history of his species is much the same in every portion of the globe. Dominion and submission are the most striking features in the human character; and hence it is, that among savage nations, we can discover nothing but tyrants and slaves. An inordinate attachment to dominion seems to be instinctive in the human bosom. Treachery and art are employed to acquire it; and when acquired, both fraud and force are exercised to retain, and to augment it.

The primitive inhabitants of Danmonium, which, as we have already seen, included Devon and Cornwall, were originally divided into two classes; these were the chiefs and the vassals. In a certain degree the power of the chief was unlimited; his dominion over his vassals was absolute; he might dispose of them at pleasure, as branches of his personal property; and command their services as the dictates of prudence, pride, or caprice might direct. Among these vassals no more than one class existed; the condition of all was precisely the same; they had no rights, besides those which were incorporated with the interests of their masters, who estimated their power by the extent of that dominion which they respectively exercised.

But besides these two classes, there was another race that was denominated free. These formed a kind of middle rank, having no power to rival any of the chiefs, and being inferior in number to the vassals. These however, were subject to certain laws, which even their acknowledged freedom would not permit them to disobey. For although they might acquire lands, retain them, reside on them, or dispose of them at pleasure, the chiefs of those districts in which they resided, had a right to command their services in cases of public emergency, and on all occasions to view them as subordinate to themselves.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

The most ancient form of government in the world was evidently patriarchal. This is too plain to require proof or admit denial. And whatever changes may have taken place among civil communities, its principles may be discovered among the savage nations of the earth, and traced through the page of history up to the earliest ages of mankind. In every form which human society has hitherto assumed, some of its branches are evidently incorporated; and, though apparently concealed under various disguises, we retain its principles while we discard the name, and cherish its essence in the varied peculiarities of legislation, dominion and law.

The leader of a colony naturally assumes to himself the character of a political parent; and in this capacity claims the right of dominion over all whom his persuasion can induce, or his power compel, to follow his fortunes in any adventurous expedition into a foreign land. When his enterprises are crowned with success, his earliest care will be to secure his ascendancy, if not to augment his power; and this can only be done by rewarding the valour of his voluntary associates, with the spoils of conquest, or a portion of dominion in the territory which they have acquired. It is under the influence of these general principles, that we perceive the origin of divisions in land, when first seized by an independent chief; and discover the reason why a division of property and power must necessarily be made by the principal leader among his subordinate chiefs. And from the whole we may fairly infer, that such divisions of property in Danmonium, were nearly coeval with the arrival of its first inhabitants.

Among the ancient Britons a division of property immediately introduced a separation between the chiefs, each of whom would naturally feel an attachment to the lot that was assigned him. The chief, on taking possession of his new inheritance, gathered round him his dependants, friends, and vassals, and this association formed a town or township. A number of townships formed a clan; a number of clans formed a cantred, and a number of cantreds formed a kingdom; over which the supreme chief presided, and from whose decision, in cases that were brought before him, there was no appeal.

Each township had its particular court of justice, in which a Druid presided, whose rank and dignity were always in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, and the consequence of the chief, with whom he was always careful to form an alliance. When cases of difficulty occurred, which these courts of justice were unable to decide, they were removed to the court of the cantred; and from hence, if occasion required, to the supreme court of all. In all of these courts the influence of the Druids was predominant. In every instance, a refusal to submit to their power was deemed an act of contumacy, the turpitude of which augmented,

as the disputed point was removed from an inferior to a superior court. And he, who, after the final decision of the supreme court, in which the Arch-Druid presided, refused to submit, was considered as opposing the will of the gods, and as such was excluded from their assemblies by excommunication. To be excommunicated, was to be excluded from the public sacrifices, which was considered as the greatest punishment that could possibly be inflicted; and as such it operated on the culprit. Whether vassal or lord, he was considered as a polluted person with whom no one would hold any intercourse; he was unable to commence any suit at law; to obtain any redress of grievances; to fill any public office; or to claim any protection of the law in case of personal injury.

But it was not merely in giving explanation to their laws, that the power of the Druid was conspicuous. It was his duty and his interest to connect religion with legislation, and to make it understood that he acted under the immediate direction of the gods. In the formation of the laws the Druid was always consulted; and that these might be rendered sacred in the eyes of the people, and in reality conformably to his own will, his earliest care was to consult the gods, to whom alone he had access. It was through him that the gods returned their answers, in which both the chief and his vassals generally placed an unlimited confidence; and consequently, they considered his responses as the immediate effects of divine inspiration. It is not difficult to infer from hence, that the power, even of the supreme chief, was only possessed in a limited degree. The influence of the Druid could always overrule it, either by giving to it a new direction, or by counteracting it altogether.

Nor was it in times of peace alone that the Druids were the principal directors of the state. In seasons of war their influence was still greater. With hostile armies their gods were presumed to be peculiarly present; and no movement could be made, no expedition could be undertaken, no important affairs transacted, without their concurrence; and it was only through the Druids that any knowledge could be obtained, either of their sanction or disapprobation. Hence it was, that their king or chief had no power to inflict punishment, even on his soldiers, without first consulting them; and neither he nor his troops had any reason to expect a victory, unless they were first assured from the Druids, that such was the destiny of heaven. Accordingly, when in the field, it was in the power of these men to make the armies advance or retreat; and even in the midst of the severest conflicts, by animating the soldiers to victory with hopes and prospects of future glory, they frequently rendered the combat still more fierce and bloody. On the same principle, however, it is easy to perceive, that by their interposition, they could blunt the edge of war, and prevent the effusion of blood,

by announcing to the eager combatants that such was the will of heaven. Much therefore, both in war and peace, in government and law, in the administration of justice, and in domestic tranquillity, depended upon the natural disposition, the talents, and the will of the Druids who resided in the district, and presided thus over the affairs of state.

The places in which their affairs were debated, their laws enacted, and their judgments pronounced, were generally in the open air, and frequently in places which had been consecrated to religion. Even the place itself, by throwing an air of solemnity over their proceedings, rendered the connexion which subsisted between the Druids and the gods still more visible and important, and augmented their influence in the same proportion as it riveted the chains of superstition. These places, which served the joint purposes of government and religion, were variously situated, and variously formed. Sometimes the summits of hills were chosen, and sometimes their sloping declivities; sometimes circles of stones, or solitary pillars, marked the sacred spot; and occasionally circular mounds of earth, inclosing an area which formed an amphitheatre, distinguished these seats of justice and of superstition. To these places, thus consecrated, the term *Gorseddau* was frequently given;—a word, which, in the Cornish language, was expressive of its use, *Gorsedd* signifying a seat of judgment.

Of these *Gorseddau* many vestiges are still to be found in Cornwall. "In a village," says Dr. Borlase, "called *Mên Perhen*, in Constantine parish, there stood, about five years since, a large pyramidical stone, twenty feet above the ground, and four feet under the ground: it made above twenty stone posts for gates, when it was cloven up by the farmer who gave me this account. In the sides of Sharpy Tor in Linkinhorne, and Wringcheese in the parish of St. Cleer, I observed many large stones of a rude columnar shape, now lying prostrate; but formerly, without doubt, erect, consecrated to superstition, and by their talness serving to make these crags, so rough by nature, still more forked and bristly."*

There is something in the appearance of an enormous rock, when of a singular form, that impresses the uncultivated mind with a degree of silent solemnity, and communicates an undefinable emotion to its hopes and fears. To the more enlightened, a spot that has been consecrated to religious rites, communicates a species of reverential awe, which the lapse of departed ages matures to veneration.

The stupendous rocks which Dr. Borlase has noticed above, had thus been set apart for the double purpose of religious solemnities, and national deliberations. It was natural therefore, on all occasions of importance, for the people who

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 162.

assembled, to consider their transactions as taking place in the immediate presence of their deities, which these sacred rocks either enshrined, or of which they were probably deemed the immediate representatives. All things conspired to consecrate the gloom which their presence occasioned, while the portentous shadows which they cast around them, by giving a sanction to the mystic incantations of the Druids, must have given new power to their pretended divinations.

On Carn-bre Hill, in the vicinity of Redruth, one of these Gorseddau still remains. This, Dr. Borlase has described, as a sacred elevation from which the neighbouring Druids pronounced their decrees; and closely connected, as it evidently is, with rock basons, circles, remains of ancient cromlehs, karnes, a religious enclosure, and some vestiges of a grove of oaks, with almost the whole apparatus of druidical worship, we can scarcely conceive any thing better calculated than its situation, to ratify the credulity of the vulgar; or to procure for men already denominated infallible, the additional credit of being the sacred delegates of an invisible agent.

Besides these rocks, Cornwall still bears many memorials of a similar nature with respect to their uses, although they are formed of less durable materials. The remains of some circles formed of earth are still visible in several parts; and the situation of others still lives in remembrance, although they have yielded to the corroding hand of time. At a place called *Plan-an-guare*, in Redruth, there were, according to Dr. Pryce, till very lately, the evident remains of an amphitheatre, vulgarly denominated *The Round*. In the parishes of Perran and St. Just, two amphitheatres are still conspicuous. That indeed in St. Just, which is near the church, has of late years sustained some serious injury; but that of Perran has so far escaped the devastations of time, as to afford a distinct view of its original distinguishing peculiarities. Of this round, or circle, we shall hereafter take more distinct notice, when we come to survey the parish in which it is situated. In the mean while it is to be observed, that though the primary appropriation of these circles was of a religious nature, for the purpose of acting interludes and dramatical representations, yet there can be little doubt that they served also as courts of judicature, since religion and government in all their proceedings, were almost inseparably linked together, if not blended by a mutual incorporation.

It has been already observed, that in times of war the Druids frequently attended the armies to the field of battle. It must not however be understood, that they were compelled to these services by law. According to the laws which they promulgated, which no one disputed their right to explain, and which they

professed to have received from the gods, their persons were deemed too sacred to be compelled to bear their parts in the toils of battle; and the same mysterious authority exempted them from contributing towards the support of civil government. If they attended, it was from choice, not from compulsion; it was from a sense of duty, of which they were the only judges, and to preserve their authority; it was to promote the interest of their order, and to convince the tribes over whom they presided, that those of their sacred order were "subject to the gods alone."

Between the Druids and the chiefs, it must be evidently necessary from these general descriptions, that a good understanding should be preserved. With this fact both parties were well acquainted; they understood their common business, and managed their affairs with no contemptible dexterity. On all occasions that tended to promote their common interest, they had nothing to fear from "the law's delay," or "the insolence of office." What the chief proposed, the Druid was ready to ratify; the god was immediately consulted, and a pleasing result was always the will of heaven.

But although the Druids were placed beyond the influence of those laws which were binding on common mortals, they had certain rules among themselves. They had their distinct orders, rising in regular gradation, through townships, clans, and cantreds, over which an Arch-Druid presided, in the principal town belonging to each district or kingdom. It was from him that all the inferior orders received their appointments, and by him that those vacancies were filled up which were occasionally made by death. Some accounts have stated, that, in order to give a sanction to his proceedings, nothing was done in these appointments but by the authority of twenty-five flamens, or principal priests; but the existence of such a council has been much doubted. It is ascertained, on more substantial authority, that the Druids, or some delegates selected from among them, and charged with the wishes of those by whom they were appointed, met annually to adjust their more public and general affairs. But whether by these general meetings we are to understand a general meeting for each kingdom, or a more public one that should embrace all the Druids or delegates from them throughout the island, we have no means of knowing. Each opinion has its advocates. Those who contend for such general meetings as include only a single kingdom, fix for the west, the place of their association at Exeter, in which the supreme chief, and the Arch-Druid of Danmonium resided. But those who argue in favour of an assemblage from the whole island, suppose the place of rendezvous to be on Salisbury Plain, and they consider Stonehenge to have been appropriated to this purpose, if not primarily erected for it.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE DRUIDS.

It is well known, from the attestations of history, that the Druids in Gaul held an annual assembly; to which place, all the Druids who had business to transact, constantly resorted. The place in which this meeting was held, according to Cesar, was in the country of the Carnutes, a central situation lying between the Loire and Seine, where these rivers approach nearest to each other; where a spot was consecrated for their purpose, and annually visited from the most distant parts. As this was the case in Gaul, analogy says that it might be so in Britain. The plains of Salisbury are not without their central advantages; and the existence of Stonehenge, which Mr. Bryant in his analysis, conceives to be coeval with the pyramids of Egypt, if not the oldest monument in the world, seems to transform analogy into fact.

But while the laws, which regulated the appointment of the inferior orders among the Druids, concentrated their power, either in the Arch-Druid, or in the council over which he presided, they leave another point, of no mean importance, still for examination. This point is no less than the election of a successor to the Arch-Druid himself, when summoned by death to join the sleep of his fathers.

If, on the death of the Arch-Druid, any one among the subordinate of the order had rendered himself famous by any particular exploits, by the austerity of his life, the singularity of his manners, or the veneration which age itself sometimes confers, the suffrages were at once given in his favour, without any opposition. But if it so happened, that in the public estimation several were thought to have an equal claim to this exalted office, a contest immediately ensued between the rivals; and when friendship and interest were found insufficient to decide in favour of either, the contending parties had recourse to arms. On such melancholy occasions, the chiefs were called upon to render their assistance to these competitors, who, though avowedly acting in direct opposition to one another, assured them that such was the declaration of the gods. In these contests much blood was sometimes shed, and it was only till victory finally decided in favour of one of the contending parties, that the election of the successful candidate terminated the unhappy controversy. This mode of conduct, we are assured by Cesar, was pursued on such occasions in Gaul; and we can hardly suppose that the Druids of Britain, who were of the same order, were actuated by different principles.*

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 82.

SECTION II.

Habitations, and Domestic Accommodations, Manners and Peculiarities.

The habitations of the ancient Britons were of two kinds; namely, caves and houses. Of the ancient British caves, Dr. Borlase describes three in Cornwall. The first is in the tenement of Bolleit, in the parish of Buryan; the second in the tenement of Bodinar, in the parish of Sancreed; and the third is in Pendaen Garden, in St. Just, in the hundred of Penwith. The first of these caves is seven feet high at the entrance, and about thirty-six from one extremity to the other. The second is rather less; being about five feet high, and as many wide, and about twenty feet in length. The third is more complicated, having several parts communicating with one another, by steps and distinct entrances. Of several other caves the remains may still be traced in various parts; and no doubt a far greater number originally existed, of which no vestiges now remain.

These caves, Dr. Borlase supposes to have been only places of occasional residence, to which the inhabitants retired when the ground was either frozen, or covered with snow. But their principal use he conceives to be that of affording to the aged and helpless, places of secure retreat in times of war, and of enabling them to conceal their provisions and most valuable articles from their enemies in seasons of imminent danger. In the vicinity of these caves it is generally supposed that some British towns or villages originally stood, since in some instances a few vestiges have been discovered; and it is reasonable to infer, that what was the case in some instances, was in similar ones the case in all. But as the towns and villages were more exposed to the influence of the weather, and to the ravages of time, than these subterraneous vaults, it furnishes us with a reason why some memorials of the latter continue, while those of the former have wholly disappeared.

Their towns, or rather their villages, were a confused parcel of huts, placed at a small distance from each other; and, generally speaking, in the middle of a wood, of which the avenues were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with trees that were cut down to clear the ground. Diodorus Siculus, when speaking of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons, says—"Their houses are made of reeds or wood;" and Strabo observes, that "Their woods served them for cities; for, having cut down trees, and enclosed them with a large round spot of ground, they there built huts for themselves, and folds for their cattle."*

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 74.

Mr. Whitaker describes the habitations of the ancient Britons, as large cabins of a circular form, built chiefly of timber, upon foundations of stone, and overlaid with a sloping roof, that was covered over with reeds, or the skins of beasts. It was not always however, that the ancient Britons adhered to this circular form. Sometimes their houses assumed a square appearance, were of a more enlarged dimension, and were built with different materials, such as the neighbouring country more plentifully afforded. But whether these large square buildings, of which the floors were sometimes rudely paved, were designed for human habitations, or as places of security for the cattle, from the depredations of wild beasts, the lapse of time renders it impossible for us fully to ascertain.

"In the mean time, we are not to imagine, that the Danmonians could boast no structure superior to the habitations already described. The houses we have noticed were only those of the common people. And doubtless there was a great distinction between the dwellings of the chiefs and the villains. The lord's mansion was, as our superior houses remained in the last century, all constructed of wood, on a foundation of stone; was one ground story; and composed a large oblong and squarish court. A considerable part of it was taken up by the apartments of such as were retained more immediately in the service of the seignior. And the rest which was more particularly his own habitation, consisted of one great, and several little rooms. In the great room was his armoury; the weapons of his fathers, the gifts of friends, and the spoils of his enemies, being disposed in order along the walls. Such is the dwelling of the chieftain in the Scottish Isles."*

As the Druids were not inferior to the chiefs in power, we have no reason to believe that they were behind them in the dignity of their habitations. Cesar considers them as forming the first rank of British nobility. "There were two sorts," he observes, "of nobles in Britain; the one sacred, the other civil, or rather military. The first order of the nobility was that of the Druids, the second of the Equites."† These Druids, another author to whom Dr. Borlase refers, represents as "sitting on thrones of gold, as living in large palaces, and faring sumptuously: and if, he adds, we may credit a modern author, the ruins of the Druid palace in the country of the Carnutes, where the annual assembly for the Gaulish Druids was held, are still plainly to be seen, and considerable in themselves."‡

But while the habitations of the lower orders were occasionally scattered in almost every direction, without any regard to order or regularity, the situations of the chiefs were selected with much judgment and care; and these situations,

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 39. † Cited by Borlase's Antiquities, p. 80. ‡ Ibid. p. 81.

from their being the places in which the chiefs resided, determined the spot on which the town or village was to be erected. Sometimes the summit of a hill became the object of the chieftain's choice; but more frequently some particular declivity was selected, that afforded shelter from the storms, and promised without much inconvenience, a constant supply of water. On the lower grounds the tenants and vassals of the chieftain erected their habitations; the whole of which were so disposed as to be under his immediate eye, and constantly under his command. These were so arranged as to form a mutual defence to one another; so that the whole assemblage exhibited the appearance of a fortified town under the protection of a castle which was erected to defend it; and as such the early towns of the Britons have in general been described.

But although the mansion in which the chief resided, was surrounded by woods not easily penetrated, and contained the principal military works which any clanship could boast, it was far from being in a state of perfect security. For being placed on the side of a hill, although it commanded the houses which extended along the valley, an enemy might overrun the neighbouring country, and, unless rendered inaccessible by the surrounding woods, attack it by surprise. To guard against such a calamity, it was not unusual for beacons to be established on the more elevated heights belonging to the clan; from which, in seasons of danger, a signal of alarm might be given by the centinels stationed on them. These signals communicating with one another, would almost instantaneously spread intelligence of an approaching enemy, and place the whole cantred under arms. Thus equipped they were prepared for the assault, and had an opportunity of meeting the assailants upon equal terms.

According to Strabo, the ancient Britons far exceeded the Gauls in bodily stature, but they were not so well set. He adds, that he saw at Rome some of their youth, who were taller than other men by six inches. And Diodorus Siculus observes, that they lay up corn in granaries in the ear, of which they take no more than the necessities of the passing day require. He represents them as simple and upright in their dealings, and strangers to the craft and subtlety of his countrymen: that their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; that they are satisfied with a mean and frugal diet; and that their island abounds with men. Pomponius Mela says, that Britain is well peopled, but that the inhabitants are all rough and unpolished; and that the farther they live from the continent the less are they acquainted with foreign riches, theirs abounding chiefly in cattle. He adds, that they die their bodies with woad of a sky colour; but whether this be done by way of ornament, or for some other

reason, is very uncertain.* These characteristic features must be considered as almost exclusively applying to the Britons who peopled our southern and western shores, since of the more northern inhabitants the same authors give us a distinct and very different description.

It has already been observed that the mansion of the chief and the habitations of his dependants, were in general encircled by forests, which, in these rude and barbarous ages, afforded them no contemptible security. We cannot however but suppose, that through these forests some passages must have been left open; since, without these, no communication between the different clans could have been preserved, and even the beacons would be rendered useless. The fires when lighted on the elevated heights, must not only have summoned the warriors to arms, but must have been to them a signal to leave their habitations, and to repair to some advantageous ground in order to meet and repel the invading foe. And as a natural consequence, some passages must have been left open to facilitate their march, and to lead them to some spot convenient for their common union. We may therefore naturally conclude, that roads or passages through the woods were as necessary for their marches in seasons of hostility, as needful for the concerns of their domestic commerce in times of peace.

As a circulating medium, it is asserted on the authority of Cesar, that the ancient Britons used copper or iron plates, which were weighed out by a certain standard. Their domestic trade however, must have been inconsiderable, since their diet was simple, and the use of clothes was but partially known among them. In the articles of dress however, various customs prevailed among the different tribes, in the production of which the variation of climate was not without its influence. Strabo describes the dress of the Danmonians as consisting of a long flowing robe, made of wool, reaching down to their feet, and having sleeves that were fastened round their wrists. Others again assert, that only the inhabitants of the southern coasts covered their nakedness with skins of beasts carelessly thrown over them, and that this was done, not so much to shelter their bodies from the inclemencies of the weather, as to avoid giving offence to strangers who came to purchase their commodities.† But it is agreed by all, that the Danmonian soldiers appeared naked in battle.

When disengaged from wars, the activities of the chace occupied no small share of their attention. For these exercises they were amply provided. The forests which surrounded their habitations were stocked with wild fowl, and the

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 74.

† Historical Views of Devon, p. 200. And Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 74.

adjacent plains and mountains supported various animals in great abundance, which at once furnished them with employment, and supplied them with food. Among those which furnished employment, we may observe wild boars, bears, and wolves, for with these the island abounded. Wild bulls also, of a milk-white colour, with large flowing manes, roamed at large in vast numbers through the forests. And from the depredations which these various animals in their turns committed, both prudence and inclination induced the inhabitants to wage continual war with them. Among the animals which served them for food, the red deer may be considered as bearing a conspicuous rank. It has also been thought, that an animal either of the same species as the moose of America, or strongly resembling it, was once an inhabitant of our western forests. And this opinion has been confirmed by the enormous horns, and peculiar bones, which several parts of this county have afforded. But this species of deer has long since been extinct in Europe, though in many countries we have the most convincing memorials that this animal was once an inhabitant of them.

In following the chief to his habitation, we shall be introduced to scenes strongly resembling those which Ossian has described. In some dignified part of the sounding hall, surrounded by his guests and family, the British chief took his seat, and listened to the melody of the harp, the songs of the bards, and the tales of other times. In the midst of this hall the domestic flame ascended, the smoke of which escaped through an aperture left in the roof for this purpose.*

To roast their venison they laid it on a bed of fire, made in general with fern, and upon their meat they kindled another, separating each from their venison by a layer of smooth flat stones. In this state it remained, until sufficiently roasted, when the guests were summoned to partake of the banquet. At this repast, the guests, instead of being accommodated with benches or other seats, sat down on the floor, which, for their reception, was covered with the skins of wolves or other animals, that served instead of carpets. In the midst of the circle which they formed, their venison was placed, from which each person took his portion. During this repast the guests were waited on by the youths of both sexes, whose duty it was to attend to their commands, and supply their various wants. And when the hour of retirement arrived, both males and females repaired to one common apartment, which furnished the family with all the accommodations that their simple modes of life required.

At the simple banquets of the ancient Britons, water and milk constituted their common beverage; to which, on certain occasions, metheglin was added, to regale

* "The roof of his dreadful hall is marked with nightly fires."—*Ossian*, (CATH-LODA) Vol. I. p. 14.

the guests. On days of extraordinary festivity, they introduced ale, which they denominated *cumri*. The art of making this liquor was known in Egypt soon after the dispersion, and it was introduced as a substitute for the juice of the grape, to the growth of which that country was unfavourable. And from its being known in Britain at so early a period, it has been strongly urged, that the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall must be of distant eastern extraction. It was from this *cumri*, while in a state of fermentation, that they collected the spume, with which they rendered their bread light and elastic. This spume they called *barm*, or *burm*, or *burmen;* a name which has travelled down in the Cornish language through every succeeding age; and, among the general mass of the inhabitants, yeast is known by no other name than *barm* or *burm*, even to the present day.

In their connubial engagements, the manners of the ancient Britons were strictly patriarchal. Their virgins were deemed marriageable at fourteen; but even at that age and afterwards, they were always considered as entirely at the disposal of their parents, whose directions it was their imperious duty to obey. Whenever a lover proceeded to take possession of the object of his wishes, instead of endeavouring to awaken in her bosom a sympathetic flame, he presented himself to her father, made known his intentions, and demanded his daughter in marriage. The affair was shortly decided. If he was rejected, no other avenues were open; but if he was accepted, he was taken apart, and after some little time, introduced into the private retirement of the daughter. A consummation of the nuptials soon followed these preliminary steps; the simplicity of their manners precluding the necessity of all tedious preparations for their future accommodation. It does not appear that polygamy was ever practised among the ancient Britons; so that in this respect they differed considerably from the oriental nations, how much soever they might concur with them, and with the customs of all barbarous nations, in keeping their wives in a state of the most servile subjection.

But although the ancient Britons abstained from polygamy, according to the general acceptation of the term, it does not appear to have arisen from any abstemiousness of manners, since a more abominable vice was practised in another form. One custom, we are informed by Cesar, prevailed among them, which seemed detestable to other nations; this was, for ten or twelve men, brothers or intimate friends, to have their wives in common. The offspring of this promiscuous intercourse, was however not provided for in common; the children being considered exclusively his who originally married the mother. This custom, which had prevailed from time immemorial, continued among them some time after the Romans were masters of the island. And so far were the ladies who

submitted to this outrage, from considering it as degrading to their character, that they hesitated not to avow the practice, even before foreigners. Hence, Diodorus Siculus informs us, that a British lady being upbraided with this usage by Julia, wife to the emperor Severus, returned her this very smart reply:—"Surely the Roman ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, since we do publicly with the best of men, no more than they do privately with the worst of their freed men and slaves."*

This custom appears to have been exclusively of British practice, if not exclusively of British origin. It was distinct from the marriages of the Gauls, and can find no parallel in any of the western nations. It does not appear that the approbation of the wife was ever consulted by the husband. His will was law; and his wife had nothing more to do than quietly to submit to his arbitrary dictates. That this should alienate the affections of the wife, and stimulate her to seek revenge, we may easily suppose, without violating any rule of propriety. And if the measures which were taken to guard against such retaliations, may be gathered from the jealousies which followed them through life, and the severities with which they were sometimes punished, we have reason to believe, that suspicions arising from a consciousness of guilt in the husband, where no evidence of criminality in the wife could be found, must have embittered their domestic moments. It is stated on the authority of Selden, that upon the death of any man of note, his friends caused a strict inquiry to be made into the cause of it; and if either his wife or any of her friends were found accessary to his death, they were immediately proceeded against with fire and other torments. It is to this custom that Lord Coke refers the origin of our English law, which orders a woman that has murdered her husband to be burned.†

SECTION III.

Arts, Amusements, and Modes of Warfare of the ancient Britons.

The county of Cornwall was visited in so early a period of its history, by the Phenicians and Greeks, that it is almost impossible to discriminate with accuracy, between the arts and amusements which were purely of British origin, and those that were introduced by their mercantile visitors.

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 74.

† See Authors cited by Mr. Polwhele, in his Historical Views of Devon, p. 200.

In the art of navigation, it does not appear that they had made any proficiency worthy of notice, until they were visited by the Phenicians. Prior to this period, their vessels were so badly constructed, and so small, that they were not calculated for any thing more than coasting voyages. These vessels, we are informed, had their keels and ribs made of slight timbers, but how these were fastened together, we are not informed. Between the ribs of these vessels they interwove small pliable rods of a convenient size, so that the whole appeared to be a species of wicker work, bearing some resemblance to a large hurdle. This wicker work was covered over with the skins of beasts, which they united together so as to exclude the water, in a manner perfectly corresponding with those boats which are still in use on the Red Sea. In these vessels it was scarcely possible for them to undertake any perilous voyages; and it is highly probable that they never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of Gaul.*

The arrival of the Phenicians in ships, which, compared with their osier vessels, must have been immensely large, must have filled them with astonishment: and no doubt, after the novelty had subsided, have called forth all their mechanical powers to copy so interesting an example. For it is scarcely to be conceived, that the Britons would have remained satisfied with their original contrivances through a series of ages, while the well made ships of the Phenicians, by riding at anchor in their harbours, continually invited them to imitation. This period may therefore be considered as forming an important era in the maritime affairs of the Danmonians.

We must not however imagine, that they abandoned at once the rude boats of their ancestors. The prejudices in favour of practices which antiquity has rendered venerable, are not easily eradicated. Innovations are always viewed with suspicions; and it is not till repeated experiments have proved the utility of alterations, that they are adopted with implicit confidence. When the Romans first landed, the osier boats and vessels were not wholly relinquished. Cesar has described them; but it is highly probable that he has described them as being wholly of British origin. Of any improvements which had been made, he takes no notice; either because he had not visited the western coasts, to which the Phenicians resorted, or because he was unwilling to give any unnecessary importance to the nations with whom they had held an intercourse for many preceding ages.

The same reason which prevents us from knowing to what extent the original inhabitants were indebted to foreign intercourse for their improvements in

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 76.

maritime concerns, may be assigned for our ignorance of the internal manufactures of the country. It appears almost certain, that they were originally acquainted with the use of wool, which in a coarse and rude manner they contrived to spin and weave, and which, in addition to the skins of beasts, occasionally furnished them with clothing. The Druids have been represented as wearing long white garments. Whether the Britons had any knowledge of the use of hemp and flax, before they were visited by foreign nations, seems rather uncertain. The supposition in favour of the fact has its advocates and its difficulties; and we must be content to leave the affair in a state of indecision.

That the art of dying was not unknown among them, may be fairly inferred from the methods which they took to stain or paint their bodies. But whether they made any transfer of this art from their bodies to their occasional clothing, may be considered as very doubtful. The art of dying was undoubtedly very ancient. It was known to Israel, who made for Joseph "a coat of many colours;" and the Tyrian purple has been celebrated throughout the world. Some rude colours the Britons originally had, but for their knowledge of variety in this art it seems probable that they were indebted to the Phenicians and other foreign nations.

Of the use of metals we cannot suppose that the ancient Britons were ignorant. The tin which they procured, manufactured, and sold to the Phenicians, many ages before Cesar visited these shores, affords a decisive proof that they were well acquainted with this article. And from their weapons, which consisted of spears, daggers, battle-axes, swords, bow and arrows, helmets, shields, and scythes, we cannot but conclude that they were well acquainted with many other metals. Among the remains of the Britons which have been found in this county, several articles of brass and copper have been discovered. To iron, it is well known they were no strangers; although, from the value which they set upon it, it is evident that it was less plentiful than many other metals. With silver and gold they were not unacquainted, as may be clearly demonstrated from the booty with which the Romans were rewarded when they conquered this island. And although it may be asserted, that the coins which they possessed were formed after their intercourse with the Phenicians and Greeks, yet it is unreasonable to believe that these nations would have brought the precious metals to barter for tin, while they had so many articles that must have been of a far more desirable nature, as well as of more real intrinsic value. But that their gold could not have been originally imported, is clearly established by the golden hooks with which the Druids gathered the mistletoe from the oak. These instruments were evidently in use long before any foreign nations visited the Cornish shores; which shews that

not only the metal was found by them in this country, but that they had artificers among them capable of making such instruments as they wanted.

Their ingenuity in the use of timber, may be gathered from their construction of the war-chariot; and the formation of this engine of destruction proves with equal clearness that they must have been well acquainted with the use of tools which could only be formed of the harder metals. The formation of the wheel, the polish of the axle-tree, and the hollow made to receive it, required instruments, which, in a state of perfect barbarism, the Britons can hardly be thought to have possessed. Such machines and instruments furnish us with a presumptive evidence, that their residence had been long established, and that they were in a state of advanced progression towards comparative civilization and refinement, when the Roman eagles lighted upon our shores.

Among the various amusements which have distinguished Cornwall, although there are several of considerable antiquity, there are very few that can be traced up to the aboriginal Britons. That which is known with the greatest certainty, was their inordinate attachment to hunting; and, for the indulgence of this propensity, they were amply furnished with the necessary means. Of the wild beasts which roamed through the forests, we have already taken notice; their dogs are entitled to a few remarks.

According to Mr. Whitaker, the primitive British dogs were five in number; these were, the great household dog, the greyhound, the bull-dog, the terrier, and the southern hound. The species last mentioned, he describes as being originally plentiful in the south-west; but as being at present confined to the vicinity of Manchester, and consequently as verging towards extinction in this country, like the animals which in all probability they originally pursued. The southern hound is at present distinguished by its being large and slow; but before the species began to degenerate, it was much larger in size, and so much slower in its motions, that it was not sufficiently fleet to overtake either the boar, the wolf, or the deer. From these circumstances it has been inferred, that some animal proportionably bulky, and proportionably slow, must have been the object of its pursuit. This object Mr. Polwhele conceives, could have been only the British segh, or moose, to which alone those enormous horns and bones could belong, that have been found in many parts of this country. "When therefore," he adds, "the segh inhabited the forests of Devon, the segh dog employed in the pursuit of this enormous animal, was the favourite companion of the Danmonian hunter.

"Of the birds that furnished amusement to the Danmonian sportsman, perhaps the eagle was not unfrequently pursued from height to height. While our woods

were deep and extensive enough to afford covert to the eagle, this bird was undoubtedly an inhabitant of Devon and Cornwall. It hath left its name, indeed, in *Killigrew*, the *grove of eagles;* whence we may presume that it was once an inmate of the place. The eagle was shot, I suppose, with arrows. But the Danmonians were principally fond of hawking, or falconry. Every British chief maintained a number of birds for the sport. Ossian mentions

"A hundred hawks with fluttering wing that fly across the sky." *

To the preceding species of hunting, or the pursuing of beasts and birds, we may add the exercise of wrestling; which, though in all probability not of British origin, is of very remote antiquity in this county, and may therefore be reckoned among the early amusements of the ancient Britons. Of this exercise, and its probable origin, Dr. Borlase speaks in the following language:

"Among the general customs, we must not forget the manly exercises of wrestling and hurling; the former more generally practised in this county than in any part of England, the latter peculiar to it. The Cornish have been remarkable for their expertness in athletary contentions for many ages, as if they inherited the skill and strength of their fabulous duke Corinæus, whose fame consisted chiefly in the reputation he won by wrestling with and overcoming the giant Gog-Magog; and that fable perhaps founded five hundred years since, upon the then acknowledged and universal reputation of the people of this county for wrestling. But to leave fables; what should have implanted this custom in such a corner of Britain, and preserved it hitherto in its full vigour, when either never affected at all, or with indifference in other parts of the island, we cannot say; certain it is, the Grecians, who traded hither for tin, and hither only, had the highest esteem for this exercise. The arts of the *Palaestra* were chiefly cultivated by the Lacedemonians; and yet Plato himself among the Athenians, was so far from disapproving the exercise, that he recommends it to the practice of old as well as young, that thereby they might become more patient of labour, and learn to struggle with the difficulties incident to a warlike state, The ardour for this exercise so prevailed at last, that all Greece devoted their time and inclinations to the *Gymnasia* and *Palaestra*, and chose rather to be accounted the most expert wrestlers, than to be celebrated as the most knowing and valiant commanders. Whether the Cornish borrowed this custom from the Grecians, or

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 204.

whatever was the cause, you shall hardly any where (as Mr. Carew observes, p. 76) meet with a party of boys who will not readily entertain you with a specimen of their skill in their profession."*

Of the practice of hurling, which Dr. Borlase observes, is peculiar to this county, it is scarcely possible to trace the origin. It is known to be ancient; but in what age it startled into existence, or from what source it took its rise, we can have nothing to guide us but the glimmerings of conjecture. It is possible that it might have originated among the ancient clans; and, in order to keep alive the local attachment of their respective vassals, it is easy to conceive that each chief would endeavour to promote an exercise so well calculated for the purpose, and serving at the same time as a criterion to measure the strength of the rival party.

"Hurling," continues Dr. Borlase, "is a trial of skill and activity between two parties, of twenty, forty, or any indeterminate number; sometimes betwixt two or more parishes; but more usually, and indeed practised in a more friendly manner, betwixt those of the same parish; for the better understanding which distinction, it must be premised, that betwixt those of the same parish there is a natural connexion supposed, from which no one member can depart, without forfeiting all esteem. As this unites the inhabitants of a parish, each parish looks upon itself as obliged to contend for its own fame, and oppose the pretensions and superiority of its neighbours.

"It is so termed, from throwing or hurling a ball, which is a round piece of timber, covered with plated silver, sometimes gilt. It has usually a motto in the Cornish tongue, alluding to the pastime, as *Guare wheag, yw Guare teag;* i. e. *fair play is good play*. Upon catching this ball when it is dealt, that is, thrown up, and carrying it off expeditiously, notwithstanding all the opposition of the adverse party, success depends. This exercise requires force and nimbleness of hand, a quick eye, swiftness of foot, skill in wrestling, strength and breath to persevere in running, address to deceive and evade the enemy, and judgment to deliver the ball into proper hands, as occasion shall offer. In short, a pastime that kindles emulation in the youthful breast, and like this, requires so general an exertion of all the faculties of the body, cannot but be of great use to supple, strengthen, and particularly tend to prepare it for all the exercises of the camp." †

Besides these athletic exercises of the ancient Britons, if indeed hurling may be ascribed to them, which will admit of considerable doubts, they had other amusements of the dramatic kind, which, "from the dust called up the sleeping

* Borlase's Natural History, p. 300. † Ibid.

hero." These dramatic representations generally took place in the open air, in those circular enclosures, which as courts of judicature we have already noticed. In these enclosures, or rounds, of which we have many in Cornwall, the actors appeared, in the midst of the vast assembly that filled the circle round them. These circles were of various dimensions, differing, it is probable, with the diversified population of the respective neighbourhoods. That which is at St. Just, in Penwith, is one hundred and twenty-six feet in diameter, it is perfectly circular, and had six seats or benches for the accommodation of the audience. In these amphitheatres, says Dr. Borlase, "the Britons did usually assemble to hear plays acted, and to see the sports and games, which, upon particular occasions, were intended to amuse the people, to quiet and delight them."* The characters which were introduced were in all probability those of some heroic chiefs, whose conduct was exhibited to stimulate by example; or the leading features of some memorable event which they were solicitous to perpetuate, might occasionally furnish them with an interesting interlude. And it is not improbable, that at certain times the mystic rites of the Druids might be inculcated in these dramatic representations. But whether the religious rites of the Druids bore any part in these exhibitions or not, it is certain, that when Druidism gave place to Christianity in the following ages, the subjects of their interludes were frequently taken from scripture; "the design of which was to instruct the common people more fully in the meaning and excellency of holy things."† We have however, but little reason to believe that the execution corresponded with the design, or that any beneficial effect resulted either from the intention or the accomplishment of it.

Mr. Carew, when speaking of these representations, introduces them in language but badly calculated to make any favourable impression on our minds. "The *guary miracle,* in English, a miracle play, is a kind of interlude, compiled in Cornish, out of some scripture history, with that grossness which accompanied the Roman *vetus comedia.* For representing it, they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of his enclosed plain some forty or fifty feet. The country people flock from all sides, many miles off, to hear and see it: for they have therein devils and devices to delight as well the eye as the ear. The players con not their parts without book, but are prompted by one called the ordinary, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand, and telleth them softly what they must pronounce aloud. Which manner once gave occasion to a merry gentleman of practising a merry prank; for he undertaking (perhaps of

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 207.

† Borlase's Natural History, p. 295.

set purpose) an actor's room, was accordingly lessoned (beforehand) by the ordinary, that he must say after him. His turn came. "Go forth, man, and shew thyself," quoth the ordinary. The gentleman steps out upon the stage, and like a bad clerk in scripture matters, cleaving more to the letter than the sense, pronounced those words aloud. "Oh," says the fellow softly in his ear, "you mar all the play." And with this his passion the actor makes the audience in like sort acquainted. Hereon the prompter falls to flat railing and cursing in the bitterest terms he could devise, which the gentleman with a set gesture and countenance, still soberly related; until the ordinary driven at last into mad rage, was fain to give over all: which trousse, though it broke off the interlude, yet defrauded not the beholders, but dismissed them with a great deal more sport and laughter than twenty such *guaries* could have afforded."*

We may learn from this descriptive specimen of the "miraculous play or interlude," for such Mr. Llhuyd observes is the import of the Cornish terms *guari mirkl*, of which *guary miracle* is a corruption, what moral advantages the people were likely to gather from this theatrical prostitution of sacred subjects.

Of these interludes two or three, though of a modern date, are still remaining; they are preserved in the Bodleian library, in the ancient Cornish language, accompanied with an English translation. These interludes represent the Creation of the world, the Passion of our Lord, the Deluge, and the Resurrection.

The poetry, Dr. Borlase observes, is the least exceptionable part of these interludes. The persons of the drama are numerous; in one fifty-six, in another sixty, and in another sixty-two. Among these characters, princes, patriarchs, saints, angels good and bad, and even the persons of the ever blessed Trinity, are introduced. Unity of time, place, and action, is alike disregarded. That which represents the creation, comes down to the time of Solomon's Temple, and having finished it, absurdly places it under the care of a bishop, who gives to the mechanics employed in the building, as a reward for their labour, all the field of Behethlen, all Penryn Wood, Enys, Arwinek, Tregeuler, and Kegyllek.

And if possible to finish the absurdity, this piece on creation is made to include the fabulous legend of the martyrdom of Maximilla, in which part the actors are a bishop, a crosier-bearer, a messenger, four tormentors, the martyr, Gebal, and Amalek. The reward given by the bishop to the tormentors, for putting the martyr to death, includes Behethlen, Bosaneth, and all Chenary. Never perhaps was such a group of inconsistencies so crouded together before. We have

* Carew's Survey, p. 72.

Creation, including Solomon's Temple, the building placed under the care of a bishop, who rewards the workmen with some places in Cornwall!!!*

SECTION IV.

Ancient British War-Chariot, and manner of fighting.

Among the various instruments of destruction which the ancient Britons had contrived to invent, their war-chariot is entitled to particular notice. Its construction must have been curious, and its effects terrible, since it was both admired and dreaded by the Romans, who hesitated not to pronounce its inventors ingenious, and its defenders brave. Though simple in its parts, we have no means of describing it with accuracy. It seems to have been formed partly of wood, and partly of metal; and to have been occasionally embellished with ornamental stones, whenever the warrior was a person of more than common dignity. The chariot was always drawn by two horses; which were sometimes managed by the warrior himself, and at other times by a person who was taken into the vehicle for this express purpose. On an ancient coin, which Dr. Borlase thinks to be British, the war-chariot in full career is strikingly pourtrayed. It is drawn by two horses; but it contains only one person, who appears with a long spear in his left hand, with a quiver full of arrows behind his back, the points of which just rise above his shoulder; his feet are fixed on a board, which seems placed for their reception, and his body seems in an attitude, that urges the horses forward, to enter the field of conflict.

As to their manner of fighting, Cesar, who extols the valour of the Britons, and the undaunted bravery with which they went to battle, tells us, that in these chariots they drove furiously among the enemy's ranks, discharging their darts in such a manner, as sometimes to put the Romans into disorder. When they engaged the Roman horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themselves in such a position, that their masters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an easy and safe retreat. In this manner of fighting, continues Cesar, they had both the speed of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot; and were by daily practice so expert, that they could stop their horses on a steep descent, though in full career, turn them in a narrow compass, run along the pole, sit upon the yoke, and with incredible swiftness return again to their chariots.†

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 297.

† Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 76.

At the extremities of the axle-trees of these chariots, they fastened short scythes, which, describing circles with the revolutions made by the wheels, inflicted desperate wounds, and spread terror and devastation wherever they turned. Nothing can be more terrible than such a machine, impelled by spirited horses, completely under the management of a warlike driver, and carrying into the heart of an enemy's ranks, a dauntless hero, who could launch his javelin, discharge his arrows, exercise his spear, run along the beam, leap on the ground, resume his seat, and artfully retire to draw the enemy into an ambuscade, or throw his forces into confusion.

The war-chariots are certainly of very great antiquity. There is scarcely a book in the historical parts of the Old Testament, in which some mention is not made of them. They are attributed to various nations, and some of those which were used by the Canaanitish tribes, are said to have been formed of iron. "And all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley, have *chariots of iron*, both they who are of Beth-shean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel."—*Joshua* xvii. 16, 18. "And the Lord was with Judah, and he drave out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had *chariots of iron*."—*Judges* i. 19.

According to Diodorus Siculus, the war-chariots in which the ancient Britons fought, resembled those which were used by the Greeks at the siege of Troy. He observes, that "the Britons lived like the old world, and in fighting used chariots such as the ancient Greeks had at the Trojan war." Herodotus informs us, that Ninus in his army, had no less than 200,000 horses, and 10,000 chariots with scythes; which is precisely the description of those chariots which were used by the ancient Britons. It is plain therefore, from the statement of Herodotus, that the war-chariots with scythes were of very early invention, perhaps soon after the flood, or at least so early as the time when Nimrod began to establish his empire in the world. And it is a singular fact, that while the inhabitants of this island were so expert in the use of this ancient vehicle of war, the neighbouring inhabitants of the continent, and the legions of Cesar, were nearly ignorant that such a car was used by any nation upon earth.

That the Phenicians were not ignorant of these chariots, may be easily inferred from the passages that have been quoted, respecting the nations of Canaan, from whom they sprung. But whether, through their long intercourse with the inhabitants of these western parts, they imparted to them the knowledge of this singular vehicle, or whether the acquaintance of these inhabitants with it, may be considered as a proof of their eastern extraction and early residence, we must be content to leave in obscurity. Mr. Polwhele has adopted the latter opinion, and

he urges the knowledge which the Danmonians had of the war-chariot, while the nations of the continent were ignorant of its use, as a circumstance strongly favouring the hypothesis which he has adopted, of an early eastern emigration from Armenia.

Thus far the case is clear, that the ancient Britons, when the Romans came among them, were famous for their dexterity in commanding horses. Cesar himself was astonished to find with what skill they had trained these animals to submit to the harness, and to bear their part in the hazards and fatigues of war. It was, in part, through this discipline, which he had no expectation of finding, that the Roman legions were more than once thrown into great confusion, and threatened with a total overthrow. But whether the skill which the Britons thus displayed, arose from the innate vigour of their understanding, or was taught them by their Phenician and Greek visitors, the want of decisive evidence forbids us to determine.

It is admitted by all, that the ancient Britons possessed a warlike spirit; a degree of courage that was invincible; an unconquerable attachment to their country; and an acquaintance with such arts, and an attachment to such discipline, as nothing but the power of Rome could hope to subdue. To keep alive the ferocious spirit of war, their wrestlings and hurlings were peculiarly adapted. They required much muscular exertion; and unless these exercises were conducted upon different principles from those which have actuated their distant successors, they must have been calculated to cherish a sanguinary disposition, and to promote revenge. Between these sports and party feuds, it is well known that the affinity is great; and Cornwall can produce many instances, in what has been termed the more enlightened periods of its history, of the fatal effects to which they have led. We have little reason to believe that the results were more favourable, when the altars of Druidism reeked with human blood, and the benignant influence of Christianity had not begun to bless the world, and ameliorate the condition of man.

CHAP. III.

Religion of the Ancient Britons.

SECTION I.

Observations on Idolatry in general.

IDOLATRY is the paying of that worship, homage, or adoration, to some real or imaginary creature, which is due only to the eternal God; and in what forms soever it may be surveyed, its origin must be traced to the depravity of the human heart. Ignorance and weakness may be said to be its more immediate parents. Of this fact, even those who believe mankind to have been made by chance, seem fully sensible, from their admitting that man had a right to form a religion for himself; and that fear and superstition formed the monsters which we abhor. "Man," says Lucretius, "under a disturbance of mind proceeding from his fears, forged to himself imaginary deities."

But although ignorance and weakness may be considered as the immediate causes of idolatry, vanity, pride, a love of pleasure, a fondness for sensible objects, an inordinate attachment to the objects of our affections, and the dominion of passion, have had their respective influences in bringing the mental powers into this astonishing captivity. The blessings which we daily enjoy, the favours which we incessantly receive, and the obligations which these lay us under, cannot but impress the mind with a continual sense of that homage and adoration which is due from all, to a superior power, or invisible agent. But in proportion as the knowledge of God is obliterated from the human mind, while a consciousness of dependance remains, it is not difficult for us to conceive, that homage and adoration may be transferred to secondary causes, and in process of time degenerate into the most contemptible excesses.

What the first objects of idolatrous worship were, it is exceedingly difficult to say. Some have thought that the sun, as being the fountain of light, and the cause of fertility, was first selected; that after this the moon was introduced as demanding a part; and that from these it was transferred to the stars, and made to include the host of heaven. Others again have imagined that the primary

objects of idolatrous worship were angels. That at first some respect was shewn to them, from the superior excellency of their nature, and the assistance which it was presumed we received from their superintending care, which afterwards degenerated into a kind of subordinate worship, and finally engrossed the attention of mankind, so as to exclude God from their adoration. From hence they conceived, that the sun and moon being places of their abode, they were addressed in these their respective habitations, until the worship which they originally received, were transferred to these vast masses of inanimate matter.

Vossius, instead of admitting the host of heaven and angelic natures, to have been the primary objects of idolatrous worship, conceives that it took its rise in the admission of a good and evil principle, such as the ancient Persians allowed to exist. He supposes, that men, from observing good and evil abounding in the world, which they found themselves unable to ascribe consistently to God, invented two deities of equal power, to whom they ascribed distinct and hostile offices; and that to these they paid distinct species of homage, worship, and adoration; that to the worship of these two principles succeeded that of spirits, particularly demons, and afterwards this worship was transferred to the souls of departed heroes, of extraordinary personages, and the common benefactors of mankind.

"That," says Bishop Stillingfleet, when speaking of the Phenician deities and worship, "which seems the clearest in this theology is, the openly owning the origin of idolatry to have been from the consecration of some eminent persons after their death, who have found out some useful things for the world while they were living: which the subtler Greeks would not admit of, viz. that the persons they worshipped were once men, which made them turn all into allegories and mystical senses, to blind that idolatry they were guilty of, the better among the ignorant."*

"The general cause of idolatry," another writer observes, "is the degenerate state of the soul, exerting itself in the headiness of the will, under the wild conduct of imagination and sense. Of such worshippers, St. Paul observes, 'That when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imagination, and their foolish heart was darkened.'—*Rom.* i. 21. In this estate of moral darkness they mistook and confounded the objects they met with, and honoured the creature instead of God.

"It is difficult, if not impossible, at this distance from persons and things, to tell the causes and occasions of their mistakes. For the love of idols in some, like that of persons in others, was an unaccountable passion. Those who worshipped

* Origi. Sacra. p. 32.

universal nature, as an entire object, or the several parts of it distinctly, were led to such adoration by one more general cause, or by divers which were more special. The more general cause of the worship of material nature, either in its own form, or in the shapes put upon it by art, is the natural inclination of the mind in this body to help itself by sensible objects. The substance of Almighty God is not an object which our mind can comprehend, much less is our acutest sight able to reach it. This principle many owned among the heathens. Such were they mentioned by Porphyry, who, that they might signify the invisibility of God's essence, painted his statues with black. Such were the Egyptians, remembered by Plutarch, who did therefore make the crocodile an emblem of God, because that creature by the help of a pellucid membrane descending from his forehead, was able (as they vulgarly conceited) to see with closed eyes, without being seen. Now, man living in the confines of heaven and earth, his celestial mind being united to a gross body of flesh and blood, his understanding receiveth instruction through the gates of the outward senses. This frame of man rendereth him covetous, in his speculations, of the help of some external visible object. And among the progeny of mankind there are very few heads metaphysical enough for that proverb of the Arabians, " shut up the five windows that the house may be full of light.' It is the same thing with the vulgar, not to appear, and not to be; and they would therefore have a visible deity, and one who might in a more bodily manner be present with them. This reason the brachman gave to M. Bernier, for the erection of the statues of Brahma, and of other deities, that something might be before the eyes of the worshipper, for the fixing of his mind. Of the like temper were the heathens, spoken of by Lactantius in his second book of the Origin of Error; *they were jealous, lest all their religion should be a vain beating of the air, if they saw nothing present that they might adore."* *

It appears, that in the commencement of idolatrous worship, whatsoever was either beneficial, hurtful, beautiful or majestic, became an object of actual adoration. Cicero observes, that the Egyptians consecrated no beast, from which they did not derive some profit. The natives of the Carribbee Islands ascribed the power of the Spanish firelocks to a demon. According to Acosta, the rainbow was worshipped by the Peruvians for its beauty. And even the Incas themselves admitted the superior power of thunder. The tribes and nations of the earth, thus influenced by the singular phenomena with which they found themselves benefited, annoyed, pleased, or terrified, naturally accommodated their modes of

* Tenison on the Causes and Occasions of Idolatry, pp. 25, 26.

worship to their various objects, and thus furnished that variety which we discover in the heathen world. But since almost every thing that can be called sublime, beautiful, or beneficial, may be traced to the sun, this seems to have the fairest claim upon all who know nothing of the true God. And as it is observable to all, that his beauty is unexampled; that his heat either scorches or refreshes; that in some places he is the cause of fruitfulness, and in others that of barrenness; that he is constantly visiting the world; and that his light is inexpressibly glorious; so it is an undeniable fact, that this exalted luminary has been the most celebrated and the most universal idol, to which mankind have ever paid homage.

At what period of the world idolatry made its first appearance among mankind, it is impossible to speak with precision. It is one of the aphorisms of Philo the elder, (if indeed he was the author of the book of Wisdom) that idolatry is by no means coeval with the fall of man. It is much questioned among the learned, whether idolatry was to be found among those vices which polluted the antediluvian world, and brought the Deluge upon its inhabitants.

Tertullian, it is true, advances it as his opinion, that idolatry began so early as the days of Seth; and that Enoch, who restored the true religion, is for that reason said to have *walked with God.*

Cyrie of Alexandria, is however of another mind. He affirms, in his book against Julian, that all men, from Adam to Noah, worshipped that God who by nature is one. And the reason he assigns is, that no person is accused by Moses during this period, of worshipping any false god or demon. And if idolatry had then gained a footing in the world, he conceives that it could not have escaped the notice of the divine historian; and that if he had known it, he certainly would have noticed it in terms of severe reprehension. From the silence of Moses, it is therefore inferred, that idolatry did not exist in these early ages of the world.

The rabbinical writers, who have in general the honour of standing foremost in the lists of extravagance, assert, that the worship of the creature was introduced by the descendants of Cain; but they believe the first inventor of it to be Enos. This opinion is sanctioned by a singular interpretation, which they give to *Genesis* iv. 26.—"Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord;" which passage they say, signifies, that "Then the name of the Lord was profaned, by giving it to idols." It is needless to produce another specimen of rabbinical dotage.

It is from Ham, rather than from Enos, that the learned derive the origin of idolatry. "The heart of this man, being deeply depraved before the Deluge, was rather hardened than humbled, by the danger he had just escaped. He is therefore esteemed the father of idolatry, that monster in religion, which in his corrupt loins was by degrees multiplied into innumerable heads.

"But Cyrie of Alexandria, in two places, beginneth idolatry with the confusion of languages, and with Belus rather than Cham; esteeming the difference of their dialects, and the distraction of their opinions concerning God, to have commenced together. For the critical minute it is uncertain; yet, for the first objects of idolatry, we may assent to him; and them he makes to be the sun and the other heavenly bodies: but the sun in the first place. That was the most glorious object which ravished the eye, and it shewed itself no where more gloriously than in the plains of Chaldea. In those plains the tower of Babel was built, and (as my private imagination leadeth me to think) consecrated by the builders to the sun, as the most probable cause of drying up the waters."*

From the plains of Chaldea, in which the confusion of tongues took place, the tide of population flowed in every direction to people the world. And no doubt can be entertained, that from this primary source of population, those principles of idolatry which had begun to unfold themselves, took, with mankind, a more diffusive spread, till, in process of time, they polluted the whole Gentile world. From the manner in which the earth was peopled after the Deluge, and from the circumstances connected with the building of Babel, it evidently appears, that Chaldea, and not Egypt, may with the fairest title be styled the mother of idolatry; since it is more than probable, that Egypt was not a nation when the sun had found worshippers in the regions of Babylon. From Babylon, the infection seems to have spread to Egypt, to Assyria, and Phenicia, and from these ancient territories to others which lay in their vicinity, till the nations of the earth had nearly forgotten that "the Most High ruleth" in heaven, and superintends the affairs of this lower world.†

As false religion began soon after the true was established, and made its appearance first in nearly the same place, it may be considered as its shadow in many respects, especially in various rites and institutions which accompany it. But its votaries having abandoned the only proper object of religious worship, its rites and institutions partook of the common degeneracy. This melancholy fact is awfully illustrated by those strange opinions which idolatry has uniformly inculcated, respecting the nature of sacrifices, and the necessity of a mediator.

"The true religion," says a celebrated writer, "which Noah taught his posterity, was that which Abraham practised; the worshipping of one God, the supreme governor and creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a mediator; for the necessity of a mediator between God and man was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning; for being

* Tenison on Idolatry, p. 42. † Ibid. 47.

conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, they could not conceive, how it was possible for them, of themselves alone, to have any access to the all holy, all glorious, and supreme Governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure, and themselves too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded, that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being made of the mediator whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address him by mediators of their own choosing. And the sun, moon, and planets, being the nearest to them of all the heavenly bodies, and being looked upon as having the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure for them the mercies and favours which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world. They first worshipped them by their tabernacles, and afterward by their images also. By these tabernacles they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the sacred tabernacles in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore, when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet in which they supposed he dwelt. But these orbs, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images; in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence, as in the planets themselves; and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one as before the other. And this was the beginning of image worship among them."*

It unfortunately so happens, that one error leads to another; the present draws a precedent from the past, and affords a sanction to that which is to come. In every stage of progression, innovation advances its interests, till at length the final effect becomes too frightful for rational contemplation. From the worship of images, and the deification of heroes, idolatry found it easy to make a transition to the elementary powers of nature; and from these to beasts and rivers, and to such parts of inanimate matter, as seemed to furnish proofs of that principle which it sought to adore. The Egyptians descended to noxious reptiles and vegetable productions; and the Phenicians, if possible, descended still lower, imagining

* Prideaux Connex. Vol. I. p. 183.

that huge masses of stone, if they exhibited any thing singular in their form, were in reality the habitation of some mediatorial deity.

It is probable, that in the beginning, adorations might have been paid to some imaginary intelligence, that was supposed to reside in these strange receptacles. But the representative soon became equal to the principal; the house ejected its inhabitant, and usurped at length that adoration which folly had designed for another object. Our surprise will therefore naturally abate, when we come hereafter to contemplate the objects of British worship, and the monuments of druidical superstition, which still remain in Cornwall.

As genuine religion had provided a Mediator, so also it had instituted sacrifices and oblations to be offered to God. In these sacrifices, idolatry had likewise contrived to preserve an imitation. But in this, as in the objects of their worship, the Gentile nations contrived also to persevere in error. A false god must have false worship, and sacrifices, that were an abomination, in order to preserve a consistency in absurdity. The natural notion common to mankind is, that we must offer to God whatsoever is most valuable to us. It is only by the light of Revelation, that we are instructed how to regulate the application of this principle. But from the adoption of it without any restriction, many have been induced to offer human sacrifices, and to appeal to this principle to justify their conduct.

It is not ascertained by whom this horrible custom was first introduced into the world. Some ascribe it to Ilus, or Saturn, who, they assert, brought it into practice among the Phenicians. Eusebius introduces Sanchoniathon as affirming, that Saturn offered up to the gods his own son Jehid, whom he had by the nymph Anobroth. Philo the Jew insinuates, that the custom of offering human sacrifices was known in the land of Canaan before the time of Abraham; and some learned men think, that the example of the people took off from the mind of Abraham much of that horror which he would otherwise have had, at the idea of sacrificing his own son, when he first received the intimation from God. And to this it may be added, that the Almighty, by expressly forbidding Abraham to execute the deed, under such singular circumstances, gave to the surrounding nations a convincing proof of his abhorrence of the detestable practice.

The human sacrifices which were said to be offered in Africa, in Palestine, and in Gaul, are admitted to be exceedingly ancient; and the evidences which support the facts, convince us that they were mournfully true. In extenuation of the crime, it has been pleaded, that the Canaanites and Moabites only compelled their children to pass through the flame, or between two fires, from which they received little or no harm. On some particular occasions this might have been

the case; but more generally it appears, that the devoted victims were consumed in the flames.

The Phenicians, who were a remnant of the Canaanites, continued this barbarous custom in their own country for several ages; and they justified their conduct by the example of Ilus, or Saturn. They carried this custom along with their colonies, into Africa, where it continued to prevail for a considerable time. According to Plutarch, when Gelo, having conquered the Carthaginians, entered into treaty with them, he obliged them by stipulation to renounce the horrid custom of sacrificing their children to Saturn. And Justin assures us, that Darius imposed the same commands upon them by an embassy, to abandon their human sacrifices. But neither treaties nor injunctions were of sufficient influence, to induce them to relinquish a practice to which they had been so long addicted; for we are furthermore assured by Justin, that they continued these inhuman rites, till the proconsulate of Tiberius, who was so exasperated at their conduct, that he caused the priests of Saturn to be hanged upon trees that were near their temples.

The image of Saturn, which the Carthaginians worshipped, Diodorus Siculus has described, as a figure of copper bearing some resemblance to the human form, only that its hands were turned backwards, and inclined towards the ground. Whenever a child was to be sacrificed to this horrid monster, it was placed upon these bending arms, on which it could not rest, and from which it immediately fell into a pan of burning coals beneath, and thus died in agonies at the feet of the deity.

The book of Sanchoniathon, which is now lost, but which was of great antiquity, though in some respects of doubtful credit, Porphyrius informs us, was full of accounts of these abominable sacrifices. And it appears from unquestionable testimony, that they were not confined to Phenicia, to Palestine, to the countries of Ammon and Moab, to Idumea, Arabia, and Egypt; but that they were frequent in Gaul, among the Scythians, the Thracians, in the islands of Rhodes, of Chios, and Cyprus, and even among the Athenians.* From the continent, at a very early period, these practices found their way into Britain, and gained an establishment on its western shores. Some of the altars, which in all probability once reeked with human blood, still remain among us. They recall to our minds the gloomy days that are passed by; and, as silent monitors, teach us to contrast the sanguinary rites of Druidism, with the mild and benignant spirit of

* Calmet's Dictionary, Articles IDOLATRY and SACRIFICE.

Christianity. From this contrast we may learn, in no small degree, how to estimate the advantages of our present condition; and to discover from hence, those numerous motives with which God has furnished us, to render him gratitude, homage, and adoration.

SECTION II.

Historical Observations respecting the Druids.

Among the various forms which idolatry assumed, when it overspread the world, there was one, which at a very early period found its way into Cornwall. This was placed under the direction of a singular race of men, who have uniformly been denominated Druids. Why they should be called Druids, many inquiries have been made; but unfortunately, the success attending those inquiries, has not been equal to the solicitude with which they have been urged.

Dr. Borlase, who has examined the etymology of the term, gives it as his opinion, that it is derived from the Celtic word *Deru*, and that these idolatrous priests were called Druids from their superstitious regard for the oak tree. But from whatever source the term was derived, Druid was the general name of every ancient British priest. Of these Druids he thinks there were three distinct classes. Those of the first and highest were called *The Druids* by way of eminence. Next to these stood the Bards, who though inferior in rank and influence, were considered as of higher antiquity. To the memory of the bards were committed the records of transactions, and under their care were placed such youths as were preparing for their initiatory rites. In the third and subordinate class stood the Eubates, or Vates, whose business it was to examine the entrails of the sacrifices, and from their pretended skill in augury to foretel future events.

From what power these men professed to derive their authority, we are not informed. Neither can it be satisfactorily explained, by what means they contrived to procure that prodigious influence which they continued to exercise in this country for a series of ages. The religion of Germany, in many respects, nearly coincided with that of Gaul and Britain; but in Germany the race of Druids was totally unknown. The Germans had their priests and their sacrifices; but their idolatry was not matured into a regular system, like that which prevailed in Britain. The Druids of this island had all that the Germans could boast; but they had many things belonging to their order, to which the priests of Germany could not aspire.

But although the real origin of the Druids cannot be fully ascertained, the evidence is sufficiently clear to establish their high antiquity. Alexander

Polyhistor, in Clemeus Alexandrinus, asserts, that "Pythagoras had heard both the Brachmans and the Druids." And consequently, as Pythagoras lived nearly six hundred years before Christ, the Druid order can be traced thus far without difficulty. From the same fact it is evident, that this order must have been established a considerable time before, since these Druids are not introduced as a new sect that had just started into existence, but as a tribe renowned for their learning, and as men whose fame had attracted the attention of this celebrated philosopher.

It is asserted by Diodorus Siculus, that "Abaris formerly travelled from an island opposite to Gaul, into Greece, to renew the ancient league of friendship with the Delians." This island, which is opposite to Gaul, we have strong presumptive evidence to believe to be Britain. And as Abaris is said to have been intimate with Pythagoras, it is not improbable, that a mutual communication of sentiments took place between them, which, as Abaris is reported to have been a Druid, may in a great measure account for that coincidence, which, in many respects, is observable between the doctrines of Pythagoras and those of the Druids. This resemblance, which may be extended to the Persians, the Brachmans, and the Egyptians, will argue strongly in favour of the great antiquity of Druidism; even though it will be insufficient to enable us to fix the precise era of its commencement.

After examining the various pretensions of other nations, and finding their claims to be ill founded, Dr. Borlase, strengthened by the authority of Cesar, concludes that Druidism, though long established in Gaul, began first to exist in this country. He argues, that if it originated in any eastern nation, it would certainly have reached Gaul before it visited this island: and consequently, it would have been in a greater state of perfection in that country than in this; which is a conclusion that is clearly contradicted by fact. Instead of this, even Cesar asserts, that the institution of the Druids was supported with greater purity and exactness in Britain than in Gaul. And so much better were the Druids of Britain acquainted with the peculiarities of their rites, than those of Gaul, that the latter resorted to the former in cases of difficulty for instruction, as though they considered this island as the primary fountain of information.*

That the Druids had a considerable influence in civil and military affairs, we have already seen. It was not less so in such concerns as related to their religion. "The care and direction of all religious matters, was, by the Britons, as well as the Gauls, committed to the Druids, whose authority was great, not only in

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 66—80. And Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 78.

religious, but in civil affairs. They were held in such veneration, both by the Britons and the Gauls, that their authority was almost absolute. To them belonged the care of private and public sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the bestowing of rewards, or the inflicting of punishments, and the deciding of all controversies of every kind and nature. Once in a year, the Druids of Gaul had a general assembly in the midst of the country, to which resorted persons from all quarters, who had controversies to decide, every one submitting readily to their decrees. The discipline of the Druids was thought, as Cesar writes, to have been instituted in Britain, and from thence transferred to Gaul; for even in his time, those who were desirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this island to learn it."*

From all taxes, military services, and imposts, the Druids were exempted; which operated as an inducement with many to embrace their profession, although it was accompanied with some unpleasant austerities. The youth, especially those of the nobility or chiefs, were educated by them, so that a veneration for their power, which it was their interest to guard, was instilled into the minds of the rising generation. Those who embraced their profession, were first obliged to learn by heart a great number of verses, which employed some, according to Cesar, for the space of twenty years; for the Druids never committed any thing to writing. This however was not done because they were ignorant of letters, but it was a branch of their institution to adopt this method, in order to exercise the memory of their disciples, and conceal their mysteries from the vulgar. The number of verses which they were thus obliged to learn *memoriter*, amounted, according to Mr. Martine, to no less than twenty thousand.†

At the time of their public sacrifices, the Druids were particularly careful to observe a profound silence themselves, and to inculcate it among their disciples. And if any one was found so regardless of their admonitions, as to persevere after the third remonstrance, a large piece of his robe was cut off as a mark of disgrace; after which, a repetition of his offence was punished with peculiar severity. Nor were the severities which they inflicted, restricted to those alone who violated the silence of their assemblies. They were extended to those who neglected to attend the sacrifices, and places of public worship. And to such rigorous brutality did they carry their power, in order to ensure punctuality in attendance, that they are said to have adopted the horrid custom which Pliny ascribes to the Cigonii, that of cutting to pieces the person who was so unfortunate as to come last.

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 77. † Ibid. p. 78; and Borlase's Antiquities, p. 84.

It has been occasionally disputed, whether any females were ever admitted, in Britain, to the order of the Druids or not; and indeed, it does not appear that any positive evidence can be adduced either to establish or to disprove the fact. Presumptive evidence is however so decidedly in favour of it, that we have little reason to waver in uncertainty. That female Druids existed in Gaul, seems to be a fact that is unquestionable; for we are expressly informed, that "a female Druid of Tungria (now the bishopric of Liege) foretold to Dioclesian, as we read in Vopiscus, when he was yet a private soldier, that he should one day be emperor."* And the female Druid who predicted the failure of an expedition which Alexander Severus had undertaken, spoke to him in the Gaulish tongue; whence it may be fairly inferred, that females of the Druid order were well known in the territories of Gaul.†

If we leave the continent and proceed towards Britain, the accounts which we have from Strabo and Pomponius Mela, will direct us to an island which they call Sena, situated either on the Gaulish or British coasts, which was wholly inhabited by female Druids, whose pretensions were as extravagant, and whose customs were as inhuman, as any we have been called to witness of the sterner sex. Strabo says, that these female Druids were almost incessantly occupied in the worship of Bacchus, with the observance of instituted rites, and the solemnities of sacrifices. Among their customs they had one, which was almost invariably attended with circumstances of barbarity. It was an established rule among them, once in every year to unroof their temple, and renew the covering on the same day. This task was undertaken by all the women, by whose joint efforts it was to be accomplished before sunset. But if, while engaged in this sacred work, any one was so unfortunate as to drop or lose her burden, she was immediately seized and torn in pieces by her companions, and the limbs of the unhappy victim were carried in triumph round the temple, accompanied with rejoicings in honour of Bacchus. These solemnities continued, until their frantic fury was abated. Of this cruel rite Strabo says, there always happened some instance whenever the annual solemnity of uncovering the temple was celebrated.‡

It appears from the preceding accounts, that Druidesses, or female Druids, were not only known in Gaul, but in an island which lay between Gaul and Britain. And surely, as the Druid rites were observed in Britain with more punctuality than on the continent, as this was the fountain of intelligence, to which those of Gaul repaired for information, it is hardly to be conceived that this country

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 78.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 88. ‡ Ibid. p. 87.

should remain destitute of a particular branch of the Druid order, which was so conspicuous both in Sena and in Gaul.

On the island of Sena, it appears from the observations of Pomponius Mela, that the female Druids were of distinct classes, of whom a few were considered as more sacred, and as possessing greater power than the rest. These sacred priestesses, who are said to have been nine in number, were devoted to perpetual virginity. They were called *Gallicenæ*, and were supposed to be of great genius and rare endowments. Through their incantations it was presumed that they were able to raise storms, to transform themselves into what animal forms they pleased, and to cure diseases that were deemed beyond the reach of medicine. They are said to have been so quick at discerning, that they could foretel future events; but they were easy of access to none but sailors, who came to the island on purpose to consult them.*

SECTION III.

Learning and general principles of the Druids.

If the Druids had not been careful to cultivate learning of several kinds, and to rise superior to the other parts of the community, we may easily suppose, without having recourse to any information, that they would not have been able to preserve that ascendancy in the scale of society, which it is well known they invariably held. Their learning however, was correspondent to the age in which they lived; and it can only be estimated by that comparative standard.

Dr. Borlase thinks, that although they held it unlawful to commit the mysteries of their order to writing, yet that in all ordinary and common affairs, writing was common among them; and that they used the Greek letters. These letters, he supposes, they obtained from a Greek colony, that was at a very early age established at Marseilles, which served as a kind of academy to the Gauls, and a market for the Britons. He does not however imagine, that because they were acquainted with the Greek character, they therefore understood the language. By some few of the most learned among them, the language was probably understood; but in general, the Greek characters were applied by them to their own native language.

Another branch of their learning consisted in the number of verses which they had committed to memory; and those were considered as the greatest proficients, who could discover the best address in making a judicious application of their

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 87.

moral sentiments. The composition of their verses was the work of the bards, and depended upon the occasions which called them into existence.

No doubt can be entertained, that they had some acquaintance with astronomy. They had some ideas of the motions of the planets, and of the revolutions which were necessary to complete the year. But we cannot admit, without committing an outrage on probability, that they had made such a strange proficiency in the science, as Mr. Chapple, in his Dissertation on the Cromleh, has supposed. Concerning the nature, extent, and boundaries of the universe, they advanced some curious speculations; but it does not appear they had any just conceptions of the structure of the globe, or of the nature and real properties of material substances. They reckoned their time rather by nights than by days, from a tradition, it has generally been supposed, handed down from the primitive ages, that darkness covered the face of the great deep, long before the Almighty said, "Let there be light." Of this customary computation, some vestiges still remain among us; hence we say, when an event is expected to happen on this day week, that it is expected this day *sennight;* and that which is expected fourteen days hence, we expect on this day *fortnight*. They considered their year to begin in July, when the moon was six days old; and an age, or generation, they estimated to amount to thirty years. To anatomical knowledge they were not altogether strangers; but it does not appear that they studied this science with any eye to medical purposes. Augury was their favourite object; and to this branch of superstition they industriously applied those acquirements, which, if properly directed, might have much improved their condition in life.

On some British coins which have been found in this county, we may plainly discover proofs of the progress they had made in the imitative arts. Some of their figures are indeed rude in their design, and rough in their execution; but from several of them we may learn, that they were not wholly destitute of taste, nor altogether deficient in genius. It may perhaps be contended, that the figures on these coins were neither designed nor executed by the Druids, which in all probability might have been the case. But if this be admitted, as the Druids occupied the most exalted stations in learning and scientific knowledge, the conclusion will appear more strongly in their favour. And when to this we add, that no person was qualified for any public employment, who had not received his education from a Druid, we may justly ascribe to the Druids a knowledge of all the useful and elegant arts, which from the memorials still extant, we know with certainty that the ancient Britons possessed.*

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 89—92.

The places which the Druids selected, to communicate to their pupils such knowledge as it was deemed lawful to impart, were in general those that had been consecrated by some religious solemnity. This, they endeavoured to connect with the solitary gloom of those places to which they resorted. A solitary cavern, the repositories of the dead, a stately pillar, a venerable rock, or an umbrageous grove of sacred oaks, suited the sullen and morbid temperament of their minds. To serene and sober cheerfulness they were total strangers; austerity of manners, and professional self-denial, invariably marked their conduct; except in certain instances, when the impulses of nature, growing too strong for the unnatural restraints which their principles had led them to impose, burst forth in tumultuous frenzy and frantic rage, in those dismal orgies which either their bewildered imaginations, or some invisible demon had inspired them to display, in honour of the detestable idols which they worshipped.

SECTION IV.

Botanical Knowledge, and attachment of the Druids to certain Vegetables.

If we measure the botanical knowledge of the Druids, by the uses to which that knowledge was applied, we shall discover but little reason to celebrate their acquirements. With a few medicinal properties of vegetables they were probably acquainted; but their influence, which was thought to be magical, was deemed more worthy of pursuit, than their real natural virtues. In almost every instance, their botanical researches were made subservient to the ceremonies of their religion; the welfare of body and soul was thus connected together; but superstition in general ascribed to the power of incantation, that efficacy which was received through another medium.

Of their inordinate veneration for the oak, we have accumulated proofs in almost every part of their history. Nothing of importance could be done without it. Even the leaves of the oak were held to be sacred; their altars were erected in its shade; and the solemnities of their worship were supposed to derive an additional sanctity from its foliage.

As a plant, the mistletoe stood highest in their estimation; it was not only sacred, but even deified; and no one would presume to approach it, but in the most reverential and awful manner. Many ceremonies were observed respecting it, and many imaginary effects were ascribed to its influence. Of this celebrated plant we have the following description, given by Miller:—

CURIOUS CEREMONY OF GATHERING THE MISTLETOE.

" The flower of the mistletoe consists of one leaf, which is shaped like a bason, divided into four parts, and beset with warts. The ovary, which is produced in the female flowers, is placed in a remote part of the plant from the male flowers, and consists of four shorter leaves; this becomes a round berry full of a glutinous substance, inclosing a plain heart-shaped seed. This plant is always produced from seed, and is not to be cultivated in the earth, but will always grow upon trees; whence the ancients accounted it a super-plant, who thought it to be an excrescence on the tree without seed. The manner of its propagation is as follows. The mistletoe thrush, which feeds upon the berries of this plant in winter, when it is ripe, doth open the seed from tree to tree; for the viscous part of the berry which immediately surrounds the seed, doth sometimes fasten it to the outward part of the bird's beak, which, to get disengaged of, he strikes his beak at the branches of a neighbouring tree, and so leaves the seed sticking by this viscous matter to the bark, which, if it lights upon a smooth part of the tree, will fasten itself, and the following winter put out and grow. The trees which this plant doth most readily take upon are the apple, the ash, and some other smooth rind trees. Whenever a branch of the oak tree hath any of these plants growing upon it, it is cut off and preserved by the curious in their collections of natural curiosities."

When the end of the year approached, the Druids assembled together, and marched with great solemnity to gather the mistletoe from the oak, in order to present it to Jupiter, inviting all the world to witness this august ceremony, and to assist them in it. This ceremony was ushered in with these words: " The new year is at hand, gather the mistletoe." Their year we have already noticed, began in July.

The Druids, says Pliny, account nothing more sacred than the oak mistletoe, which is however, rarely to be found; but when found it is approached with great reverence; and principally when the moon is six days old, at which time they begin their months, and years, and ages every thirtieth year. Then, calling it in their native language an universal remedy, they prepare the sacrifices and religious feasts after their own custom, under the tree, and lead forth two white bulls never yet yoked, nor their horns till then bound with ropes; the priest clothed in white, ascends the tree, and with a golden hook cuts off the mistletoe, which is received in a white garment spread for that purpose.*

The sacrifice being thus prepared, the officiating Druid is represented as appearing in a long white garment that swept the ground; as having the tiara on

* Cited by Borlase's Antiquities, p. 94.

his head; as having the *anguinum*, or serpent egg as the badge of his order; as having his temples encircled with a wreath of oak leaves; and as waving before him a magic wand. Of the mistletoe thus gathered they made a potion, which, according to their opinions, was an antidote against poison, and a sure preventative of sterility.

Besides the mistletoe, the Druids held in peculiar veneration the vervain, the selago, and the samolus. These plants were esteemed, both for their medicinal virtues, and their supernatural efficacy.

The vervain, which is plentiful in Cornwall, and too well known to require any description, was always considered as a necessary article, whenever they cast lots, or pretended to foretel future events. To be anointed with the juice of this plant, was to have an amulet, of which the advantages were numerous, if not incalculable. It was the readiest way to obtain all that the heart could desire; it preserved the fortunate person from fevers; it procured friendships; and healed all diseases. In short, it was a nostrum, of which the efficacy was universally acknowledged.

Several remarkable punctilios were observed in procuring the vervain, and in preparing it for use. It was only to be collected at the rising of the dog-star, when neither sun nor moon was visible. The instrument by which it was digged up, was made of iron; and this was not permitted to penetrate the earth, until it had described a circle round its roots; and this was not to be described until the earth had received a small libation of honey. When it was raised from the ground, the left hand alone was permitted to touch it, and in this it was waved on high with an air of triumph. Its leaves, its stalks, and its roots, were to be carefully separated, and dried in the shade apart from one another; and when thus prepared, a variety of infusions fitted it for distinct uses.

In gathering the selago, which is a kind of wild hyssop resembling the savin, another process was deemed necessary. This plant was not to be rooted up like the vervain, but cut somewhat like the mistletoe. The person who performed this office was to be clothed in white, his feet were to be quite naked, and carefully washed in pure water. No iron was permitted to touch it. Even the naked hand was unworthy of this honour. It was to be covered with a holy vesture, which, with the left hand only, had been taken privately from some holy person, and put upon the right; for the right hand only could perform this office. A fumigation of this plant was considered as a remedy for defects in the sight; but in other respects it was preserved as a charm which shielded the possessor from all misfortunes.

To the samolus, or marsh-wort, the Druids ascribed some peculiar powers; and this also had its peculiar rites. The priest whose office it was to procure it, was to gather it fasting, and that only with his left hand. And while engaged in this duty, his eye was to be steadily fixed upon the plant. Behind him he was not to look on any account; nor was the sacred herb to be laid down on the ground, or removed from his hand, until it was deposited by him in such channels and cisterns, as their cattle approached to drink. In these troughs or depositories, by being bruised, its virtues were expressed; and, when mixed with water, the infusion was considered as an antidote against all diseases.*

SECTION V.

Morals and Doctrines of the Ancient Britons.

As the Druids had the exclusive power in all religious affairs, it is chiefly from the knowledge which we have of them, that we can estimate the morals and doctrines which distinguished the ancient Britons. The Druids invariably taught their disciples, that their primary duty consisted in paying devout homage to the immortal gods, who were incessantly the invisible witnesses of all their actions. They also inculcated this important duty; that men should do no evil: but from what principles they derived their notions concerning good and evil, we have no means of ascertaining. Their moral conduct is however represented as a comment on their creed. They were remarkable for their attachment to the cause of justice, so far as they were acquainted with its principles; and Carte, in his History of England, says, that the Manks men ascribed to the ancient Druids the origin of those excellent laws by which the Isle of Man had always been governed. Patriotic valour was another moral excellency which they kept continually in view; and their oratory was principally displayed in descanting upon its various virtues.

From the concurring testimonies of several authors, it appears, that natural philosophy was a favourite study of the Druids, both of Gaul and Britain. Cicero has left it on record, that he was intimately acquainted with a Gaulish Druid, who professed to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature. According to Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Cesar, and several others, they entered

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 93, 96. Historical Views of Devon, p. 193; and Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 77.

into many disquisitions in their schools, concerning the magnitude and form of the universe, the dimensions of the earth, and the most sublime and hidden secrets of nature. Of these subjects they formed a variety of theories and systems, which, being delivered to their disciples in verse, furnished them with employment to commit their speculations to memory. Strabo has preserved one of their physiological opinions concerning the universe. They argued that it was never to be annihilated, but was to undergo a succession of changes and revolutions, which were to be produced, sometimes through the agency of water, and sometimes through that of fire. This opinion, which was entertained by the most ancient philosophers, was however, in all probability, not the result of any tedious investigation of principles, nor a conclusion drawn from a long deduction of rational inquiry. It prevailed among all the descendants of Noah, and was one of those primitive truths which may be easily traced up to our post-diluvian ancestor, tarnished a little with that obscurity which age communicates to all traditionary records.

We are informed by Cesar, that the Druids had many disquisitions concerning the nature of omnipotence, and the power of God. But whether they believed that matter was eternal, or was created by supernatural energy, and in what manner they endeavoured to account for its distribution into those various forms in which it appears throughout the universe, we are wholly ignorant. The memorials which have survived them, may however be considered as giving some strong intimations of their ideas respecting the primitive and natural form of things. These will induce us to conclude, that they thought them to be spherical. These intimations may be gathered from the figure of their places of public worship, from their temples, from the remains of many of their houses, and from that inordinate attachment which they invariably discovered towards the circle. To this particular figure they were probably directed, by the appearance of the sun, moon, stars, and of the most conspicuous parts of the universe. But their sentiments on these topics of inquiry, as well as on most others, instead of being delivered in plain and natural language, were communicated in a dark and mysterious way, embodied in figure, and obscured by enigma, which involved the whole in clouds which none but their own disciples were able to penetrate, and which none but these were permitted to explain.

Among their distinguishing doctrines, that of the immortality of the soul was fully admitted. The belief of this truth enabled the Druids to animate the soldiers in battle, to sooth the people under every misfortune, to reconcile them to all the calamities of life, and to meet death with an heroic fortitude. So deeply was the belief of this doctrine impressed upon their minds, that they anticipated

with every mark of assurance, their meeting with their friends in another world. Animated with the prospects of another life, some among them even postponed the settlement of their accounts, until they met in the regions of immortality. Others again threw letters into the fire, in which the bodies of the deceased were consuming, that they might be read by the spirits of their departed friends hereafter; and others, still more extravagant, even threw themselves on the funeral pile of their intimate companions in life, that they might share with them the joys of immortality.

"No people," says Dr. Borlase, "were more ardent in asserting the immortality of the soul than the Druids; in this they all agreed. Their firmness in this point does them honour, for in this tenet they were more steady than the best of the Greeks and Romans. This was the universal spring of action. It animated the soldier to expose his life in war, the slave to die with his master, the wife to follow her dead husband, the old and decrepit to precipitate themselves from rocks, or walk freely and without concern up to their own funeral piles; it reconciled the devoted victim to become a sacrifice, the creditor to postpone his debts till the next life; and the man of business became thereby contented to throw letters for his correspondents into the funeral fires, to be thence transmitted into the next world. All these particulars were the natural result of such a principle as the soul's immortality."*

But although the Druids, and with them our remote British ancestors, fully believed in the immortality of the soul, we have no means of knowing in what light they considered a future state. Of future punishments and rewards they have furnished us with nothing more than confused and indistinct accounts. The animation with which their belief of immortality was accompanied, plainly shews that they connected with it certain ideas of happiness. But whether the felicities of futurity had any connexion with the actions of this life, whether any thing judicial awaited them beyond the grave, or whether future happiness was a necessary branch of the process of existence, they have concealed from us; and perhaps they had no distinct ideas to communicate.

In addition to their confidence in the soul's immortality, a strong persuasion prevailed among them, that the soul passed from one body to another, in a long series, of which they could hardly discover the termination. It does not however appear, that a belief in the transmigration of the soul was universally embraced; it generally prevailed, but it was not an essential article of their creed. And even among those who advocated the cause of transmigration, we have no reason

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 101.

to believe that they held the migration of human souls into the bodies of brutes. They only supposed that the soul, having left one habitation of clay, entered immediately into another of the same nature; but for the consequences of their doctrine, they made no provision.

If we combine together the principles which are ascribed to the Druids, and the doctrines which they taught, and add to these the rites which they performed, a train of inconsistencies will appear. From the charge of inconsistency it will perhaps be impossible wholly to exempt them; but they had an art by which they eluded its grossness. The British Druids, like the Persian Magi, and the Brachmans of India, had two sets of doctrines; one for themselves and their initiated followers, and another for the people, who could not comprehend a doctrine that could not be taught by sense. The former of these doctrines they held to be literally true; the latter they only considered to be relatively so. Among the former, they admitted the existence and perfections of one eternal Being, and fully granted the immortality of the soul. These sublime truths were in all probability derived from Noah; but being abstract truths, they either found the vulgar incapable of receiving them, or thought it dangerous to make an experiment which should exclude from their contemplations all visible objects. Hence, their public deities were sensitive objects, and the immortality of the soul was clogged with absurdities, which concealed its real nature. The pure ore, however, sparkles amidst the heaps of rubbish with which it is surrounded; the light of truth beams through a night of palpable fiction and error; and enables us by its radiance, even amidst these glooms of obscurity, to explore the primitive source of unsullied perfection.

How far the ancient Druids might be able to reconcile such a duplicity of conduct with those principles of justice to which they manifested in many instances a strong attachment, it is difficult to say. In our views of things, a system of duplicity is utterly inconsistent with moral rectitude; and consequently, we cannot but condemn their conduct when we contemplate their principles and practices. According to their two-fold doctrine, they must have publicly acknowledged a power, of which, in secret they disbelieved the existence; they must have substituted inanimate matter for a spiritual essence; have offered sacrifices to imaginary beings, that could neither receive their homage, nor confer obligations upon them; and have been conscious of the deception which they systematically practised. In the mean while, they must have confirmed the people in their detestable credulity, and even assisted in sinking them still lower in the scale of mental degradation. But life and immortality were not then brought to light by the Gospel.

SECTION VI.

Superstitious practices of the Druids.

It is melancholy to reflect, that the mind of man has a natural tendency to superstition. A consciousness of homage that is due to a superior power, seems to be interwoven in the constitution of our nature, and to prove that a state of dependance is the lot of mortals. But our mental energies being too feeble to guide this innate propensity, we become the victims of our own weakness, and embrace phantoms, without yielding submission to realities. The mind on which the light of science but feebly beams, and on which the sun of Revelation never shone, may naturally be expected to wander in these territories of error. The Druids were in this situation, and, as a natural consequence, superstition marked their conduct.

We have already discovered some marks of superstition, in the veneration which the Druids paid to the consecrated oak, the mistletoe, the vervain, the selago, and the samolus; and more particularly in the manner in which these herbs were gathered and prepared for use; and finally, in the singular uses to which they were applied. It has been already noticed, that the Druids were immoderately attached to the circle. For this attachment, the best reason that can be assigned, is, their opinion that the universe was spherical; that all the larger bodies which they could discover was globular; and that in all their movements they described circles, or figures that bore a near affinity to them. Hence their places of public worship assumed this form, and in the celebration of their rites the Druids were seized with the same infection. "It was the custom of the Druids," says Dr. Borlase, "to turn round the body during their prayers, and to walk round their assemblies, their karnes, and their religious fires."* The practice of performing these mysterious rounds, during the time of public worship, was exceedingly ancient among the Britons, as the multitude of circular monuments still extant, continue to bear witness. According to Toland, in his History of the Druids, it was in use more than three thousand years ago; and even this remote period will not reach its origin. Of this ancient druidical custom, the practice of dancing round the May-pole, and round bonfires, which is still preserved in several parts of Cornwall, may be considered as surviving relics, although all attention to order is entirely done away.

Whether these mystic rounds were to be performed by walking from left to right, or from right to left, was a point that admitted of much dispute; and the

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 128.

variation formed a distinguishing characteristic among the different sects. "In the Scottish Isles, the vulgar never come to the ancient sacrificing, and fire hallowing karnes; but they walk three times round them, from east to west, according to the course of the sun." Some vestiges of this custom still exist among the vulgar in Cornwall, it being deemed unlucky when a company of men are drinking, to pass the glass around against the sun, as it is termed; or on any occasion to describe a circle, but by proceeding from the north to the east, from thence to the south, from thence to the west, and from the west to the north again.

Besides these mysterious rounds, the Druids had several others, which they performed with fire, by carrying lighted torches in their hands on certain occasions in a peculiar manner, in order to drive away evil spirits. In the Island of Lewis, one of the Scottish Isles, it was an ancient custom to make a fiery circle round the houses, corn, and cattle, belonging to each particular family; this was done by a man who carried a brand or torch in his hand, and travelled round the things which were to be enclosed. The same ceremony by the carrying of fire, was performed about women after childbearing, and round children before they were initiated, as an effectual means of preserving the mother and her offspring from the power of evil spirits. It is still customary in Cornwall, whenever an infant happens to sneeze, for the mother to exclaim "God bless you, my dear!" this also is done to preserve the babe from the power of evil spirits.

We are informed by Toland, in his History of the Druids, that "Two fires were kindled by them near one another, on May Eve, in every village through the nation," and that it extended to Gaul, to Ireland, and the Isles. "One fire was on the karne, (that is, a stone barrow) the other on the ground adjoining; the men and beasts to be sacrificed, were to pass between the two fires."* It is not improbable, that the lighting up of these fires arose from a corruption of that fire which consumed the sacrifices, that were offered to God by Noah and his posterity.

Of the fires we kindle in many parts of England, at stated periods of the year, we know not certainly the rise, reason, or occasion; but they may probably be reckoned among the relics of the forementioned Druid superstition. In Cornwall we have several festival fires called bonfires; one in particular, which is kindled on the eve of St. John the Baptist, and the other on that of St. Peter's Day; and Midsummer is thence called, in the Cornish tongue, *Golsan*, a word which signifies both light and rejoicing. "At these fires," says Dr. Borlase, "the Cornish attend with lighted torches, tarred and pitched at one end, and make their perambulations round the fires, going from village to village, and carrying

* Toland's History of the Druids, cited by Borlase's Antiquities, p. 135.

their torches before them; this is certainly a remnant of Druid superstition."* The custom, of which Dr. Borlase thus speaks, was no doubt very common in Cornwall when he wrote; but at present, although the bonfires remain, the marching from village to village with lighted torches, exists only in the fading recollection of the aged, and in those pages which marked the prevailing customs of departed days.

If we turn from the element of fire to that of water, we shall find it agitated by the incantations of Druid superstition. It is well known, that the ancient Britons paid to certain fountains and rivers, a degree of veneration which nearly, if not wholly, amounted to adoration. But whether these fountains and rivers were venerated from a persuasion that they enshrined an emanation of God, celestial spirits, or intelligences of an inferior order, or contained some magical virtues, they have not informed us. It is certain, however, that they approached them with trembling respect at stated periods, and honoured these consecrated waters with many singular ceremonies. To some of these fountains the voice of fame still directs us; and the records of tradition continue to inform us of wonders, which modern credulity feels some difficulty in allowing. The names of Scarlet Well, of Madern Well, of St. Keyne's Well, and of several others, are well known. Their reputed virtues we shall examine hereafter; at present it will be sufficient to observe, that their fame appears to have outlived their supernatural qualities.

In this reign of superstition, almost every thing was presumed to possess some singular properties, either hurtful or beneficial, which neither the chemist nor the natural philosopher has yet been able to discover. The mountains concealed their resident spirits, and the stupendous rocks teemed with invisible intelligences. The moonlight awakened the fairies; and the destined hour of the night collected them together at some appointed place of rendezvous, and urged them on, to "dance to the music of a beetle's wing."

These imaginary beings are without doubt of eastern extraction, and of great antiquity. By some writers they have been represented, as owing their original importation to the crusades and pilgrimages, which mistaken zeal and frantic devotion had undertaken. All concur in asserting, that they are of eastern extraction; but our best authorities induce a belief, that they claim a higher antiquity than either crusades or pilgrimages can boast.

"That fairies came from the east, we are assured by that learned orientalist, M. Herbelot, who tells us, that the Persians called them Peri, and the Arabs

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 136.

Genies; that according to the eastern fiction, there is a country inhabited by fairies, called Ginnistian, which answers to our Fairy Land. And Mr. Warton, in his observation on Spenser's Fairy Queen, is decidedly of opinion, that fairies came from the east, and were introduced into this country long before the period of the crusades."*

A firm persuasion that these imaginary creatures actually existed, till within the last age very generally prevailed throughout Cornwall. And this persuasion, though rapidly on the decline, is still cherished by multitudes among the aged and unenlightened. By some, even the places of their resort is still pointed out; and particular fields and lanes are distinguished as spots which they were accustomed to frequent. To those bushes and hedges, near which they were presumed to assemble, some degrees of veneration are still attached. An indefinite species of sanctity is still associated with their beaten circles, and it is thought unlucky to injure their haunts, or to throw any obstacle in their way.

These fairies, sprites, spriggian, gentle people, good people, or piskays, for by all these names they seem to be indifferently distinguished, were formerly believed to interfere in domestic concerns, and to have a considerable influence over the affairs of mankind. They were supposed to steal children, to command the winds, to change the weather, to purloin trifles, to discover hidden treasures, and to delude benighted travellers. "These inferior deities," says Dr. Borlase, "the Cornish call spriggian or spirits; they answer to the genii and fairies of the ancients; and of these the vulgar in Cornwall still discourse as of real beings, and they pay them a kind of veneration."†

If a traveller among the peasantry happened to lose his way, whether by daylight or in darkness, especially if it was a road with which he had been well acquainted, he immediately concluded that he was "piskay led;" and in this belief he was confirmed, by the public opinion of his neighbours, who were always ready on his return, to recount a number of similar adventures, as corroborating evidences of the fact. To dispel the charm with which the "piskay led" traveller was entangled, nothing was deemed sufficient, but that of his turning one of his garments inside out. This generally fell upon one of his stockings; and if this precaution had been taken before the commencement of the journey, it was fully believed, that no such delusion would have happened. The turning of a garment inside out was therefore sometimes adopted as a preventative, and sometimes

* See the above authors quoted by Mr. Polwhele, in his Historical Views of Devon, p. 27.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 110.

resorted to as a remedy, when the spell of the piskay was experienced. This simple remedy was however rarely applied in vain. No sooner was the stocking or other garment turned, than the charm was dissolved, and all its influence removed; the road was quickly found, and the way-led traveller reached the place of his destination in safety, to entertain his friends with his imaginary misfortunes.

If the thread of the semstress was entangled, if her patches were discomposed, if her thimble was lost, if domestic articles were mislaid, if an accident happened, of which the immediate cause was not obvious, the blame was instantly thrown upon the piskays, and these invisible offenders were sometimes loaded with execrations. The piskays, however, with all their faults, were convenient inmates; they sustained, without resentment, all the blame which indiscretion or carelessness had incurred; and, like the camel of the Abyssinians, whose guilt was devoid of criminality, they were the happy medium of reconciling contending parties, and of preventing domestic feuds.

But the age of piskays, like that of chivalry, is gone. There is perhaps at present scarcely a house in Cornwall, which they are reputed to visit. They neither steal children, nor displace domestic articles. Even the fields and lanes which they formerly frequented, seem to be nearly forsaken. Their music is rarely heard; and they appear to have forgotten to attend their ancient midnight dance. The diffusion of knowledge, by which the people have been enlightened during the last half century, has considerably reduced the number of piskays; and even the few that remain, are evidently preparing to take their departure. It is therefore much to be apprehended, unless the clouds of ignorance should again gather round us, that the time is near at hand, when we may search in vain for piskays throughout the county of Cornwall.

But the superstition of the Druids did not terminate in their belief of the existence and power of fairies. It took a more extensive range, and led them to profess the art of divination; to admit the power of charms, and describe the issues of present and future events. It was the province of the Druids to examine with much attention the entrails of the victims that were offered in sacrifice; and it was their exclusive privilege to explain the omens which they discovered. To the flight and screams of particular birds, they attributed an uncommon degree of respect; but the Druids only had the power of understanding either. The number of their criminals was thought portentous of plenty or scarcity during the ensuing year; but it was only the Druids who could explain the probable amount. Even the increase and decrease of their own order, were considered as prognostics of interesting events; the former denoted plenty, and the latter want.

Misfortunes and afflictions, although verifying a preceding prediction, were considered as harbingers of something still future, and indicated the displeasure of the gods.

" From the several waves and eddies," says Dr. Borlase, " which the sea, river, or other water exhibited, when put into agitation, after a ritual manner, they pretended to foretel with great certainty the event of battles; a way of divining recorded by Plutarch, in his life of Cesar, and still used by the vulgar of Cornwall, who go to some noted well, on particular times of the year, and there observe the bubbles that rise, and the aptness of the water to be troubled, or to remain pure, on their throwing in pins or pebbles, and thence conjecture what shall or shall not befall them. The Druids also, as we have great reason to think, pretended to predict future events, not only from holy wells and running streams, but from rain and snow water, which when settled, and afterwards stirred, either by oak-leaf or branch, or magic wand, might exhibit appearances of great information to the quick-sighted Druid, or seem so to do to the credulous inquirer, when the priest was at full liberty to represent the appearances as he thought most for his purpose."*

Of the anguinum, or serpent's egg, very little needs be said, since both the bubble and its use are nearly obliterated from the traditionary records of Cornwall. It is however mentioned by Pliny, by Camden, by Carew, and Borlase, as an article of considerable antiquity, and of high repute among the Druids; but as too extravagant to demand a serious examination. According to the accounts of Pliny and Camden, the Druids considered the anguinum to be composed of a congeries of small snakes rolled together and incrusted with a shell formed by the saliva and viscous gum, froth, or sweat of the mother serpents. The Druids say, that this egg, which was blown into the air by the hissings of the dam, in order to preserve its virtue, and prevent it from being defiled, should be caught in a sacred vestment before it was permitted to touch the ground. It was only when this anguinum would swim against the stream, even if set in gold, that it was allowed to be genuine. It is therefore not a matter of surprise, that genuine ones should be remarkably scarce, and their virtues possessed only by the Druids. The scarcity of real ones led to the introduction of artificial substitutes, and no doubt, though they could not swim against a stream, they were equally as efficacious as the others.

These eggs were articles of trade among the Druids. Imposition sold, and credulity purchased; and the price was adjusted between wickedness and folly.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 140.

The virtue of this singular composition consisted in giving to its possessor the favour of the great, and a conquest in debate over every antagonist. Carew intimates, that the vulgar opinion was, that the snakes breathing upon a hazel wand, formed a stone ring of a blue colour, in which the figure of a yellow snake appeared; and that the water, in which this stone had been placed, if given to cattle to drink that had been bitten by any poisonous reptile, counteracted the malignity of its venom.

Camden asserts, that the prevailing vulgar opinion was, that about Midsummer Eve the snakes met together in companies, and joining their heads, began a general hiss, which they continued until a kind of bubble was formed, which immediately hardened, and gave to the finder prosperity in all his undertakings.* To this general hiss of the serpents on Midsummer Eve, that of common sense has been joined throughout the year; and the effect is, that the bubble has long since been blown completely out of sight. It is however, a remarkable fact, that the power of charming serpents is still professed by many, who, without any apprehension of danger, take them in their hands, and even carry them in their pockets. The hazel wand is still presumed to retain its virtues, and a branch of maiden ash is surprisingly efficacious. Even a circle described round a serpent with a branch of ash, is said to have the power of preventing it from passing over the boundaries; so that the charm still survives, although the anguinum is hissed from the county.

To the rocking or logan stones, of which we have several in Cornwall, the people rather than the Druids, attached many superstitious notions. This credulity the Druids endeavoured to keep alive, by rendering these logan stones too sacred for vulgar hands to touch. To these therefore, it is probable they had recourse, whenever they wanted to confirm their authority, or establish any new species of fraud. The motion of an enormous block of granite, on being touched by the finger of a Druid, carried with it an unquestionable evidence of the miraculous interposition of a god; and his approbation of the Druid, and the submission of the multitude, seemed to be the immediate dictates of heaven.

But although the logan stones were the instruments of the Druids, and the bugbears of the giddy throng, there were others, against the influence of which, even the philosophy of the Druids was an insufficient proof. These were supposed to contain the awards of destiny, which neither ingenuity nor power could avert. Of this description was the *Fatal Stone*, as it was emphatically called, from a persuasion that its preservation measured the destiny of the Irish royal family.

* See Borlase's Antiquities, p. 142. Carew, p. 22; and Camden, p. 815, cited by Dr. Borlase.

TRADITION CONCERNING THE IRISH CORONATION STONE.

Of this stone the Irish pretend to trace the history above two thousand years; and in support of its connexion with Irish royalty, they quote a Druid oracle, of which the following is the literal import:

Except old saws do feign,
And wizard wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign,
Where they this stone shall find.

On this miraculous stone the supreme monarchs of Ireland are said to have been inaugurated for a series of centuries, on a particular hill called Tarah. And the public opinion was, that in what country soever this stone was found, there one of the descendants of the Irish kings was destined to reign. It was enclosed in a wooden chair, and was presumed to emit a sound whenever the legal king sat upon it; but to be silent when the seat was occupied by an usurper, or by one that had a bad title. From Ireland this Fatal Stone found its way into Scotland, where it continued as the coronation seat of the Scottish kings, till, in the year 1300, Edward I. brought it from Scone to England, and placed it under the coronation chair at Westminster.*

In Cornwall, several vestiges of druidical superstitions were conspicuous within the memories of many persons now living. At present they are so far retired out of sight, that little more than the shadows of them remain. The names however, of customs which once prevailed, are still familiar among us; but to the present generation they are unintelligible in practice and experiment; and their meaning is only known through the information which tradition, wavering in uncertainty, supplies. Of these lengthening shadows, and departing customs, we shall hereafter take some notice, when the prevailing propensities of the Cornish inhabitants come to be examined. It is sufficient for us at present to catch some glimpses of ancient superstitions, to behold them gradually declining, and giving way to that steady light which our British ancestors never knew. But we must now proceed from superstition, to take a survey of its associate horrors; to contemplate its idols, to listen to the groans of dying victims, and to sigh over altars stained with human blood.

* See Toland, p. 103, as cited by Borlase's Antiquities, p. 143; and Historical Views of Devon, p. 168.

SECTION VII.

Objects of Adoration, and Places and Modes of Worship among the Druids.

We have already observed, that although idolatry prevailed among the ancient Britons, the more enlightened among the Druids believed in secret in the existence of one supreme and eternal Being; but that they concealed this knowledge from the people; and, in public, inculcated that idolatry which they despised. If this opinion concerning them be true, it may compliment their understandings, but it must be at the expence of their moral rectitude. It is highly probable, that although many among them admitted secretly the existence of an eternal Being, they did not perceive the inconsistency of their theology, in allowing a multitude of subordinate gods. And, as a natural consequence, they readily acknowledged their power, and viewed them as objects of adoration. But whether the power which these inferior gods possessed, resided within them by necessary inherence, or by delegation from the supreme Being, was in all probability a question of too much refinement for their speculations. Thus far the case is clear, they admitted, in common with other heathen nations, the gods which disfigured the Gentile world; and from these descended to inanimate matter, paying divine honours to the imaginary spirit that was supposed to reside in every unshapely mass.

Among the objects of their adoration, Mercury was venerated as their principal deity. He was considered as the inventor of arts, the guardian of travellers, and the superintendant of all mercantile affairs. Next to Mercury they worshipped Apollo, whom they called Balenus, or Belis, and by whom they meant the sun. Mars came next, and was called Hesus, and Teutates; and he was followed by Jupiter and Minerva. Their opinion concerning these gods, was much the same as that of other nations. They assigned to each his distinct department, and consecrated places to the worship and honour of all. To each of these gods they also assigned distinct symbols or representatives. A cube was the representative of Mercury, and the emblem of truth; and the fairest and tallest oak which the forest could produce, was the symbol of Jupiter; and when properly consecrated and prepared, became his actual representative. From the oak they descended to mountains and rivers; and from these they proceeded to rocks, stones, and fountains; concluding that they were actually inhabited by some of those inferior intelligences, which, as already noticed in the preceding section, they called spriggian or spirits. Of these sacred rocks, stones, and other monuments which still remain in Cornwall, notice will be taken hereafter, when we come to examine the remains of the ancient Britons in Cornwall.

OBJECTS OF ADORATION AMONG THE DRUIDS.

In the consecration of the sacred oak to Jupiter, there are several circumstances both singular and curious. The Druids having found a beautiful oak, began with cutting off all its side branches. When this was done, they joined two of them to the uppermost part of the trunk, causing them to extend their arms in two opposite directions, so that the whole exhibited the appearance of a cross. Above the insertion of these arms, and also below it, they inscribed the word *Thau* on the trunk, by which they meant God. On the right arm they inscribed *Hesus*, and on the left *Belenus;* and on the middle of the trunk the word *Tharamis* was also inserted. It was under trees thus consecrated and inscribed, that the most sacred rites of the Druids were performed. It was near these that they erected their altars, which were always covered with the leaves of the oak, before any sacrifice could be regularly offered.

Though the Druids had many sacred enclosures, which may be considered as so many temples, yet a grove was always considered as necessary to the solemnities of their religious worship. And although we find at present, many places which were evidently consecrated by the Druids, and devoted to public worship, in which no grove appears, we may rest assured, that this may be attributed to the changes which time has introduced. The existence of a grove of oaks, of the tallest size, and most venerable appearance that could be procured, was always considered as an essential article in the Druid worship. "If you find," says Seneca, "a grove thick set with aged oaks, that have shot up to a vast height, the talness of the wood, the retirement of the place, and the pleasantness of the shade, immediately make you think it the habitation of some god." It cannot indeed be denied, that solitude, shade, and silence, have a considerable influence upon the mind; and when these are employed in the service of devotion, they communicate to it an air of mystery and solemnity, of which the effects are almost incalculable.

Of these facts the Druids were fully sensible; and without having recourse to such an expedient, we can scarcely conceive, that the people would so readily have embraced the monstrous absurdities which were taught, would have acknowledged the power of the deities which they were instructed to adore, or have submitted to all the detestable rites of their idolatrous worship. Falsehood and deception always stand in need of foreign aid; but the intrinsic excellence of truth is sufficient to recommend it without any borrowed assistance. Why those, whose deeds are evil, should love darkness rather than light, is sufficiently obvious. "They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good."—*Hosea* iv. 13. This language of the prophet is so strongly descriptive of the conduct of the Druids, that it seems almost to have resulted from actual observation.

THEIR PLACES OF WORSHIP MADE THE DEPOTS OF THE SPOILS OF WAR.

In common with the Moabites, and the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan, the Druids selected for the places of their public worship, such groves as stood on an elevated spot. This choice they have been supposed to make, from a persuasion, that, by being lifted on high, their temples might be erected more immediately in the vicinity of their gods. And consequently, as these retired situations separated them from the concerns of mortality, they could not but view them as peculiarly adapted to the sublimity of their devotions.

That the Druids had no walled or covered temples, seems to be generally admitted; for although they were sunk in idolatry, and involved in inconsistencies, they viewed their divinities as beings that were to be worshipped without being seen. Hence almost every Druid temple was without a covering. We must not however infer from hence, that, because their temples were destitute of roofs, the Druids had therefore no consecrated enclosures. Sometimes their sacred groves were fenced in with rude palisades, and at other times the hill was enclosed with a mound of earth, to mark the limits of consecration, to awe the profane, and to prevent all intrusion on their sacred mysteries. Within the precincts of this enclosure, every tree was sprinkled with human blood; and on the sides or summits of the same hills, when they were sufficiently large for their purposes, every thing necessary for their mysterious solemnities found a place. Within these bounds their private circles were marked out; the symbols or memorials of their deities were erected; their altars for various sacrifices were placed; and their seats or tribunals of justice were established. Within these, they also had their cairns or karnes, for their holy fires; caves for the instruction of their youth; and sacred wells, together with rock basons of various dimensions, all rendered subservient to their systematic superstitions.

Nor were these sacred enclosures confined to the purposes of religion alone. They were considered as public sanctuaries; they were equally secure from sacrilege and theft. As the Druids and the chiefs were always in close alliance, they found no difficulty in making these sacred enclosures the depositaries of spoils which they had taken in war. "One may see," says Cesar, "great heaps of such booty laid up in their places of worship; and it seldom happens that any one is so impious as to conceal the booty he has made, or to take it away when it has been once brought into the treasury, that crime being punished with the utmost severity." *

It is satisfactorily attested, that the Druids considered prayer as an indispensable duty; but in what manner, or order, their various deities were addressed, is not

* See Cesar, lib. vi. cited by Borlase's Antiquities, p. 116.

so easily known. Their whole system of theology was of a gloomy cast, calculated to fill their minds with frightful conceptions and melancholy apprehensions. The tribute of grateful acknowledgment formed only a small part of their religious exercises; they were neither cheered by confidence nor enlivened by hope. Ablutions, mystical turnings, and a strict observance of ceremonies which no one presumed fully to comprehend, marked their outward demeanour. They acknowledged their inferiority, but their minds were destitute of grateful feelings; and hence they yielded a gloomy submission that was a stranger to love.

SECTION VIII.

Victims sacrificed by the Druids, and manner in which they offered them to their Gods.

If nothing more had been exhibited in the Druid worship, than the groves, the stupendous rocks, the sacred enclosures, the lustrations, and mystical turnings, which we have already noticed, we might have compassionated the deluded devotees, and have sighed over the degeneracy of human nature, while the indignant feelings would have enjoyed repose. But we are now called to survey another scene; to walk through the valley of Hinnom, and to shudder at the sight of human blood.

The victims which the Druids offered to their idols were of various kinds, selected by known rules, agreeably to the solemnity of the occasion, and the character of that deity, on whose altar the bloody sacrifice was destined to smoke. At the gathering of the mistletoe two white bulls were selected from their herds, unless they had in their possession any victims that had been taken from their enemies in war; when this was the case, these were preferred, and the bulls were spared. In the month of November a black sheep was sacrificed to Baal Samhaim, which was a Phenician appellation of Baal, and signified the sun. At this season, it was believed that Baal Samhaim summoned the souls of the departed to appear at his tribunal; and that after passing sentence upon them according to their deserts, he either sent them forth to re-enter other bodies, or consigned them over to another destiny. It was thought however, that the rigour of these sentences might be considerably mitigated, by these sacrifices of their surviving friends, and Baal Samhaim was bribed accordingly.

About the time of the summer solstice, the Druids lighted up another fire in honour of Bel or Belus; and at both these seasons of the year, it is still a custom in some parts of Ireland for the people to light up fires on some elevated places,

and to bring their families together, to dance round, to pass through, and to jump over them, in order that success may attend them in all their future enterprizes. In some places, even their cattle are compelled to submit to this ordeal, of passing through the fire, that good luck may attend their dairies, and that neither blasting nor mildew may destroy their ensuing crops. Our bonfires in Cornwall are evidently of the same original, although they are unattended with these ordeals, and are destitute at present of all ominous power. We can only view them as the continued emblems of those flames in which the Druid sacrifices were once consumed. The victims have disappeared, but the fire still continues occasionally to glow; though the reason for which it was originally lighted, is nearly lost. It is thus the Pyramids, those proud monuments of antiquity remain, while the end for which they were primarily erected is almost forgotten, if not totally unknown.

Yet even at the present day, when the bonfires are lighted up in Cornwall, and the spectators have for some time been assembled round them, it is customary for the youths of both sexes to display their agility, either in running through the fire, or in jumping over the glowing brands, as the flames decline. In these practices they awaken a spirit of emulation in each other; and that person is thought to be the most fortunate or lucky, who can brave the fiercest fire, and pass through it with the least inconvenience.

Of the sacrificing of beasts, some solitary memorials still remain; but in the barbarous instance I am about to mention, the perpetrator of the deed could assign no other reason, than that it was necessary to procure good luck.

An ignorant old farmer in Cornwall, who is still alive, and well known to the writer of this paragraph, having met with some severe losses in his cattle, about the year 1800, was much afflicted with his misfortunes. To stop the growing evil he applied to the farriers in his neighbourhood, but unfortunately he applied in vain. The malady still continuing, and all remedies failing, he thought it necessary to have recourse to some extraordinary measure. Accordingly, on consulting with some of his neighbours, equally as ignorant as himself, and evidently not less barbarous, they recalled to their recollections, a tale which tradition had handed down from remote antiquity, that the calamity would not cease, until he had actually burned alive the finest calf which he had upon his farm; but that when this sacrifice was made, the murrain would afflict his cattle no more. The old farmer, influenced by this counsel, resolved immediately on reducing it to practice; that by making the detestable experiment, he might secure an advantage, which the whispers of tradition, and the advice of his neighbours, had conspired to assure him would follow. He accordingly called several of his friends together, on an appointed day, and having lighted a large

fire, brought forth his best calf, and without ceremony or remorse, pushed it into the flames. The innocent victim, on feeling the intolerable heat, endeavoured to escape; but this was in vain. The barbarians that surrounded the fire were armed with pitchforks, or pikes, as in Cornwall they are generally called; and, as the burning victim endeavoured to escape from death, with these instruments of cruelty, the wretches pushed back the tortured animal into the flames. In this state, amidst the wounds of the pitchforks, the shouts of unfeeling ignorance and cruelty, and the corrosion of flames, the dying victim poured out its expiring groan, and was consumed to ashes.

It is scarcely possible to reflect on this instance of superstitious barbarity, without tracing a kind of resemblance between it and the ancient sacrifices of the Druids. This calf was sacrificed to fortune, or good luck, to avert impending calamity, and to ensure future prosperity; and was selected by the farmer as the finest among his herd. This memorable circumstance occurred not many years since, in a parish with which the writer of this account is well acquainted, and on an estate that is equally well known to him; but he will not defile these pages with the name of the inhuman monster.

But besides the sacrifice of beasts, which was common to the Druids, they had a custom, which in point of cruelty and detestation, surpasses all that we have hitherto surveyed. This consisted in the offering of human victims at the polluted shrines of their imaginary gods. At these shrines their enemies were sacrificed, and their friends were offered. Sometimes the vigorous youth, and comely virgin, were immolated on these sanguinary altars; and sometimes the smiling infant was carried from the bosom of its mother, to the flames which terminated its life.

On the origin of human sacrifices, several opinions have occasionally prevailed. Sometimes it has been referred to the abuse of that offering, which Abraham was commanded to make of his son Isaac to God, (*Gen.* xxii. 2.) but which was prevented by the interposition of an angel. But as the offering of human sacrifices prevailed in many parts of the Gentile world, long before the days of Abraham, we have more reason to believe that the Almighty designed, by the giving of this command, and by the counteracting of it, to shew his detestation of this inhuman practice, than that this incident gave rise to the barbarous custom. By giving the command, he displayed the right which omnipotence only could possess; but by forbidding the execution of it he developed the benevolence of his nature.

By a second class of men, it has been supposed, that an innate sense of human weakness, combined with those exalted views which an enlightened mind must

always have of God, has led to the conclusion, that some offering was necessary; but that nothing could be so acceptable as that which was the most valuable in human estimation. It was on this principle, that the Druids defended their barbarous rites. They were confident, that nothing could be more valuable than human life; and consequently that "for the redemption of the life of man, nothing but the life of man could be acceptable by the gods."*

Dissatisfied with these derivations of this barbarous custom, others have supposed, and that with no small degree of probability, that it originated in a mistaken idea of that great sacrifice which should one day be made for the sins of the people. Of this, the founders of every nation under heaven must have had some conception, from those sacrifices which were offered by Noah, as typical of the great event. But as these nations wandered from the paternal seat; as the corruption of the heart became predominant; and as ages, unenlightened by Revelation, rolled on, they retained some knowledge of the fact which their great ancestor had declared; but forgetting the circumstances with which it was connected, they degenerated into this melancholy proof of human depravity.

But to what source soever this horrid custom may be traced, its prevalence throughout the Gentile world is too obvious to require any formal evidence. There is scarcely a nation upon earth, in which some notions of a vicarious sacrifice are not entertained; and perhaps there is not one, in which the horrible custom of offering human sacrifices has not prevailed, in some period or other of its history.

When the king of Moab was besieged in his capital, and thought himself in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, "he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall."—2 *Kings* ii. 27. To Moloch, Solomon built a temple upon the Mount of Olives; and Manasseh, a long time afterwards, imitated his impiety, by making his son pass through the fire in honour of this idol. But it was principally in the valley of Tophet and Hinnom, at the east of Jerusalem, that the Jews paid idolatrous worship to Moloch, by consecrating their children to him, and causing them to pass through the fire to his abominable shrine.† *Jer.* xix. 4, 5, 6.

---

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 126.

† "First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol." *Paradise Lost*, Book i. l. 391, &c.

THE CARTHAGINIANS SACRIFICED THEIR CHILDREN TO THEIR GODS.

We are informed by Homer, who flourished more than nine hundred years before the Christian era, that on the funeral pile of Patroclus no less than twelve captive Trojans bled by the sacrificer's knife.

"Four sprightly coursers, with a deadly groan,
Pour forth their lives, and on the pyre are thrown.
Of nine large dogs, domestic at his board,
Two fell selected to attend their lord:
And last of all, and horrible to tell,
Sad sacrifice! *twelve Trojan captives fell;*
On these the rage of fire victorious preys,
Involves and joins them in one common blaze."——*Iliad.*

Herodotus informs us, that when Xerxes having passed the Strymon, reached a particular place called the Nine Ways, he buried alive nine young men, and as many virgins. In this barbarous deed he only followed the example of his wife, who, on a former occasion, had commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth, to be offered in a similar manner to the deity that resided in the earth.

In the infancy of Rome, Curtius, for the preservation of his country, devoted himself to destruction, by precipitating himself into a chasm which an earthquake had made. On the same principle, Decius, having offered himself as an expiatory sacrifice, rushed singly into the thickest ranks of his astonished enemies, that by his death he might appease the anger of the gods, and transfer their vengeance to the enemies of Rome. In succeeding years the Romans offered their children to the goddess Mania; and in still later periods, numerous gladiators bled at the tombs of the patricians, to appease the manes of the departed. And it is particularly recorded of Augustus, that, on the ides of March, after the taking of Perusia, he sacrificed three hundred senators and knights to the divinity of Julius Cesar.

The Carthaginians, according to Diodorus Siculus, bound themselves by a most solemn vow to Chronus, that on certain occasions they would sacrifice to him children selected from the offspring of their most noble citizens. This vow was fulfilled for a season; but in process of time, they substituted the children of their slaves in their stead. This practice they continued, till their army being defeated by Agathocles, they attributed their disgrace to the duplicity of their conduct; and to appease the anger of their god, and make some atonement for their misconduct, they selected two hundred children from the most distinguished families in Carthage, and offered them on his bloody altars. And to such a height did this dreadful delusion run, that three hundred citizens voluntarily offered

their lives, that by their deaths they might render the deity propitious to their country.

In one period of their history, the Pelasgi sacrificed a tenth part of all their children in obedience to an oracle. The Egyptians at Heliopolis sacrificed three men every day to Juno. The Spartans and Arcadians scourged to death young women; the former to gratify Diana, and the latter to appease the wrath of Bacchus. In Persia the Sabian idolaters offered human victims to Mithras; the Cretans did the same to Jupiter; the Lacedemonians and Lusitanians to Mars; the Lesbians to Bacchus; the Phocians to Diana; and the Thessalians to Chiron.

If we penetrate still farther to the east, we shall not search in vain for altars stained with human blood. In the Ramayuna, one of the sacred books of the Hindoos, we have an account of the solemn sacrifice of the white horse. After this the particulars are detailed of a human sacrifice, in which the victim, distinguished for piety and resignation, is bound and delivered to the priest, from whose knife he is delivered by a miracle. Even the humane and amiable inhabitants of the Pellew Islands, murdered all the prisoners whom they took in war. And it is well known, that in all ages the Brahmins have had their human victims. The incidents recorded by Dr. Buchanan, astonish by their horrors. Even dogs, jackals, and vultures, feed upon human flesh. Female infants perish by the hands that should support them; wives are burned alive on the funeral piles of their husbands; and thousands perish annually under the wheels of Jauggernaut.

The natives of Otaheite, on their being first discovered, were represented to Europe in such glowing colours, that they were thought to be farther removed from the vices, than they were from the dominion of the old world. But a nearer inspection of their character has detected the fallacy, and placed them in a light which rather excites our abhorrence, than commands our respect. Bouganville having asserted that they offered human sacrifices, induced Captain Cook to inquire into the fact; and the result was an awful confirmation of its truth. Captain Cook, in company with an associate circumnavigator, a sailor who spoke the language, and some of the natives, visited one of their morais, and was personally assured that "they offered bad men to their Eatoos, or gods." On a subsequent voyage he attended one of these inhuman ceremonies at Attahooroo. The victim was slain before his arrival at the spot. He examined the corpse, and found that he had been beaten to death. No crime however was assigned as the cause of his suffering. He had been selected at the caprice of the priests, and murdered without ceremony or trial. Captain Cook found in this morai forty-nine human skulls, none of which appeared to have been injured by time;

which demonstrates, that these sacrifices frequently took place. More recent observations have given to the national character of the Otaheitan savages a still deeper shade. The missionaries who have of late years been established among them, assert, that nearly one third of their infants were offered in sacrifices to their idols.

Among the natives of the Leeward Islands, Peter Martyr has observed, that it was customary, on the death of a cacique, for his most beloved wives to be immolated at his funeral. And it rarely happens among savage nations, that the victor spares the prisoners he takes in war.

The Caribbean character is marked with still deeper shades. The dignity and reward of their heroes consisted in the number of their wives and captives; and it was thought to be an act of religious duty, to offer some of these to the spirits of their departed warriors, that they might administer to their wants and pleasures in another life. The funerals of their chiefs and heroes were accordingly dignified with these bloody rites; and the unfortunate women were obliged to suffer death, that they might wait upon the spirit of their departed lord. That the Caribbees were cannibals, is too well attested to be denied. Of this inhuman custom Columbus was informed by the natives of Hispaniola, in his first interview with them; and having landed at Guadaloupe on the discovery of the Windward Islands, he found in the cabins of the natives, several heads and limbs of human bodies, which had been separated from one another, and which were held in reserve for some future repasts. At the same time Columbus rescued from these barbarians, several of the natives of Porto Rico, whom war or some other cause had thrown into their hands, and who were evidently destined to become their future prey. Among the same people he found many human limbs, which had been dried in the sun, and which were preserved for these detestable purposes. These limbs, on particular occasions, were introduced in the midst of their dismal orgies, to excite the people to war, to stimulate them to renew their depredations, and to animate them to revenge and blood.

The Mexicans, when Cortez first entered their territories, were represented to the eyes of Europe, as having emerged from savage darkness and barbarity; and their history at that time excited the astonishment of mankind. Yet even in this region, this species of inhumanity had taken up its abode. "A slave," says Abbé Raynal, "was annually chosen, and shut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incense, invoked him as a god, and concluded the scene, by cutting his throat with great solemnity. Their prisoners of war were sacrificed in the temple of the god of battles; the priests afterwards ate them, and sent portions to the emperor and principal lords of the realm. When peace had lasted

for some time, they took care to have it insinuated that the gods were hungry; and war was commenced with no other view than to make prisoners."*

Through a series of centuries the natives of Peru sacrificed their children to the sun. And it was not till the Incas made their appearance among them, that they could be induced to relinquish this detestable practice. The conduct of the Northern American Indians towards their prisoners taken in war, is too well known to require any comment.

If we turn to Europe, and survey the ancient inhabitants of its most distinguished nations, the picture will not be enlivened by any rays of light. In Russia, the slave worshipped a multitude of gods, and erected to them innumerable altars. Of these deities, Peroun, that is, the thunderer, was the supreme, and before his image many of their prisoners bled. Their god of physic, who also presided over the sacred fires, shared with him; and the great rivers, considered as gods, had their victims, whom they covered with their inexorable waves. But Suetovid, the god of war, was the deity in whom they chiefly delighted. To him they presented annually three hundred prisoners, sitting on horses, as a burnt-offering; and when the whole was sufficiently consumed with fire, the priests and people sat down to their carnival, and continued till all were drunk. It is worthy of remark, that the residence of Suetovid was imagined to be in the sun.

In Sweden, the altars of Woden smoked almost incessantly with blood; and that of human beings frequently swelled the crimson current; particularly every ninth year, at the solemn festivals which were then celebrated at Upsal. At each periodical return of this season, the king, attended by his senate, and all the officers of his court, entered the temple of their idol, which glittered on all sides with gold, and conducted to the altar nine captives, if they were engaged in war, and had so many in their power, or nine slaves instead of them, if they were blessed with peace. These unhappy victims were always caressed by the populace, as they submitted to their fate, from a persuasion that they were about to avert from the survivors the displeasure of the gods. But in times of particular distress, neither slaves nor captives were thought of sufficient dignity to avert the impending calamity. On these occasions, more noble victims bled. And it stands upon record, that when Aune their king was ill, he offered up his nine sons to Woden, to obtain a prolongation of his life.

Among the Danes the same abominable customs prevailed. Every ninth year, in the month of January, they sacrificed ninety-nine men, and an equal number of horses, dogs, and cocks. Woden was their idol; and the principle upon which

* Raynal's Trade and Settlement of the Europeans, Vol. II. p. 280.

he was worshipped, as well as the manner, was much the same in every place in which his power was acknowledged. Hence Hacon king of Norway, offered his own son at the shrine of Woden, that he might obtain a victory over Harold, with whom he was at war.

In Germany their principal deities were the sun, the moon, and Vulcan; but Tuisco was considered as an object of worship, and the dominion of Woden was acknowledged. And from what we have already seen, although we have no direct evidence to prove the fact, the probability is, that like the neighbouring nations, the blood of animals reeked upon their altars, and that their most valuable victims were taken from the human race.

If we pass from Germany into Gaul, in which territory the rites of druidism prevailed, the prospect darkens before us. Their gods were similar to those which were adored in Britain; their rites were nearly the same; the groans of dying victims were poured before their shrines; and their altars were stained with human blood. It is asserted on the authority of Cesar, that, independently of their common sacrifices, whenever they thought themselves in danger, whether from sickness or war, and more especially after any considerable defeat, they endeavoured to propitiate their gods, by an offering as dignified as the occasion was urgent. They constructed wicker images of an enormous size, the cavities of which they filled with men. These they first suffocated with smoke, and then consumed by fire. These perishing victims were taken from among their criminals, when the number was sufficient; but when this source was drained, the deficiency was supplied either from the captives taken in war, or from the community at large.*

Nor were the bloody rites practised in Britain less detestable, less cruel, or less notorious, than those which we have recently surveyed. In many features, they were nearly alike; but in several others we have to boast a pre-eminence in enormity. In Britain, druidism had been long matured; and either from the intercourse of its inhabitants with the Phenicians, or from their improvements in the science of murder, they had contrived to introduce refinements in cruelty, which were less fully known on the continental shores.

As the system of druidism involved a mass of conflicting principles, so the victims which the priests selected, consisted of a heterogeneous medley, which occasionally cheated the gibbet and the throne, and only served to give consistency

* See Townsend's Character of Moses; B. Edwards' History of the West Indies; Wilson's Account of the Pellew Islands: Cook's Voyages; and Raynal's Account of the Trade and Settlement of the Europeans in the East and West Indies.

to absurdity. Their human sacrifices generally consisted of such criminals as had been convicted of theft, or any capital offence; and some of these have actually been sacrificed after an imprisonment of five years; but when such malefactors were not at hand, or the number was insufficient, the innocent supplied their place.

But while they admitted that man was more acceptable to the gods, than any other victim that could be offered, they also concluded, that the more dear and beloved the person was, the more precious the sacrifice must be. Hence, not only beautiful captives and strangers, but princes, and the first-born of their own children, were, upon great and interesting occasions, offered upon their altars. Their contrivances suited every purpose; the legislator and the miscreant were both acceptable to the gods; and their altars were alike ready to receive the offspring of royalty, and the refuse of their jails.

To stifle the clamours of agonizing nature, and to satisfy the incredulous, who doubted the propriety of giving "their first-born for their transgression,—the fruit of their bodies for the sin of their souls," (*Micah* vi. 7,) the Druids taught, that the spirits of those who served as victims to the gods, were either deified, or translated into heaven, to revel in the enjoyment of happiness; and that the mortal remains of those who died in sacrifice, were accounted more holy than any other dead bodies, and dignified with more honours. The same doctrine was preached to the unhappy victim, to inspire him with fortitude in the moments of his suffering, and to reconcile him to his fate.*

The modes of death by which the unhappy sufferers passed from time into eternity, were not less various, than the artifices of their executioners were numerous and deceitful. "Some," says Dr. Borlase, "they shot to death with arrows; others they crucified in their temples; some were impaled in honour of their gods; and then with many others, who had suffered in a different manner, were offered up as a burnt sacrifice. Others were bled to death, and their blood being received in basons, served to sprinkle their altars. Some were stabbed to the heart, that by the direction in which the body fell, after it had received the fatal stroke, either to the right or left, forward or backward, by the convulsion of the limbs, and by the flowing of the blood, the Druids (such erudition there is in butchery) might foretel what was to come."†

---

* "True fortitude is seen in great exploits,
That justice warrants, and that wisdom guides;
All else is towering frenzy and distraction." CATO.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 126.

DESCRIPTION OF THE IDOL OF MOLOCH.

The idol of Moloch, to which human victims were frequently offered, has been variously represented. The rabbins assure us, that it was an image of brass, having the head of a calf, and in other respects the features of a human body; that it was adorned with a royal crown, and had its arms extended as if to embrace every one who approached. They say, that to consume the victims which were offered, they heated it to such a degree, that when a child was placed within its arms, it writhed for a season, and then expired within its horrid embrace. And, that the piteous cries of the children thus offered, and thus consumed, might not be heard, they made a great noise with drums and other instruments about the idol. Other accounts however, say, that its arms were extended towards the ground, so that when a child was given to it, it immediately fell into a large fire that was lighted at the foot of the statue, and expired in the flames. A third account states, that the statue was hollow, and that within it were contrived seven distinct partitions. Of these, one was for meal and flour; in another the priests put turtles; in another an ewe; in another a ram; in another a calf; in another an ox; and in another a child. On all these the fatal door was shut; immediately the fire was lighted to heat the monster, and in the midst of flames, shrieks, groans, and music, the miserable victims were consumed to ashes.*

Strongly resembling these images of Moloch, at least in manner and rites, if not in materials and form, the Druids of Britain had one sacrifice, on which we cannot reflect without horror. "They made a huge image of straw, the limbs of which were joined together and shaped by wicker work. This sheath or case they filled with human victims; and Strabo adds, 'with wood for fuel, and several kinds of wild beasts,' imagining that by a variety of expiring groans and howlings, they might terrify their gods into a compliance with their solicitations. To this image they set fire, consuming that and the inclosed, in one dreadful holocaust. In what shape this image of straw was made, Cesar does not say; but probably it was in that of a bull; for they used to sacrifice bulls, and carried to war with them the image of a bull; and the bull is one of the largest and most capacious of the brute kind, and therefore the fittest for such a dreadful office. While they were performing these horrid rites, the drums and trumpets sounded without intermission, that the cries of the miserable victims might not be heard or distinguished by their friends; it being accounted very ominous, if the lamentations of either children or parents were distinctly heard while the victim was burning."†

On all occasions, when the sacrifice was offered, the priests with much zeal and solemnity invoked their gods in prayer; and when the victim was not destined to

* Calmet's Dictionary, Article Moloch. † Borlase's Antiquities, p. 126.

be wholly consumed by fire, the diviners examined its entrails with peculiar care, and events were predicted accordingly. Pliny thinks, that on some occasions the Druids ate part of the human victim, and that what remained was consumed by the sacred fire upon the altar.* Intemperance and its comcomitant vices generally closed the scene; after which the altar was consecrated afresh by having the leaves of the oak strewed upon it, by which it was again prepared for a repetition of the enormities which we have recited.

SECTION IX.

Coincidences between the Manners and Customs of the Cornish Druids, and those of the ancient idolatrous Nations, particularly the Persians.

In the general survey which has been taken of human sacrifices in the preceding section, we have found a melancholy resemblance in this detestable rite, between the inhabitants of various nations, who could not possibly have acquired it from their intercourse with one another. This common practice must be traced to a higher source; to the depravity and weakness of human nature, degrading into the grossest degeneracy, an institution, that probably in its primitive purity, was of divine appointment for the redemption of mankind. In this, and in many other depraved customs, we may perceive a general conformity between the nations of the earth, sufficiently obvious to prove one common origin of all, but not sufficiently distinctive to enable us to mark the various channels through which mankind have passed.

But amidst these general resemblances which idolatry uniformly exhibits, there are several peculiar characteristics which will lead us to associate our British progenitors with the ancient inhabitants of Persia. In the twenty-second chapter of his Antiquities, Dr. Borlase has noticed with much precision, several prominent features of this coincidence, and the parallel which he has drawn, is too striking to escape our observations.

It was among the secret doctrines of the Druids, that the supreme Deity was too exalted to be confined to temples made with hands. Hence their temples were round, were in general without a covering, and in their worship they formed circles, to intimate that God was to be found in every direction. In this they were resembled by the Persians, who taught that the celestial expanse was their Jupiter, whom they worshipped in the open air.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 127.

The Druids taught, that God was too refined to be represented by any figure; and the Persians admitted no statues into their temples. Both the Cornish Druids and the Persian Magi, forbad the introduction of images into their temples. The Druids selected hills and eminences for the places of their worship, and the Magi worshipped their deities on the summits of mountains. The Druids viewed the serpent with much respect, and treated it with veneration, if they withheld from it divine honours; and, as a symbol of the sun, the Persians worshipped the serpent, which they considered as a representative of their god Mithras. The Druids paid divine honours to rocks, from a persuasion that they were inhabited by some divine intelligences; and the Persians taught that their god Mithras was born of a rock. The Druids believed in the transmigration of the soul; and the same doctrine was inculcated by the Persian Magi.

In point of dignity, the Druids were equal to the British kings, and in some respects even superior to them; and the Magi stood in the highest order of the state, and were ranked with the monarchs of Persia. The robes which adorned the Druids were white; the holy sagus was of the same colour; and so also was the sacrificial bull, as well as the oracular horse. In these particulars also the coincidence was preserved. The Persian Magus was decorated with white; the Magi rode upon white horses; the royal robes were white, and the trappings of the horses preserved the resemblance. Ablutions, and ritual purifications were as common to both, as was the sacrificing of human victims to their gods.

We have already noticed, that the Druids had their sacred fires, of which some vestiges still remain in this county. The Persians also had their holy flame, to which they paid divine adoration, and festal fires which they periodically lighted up, at each return of the consecrated season. The uses of these fires were also strikingly similar. The Druids considered them as antidotes against the diseases of cattle; and the Persians extended this powerful virtue to the human body, placing their sick within its genial influence, in order that they might recover. The Druids compelled the inhabitants, at a certain season of the year, to extinguish all their fires, and to rekindle them from that sacred fire which they alone had a right to sell; and with some trifling variations, the same custom prevails in Persia even to the present day.

In the art of divination, both the Druids and the Magi were great proficients; their principles and modes were nearly alike; and in all probability their success was much the same. The Druids divined from particular incidents, personal disappointments, and unexpected afflictions; and in these respects the Persians seem to have imitated their conduct, or to have set them an example. The Druids, as we have already seen, had their fatal stone, and the Persians had their artizoe,

which was thought to point out the most deserving candidate for the throne. The Druids approached the mistletoe, the vervain, the samolus, and the selago, with many awful scruples; and the Persians considered the mistletoe as a divine plant. With the Druids it was deemed unlawful and profane, to cut the mistletoe with any thing besides a golden hook; and the Persians had their ghez, or haulm, which they called Bersam, the twigs of which they only presumed to cut with a consecrated knife. The Druids considered the mistletoe as a general antidote against poisons, and the selago as a charm against all misfortunes; and the Persians had their herbs, which they considered as preservatives against the power of demons.

Among the ancient Britons, no sacrifice could be offered, and no religious rite performed, without a Druid; and among the Persians, it was criminal for any one to approach the altar or touch the victim, before the Magus had gone through the accustomed ceremonies. The Druids excluded the incorrigible from their sacrifices, and considered it as the most grievous punishment that they could inflict; the Persians also knew the power of excommunication, and cast off the abandoned and impenitent in a similar manner. The Druids instructed their disciples in grottoes and sequestered recesses; and Zoroaster, the chief Magus of the Persians, communicated his instructions in a cave.*

In all the preceding instances, and in a variety of others, the resemblance between the Druids of Britain, and the Magi of Persia, is both striking and wonderful. It may be traced in all the general characteristics of their distinct orders, in the rites of the living, and in the ceremonies observed towards the dead. We may therefore infer, that their general principles were the same; and that, although they differed from each other in subordinate punctilios, the singular conformity which existed, could not have resulted from accidental similitudes.

The principle however, from which this conformity has arisen, being far less evident than the fact itself, has given rise to various conjectures and much discussion. Mr. Polwhele argues from it, in favour of his own hypothesis, and contends that it affords a commanding evidence in favour of an early colony into Britain from Armenia or its confines; and it must be acknowledged, that its aspect is far from being unfavourable to his cause. Dr. Borlase supposes, that the Druids had some principles and rites that were derived from those of true religion, that had begun with mankind, and that were continued through succeeding ages, though somewhat obscured by fable. Other principles and rites, he observes, must have sprung from those general seeds of idolatry, which in process of time

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 144—151; and Historical Views of Devon, p. 34.

polluted the whole Gentile world. But a third sort, he contends, were the product of climate, the effect of invention, and the result of imitation.*

Those branches of their principles, rites, and customs, which Dr. Borlase supposes the Druids to have established by imitation, he conceives they derived from the Phenician merchants, who frequented the Cornish coasts. These merchants, without doubt, were well acquainted with the Persians, as Tyre and Sidon continued for many years the principal marts of their eastern, as well as their western trade. And it is not improbable, that the acute Phenicians, and after them the Greeks, on finding the Druids of Cornwall the dupes of superstition, endeavoured to secure their favour and interest, by enriching their mythology with the fables and absurdities of the eastern nations. It was a profitable trade, to barter superstition for merchandise; to introduce the follies of Persia for the metals of Cornwall; and a proof of something more than common ingenuity, to ensure the protection of power, in proportion to the extent of the imposition which they practised.

Through the same channel we may also perceive, how the Druids of this country had acquired some knowledge of the Jewish and Egyptian rites. The Phenicians traded much with Egypt, and had an opportunity of carrying on the barter of mythology in that country for its more valuable commodities, and of conveying their fables to the most advantageous market. In the mean while, the Jews were within reach of their constant observations, and furnished them with an opportunity of exporting many of those rites which God had commanded them to observe. And as the Phenicians traded with the world, and had an opportunity of noting the various customs, manners, and institutions of mankind, we may fairly infer, that the mixture of truth and falsehood, which we sometimes discover in the records of idolatry, may be, in some degree, traced to this Phenician channel, in which the conflicting currents seem to have been united.

The Druids of Cornwall being thus circumstanced, we may easily account for the inconsistent parts and principles, of which their creed was formed. They seem to have been ready to lay hold on every thing that could promise to decorate their mythology, and extend their influence. Inconsistency was only of a secondary consideration. They alone had the power and ability to interpret any laws; and consequently they knew perfectly well how to impute to the want of discernment in their disciples, any sublime mysteries which had the appearance of inconsistency.

It is plain however from hence, that through these innovations, which it is probable the Phenicians introduced, druidism must have degenerated from its

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 35; and Borlase's Antiquities, p. 150.

primitive simplicity. But what the precise effects of these innovations were, we have now no means of comprehending. We know however with certainty, that our British ancestors were idolaters; that they bowed down before inanimate matter, which they considered as the residence of some intelligent agent; and that in some of their sacrifices, their altars were stained with human blood.

Such was the worship, such were the gods, and such were the rites and sacrifices which distinguished the Druids and ancient Britons. Of these Druids and other Britons we have many remains still existing in Cornwall; but through the lapse of time, the particular uses of many are wholly unknown. To take a general survey of the most singular of these monuments, to note their situations, and to specify their distinctions, must be the business of the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Remains of the Druids, and of other Britons still visible in Cornwall.

SECTION I.

Of rude monumental Rocks and Stones which appear to have been consecrated to sacred purposes.

WE have already noticed in a preceding section, that it is exceedingly difficult to trace idolatry to its source, to ascertain the period when it began, or to determine whether superstition proceeded immediately from the productions of nature to the works of art. It is uniformly admitted, that idolatry was long established in the world before images were invented; but whether rocks of a singular appearance, masses of stone that were placed erect through excessive labour, or pillars built on some commanding eminences, or consecrated spots, were not selected for the purposes of devotion, soon after the establishment of idolatrous worship, cannot be so easily known.

It is well known, that consecrated pillars are of very considerable antiquity; they have been erected by almost every nation of renown, to commemorate singular events, to mark some striking phenomenon in the history of the world, or to transmit some interesting information to posterity.

The first pillars which history pretends to record, are those of Seth, of which Josephus gives the following account:—"It would take up too much time, and would answer no purpose, to particularize the offspring of Adam; I shall therefore confine myself to the mention of Seth alone. He was educated by his father with great care, and no sooner became capable of distinguishing between good and evil, than he applied himself to the study of virtue. He became eminent for his qualifications, and his children closely copied the example of their excellent father. They lived in the utmost harmony and happiness, both among themselves, and with the rest of mankind. They were the first persons who studied the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies; and, having been forewarned by Adam of an universal deluge and conflagration, they erected two pillars, one of brick, and

the other of stone; which they were of opinion would, one or other of them, be proof against every attack, either of fire or water. They engraved on these pillars their discoveries and inventions, lest in a series of ages, the knowledge of the science itself should become extinct. Their precaution was not vain; for to this day the stone pillar is to be seen in Syria."*

Josephus does not say that he had ever seen this pillar; he only says that it was to be seen in his days, and consequently he relied wholly on the testimony of others for his information. Bishop Stillingfleet thinks that Josephus collected his account of these antediluvian pillars from Manetho, and that the whole is fabulous. As to the pillar that was extant in his days, it is generally supposed to be a pillar of a more modern date, covered over with certain unknown characters.

It is attested by much better authority, that the patriarch "Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it," (*Gen.* xxviii. 18,) which sufficiently shews the antiquity of the custom. But it would be ridiculous to give credit to the absurd tradition, that this stone after a lapse of many ages, found its way to Jerusalem, from Jerusalem to Spain, from Spain to Ireland, from Ireland to Scotland, and from Scotland to Westminster; and that this is the identical stone, of which we have already spoken, that was placed under the coronation chair by Edward I.

When Joshua assembled the tribes, recounted the blessings they had received, and introduced a renewal of God's covenant with them, he also erected a stone as a memorial of these transactions. "And Joshua took a great stone, and set it up there under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord. And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto us, for it hath heard all the words of the Lord, which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God."—*Joshua* xxiv. 26, 27. These are perhaps the earliest notices which authentic history records, of stones or pillars being erected to commemorate any extraordinary event. But after these periods the practice continued to prevail throughout the patriarchal ages, as we may instantly find by recurring to the historical books of the Old Testament.

To imitate these customs, which without doubt originated in divine appointment, the Gentile nations erected pillars and consecrated stones at a very early period. And whatever their primary motives were, it is very certain that these stones and pillars soon became subservient to the purposes of idolatry. It has been thought, that the Gentile nations first adopted this custom, from the knowledge which they

* Josephus's Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 52.

had obtained of the manner in which God conducted the Israelites through the wilderness; and that the pillars of cloud and of fire, in which God was then pleased to make his power known, suggested to them the first idea of imitation. It does not however appear, that this supposition has any rational support, since the Israelites were particularly cautioned against adopting a practice which seems to have prevailed among the Canaanites long before they entered their territories. "Ye shall not set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it, for I am the Lord your God."—*Lev.* xxvi. 1.

But from what principle soever, the custom of consecrating stones and erecting pillars took its rise, certain it is, that it soon became an almost universal practice. And it is not less certain, that the descendants of Jacob, notwithstanding the prohibitions of God, were carried away with this current of idolatry, and that "they set them up images and groves in every high hill, and under every green tree: and there they burned incense in all the high places, as did the heathen, whom the Lord carried away before them."—2 *Kings* xvii. 10, 11.

It is said of Semiramis, that she erected an obelisk no less than 125 feet high; and it is well known that the obelisks of Egypt, which were generally dedicated to the sun, still continue to defy the wastes of time, and to excite the admiration of every beholder. The Paphians worshipped their Venus under the form of a white pyramid, and the Brachmans adored their god under the figure of a little column of stone. The symbol of Jupiter Ammon, was a stone of a conical form, in his Egyptian temple; and in Africa the image of Apollo was exhibited in the form of a pyramid. A large square stone was the image of Mercury, and a single pillar represented that of Bacchus. It appears from these specimens, that rude stones being placed erect, were incorporated with idolatry at a very early age, and that the practice infected a considerable part of the Gentile world. It seems also, that this custom more especially prevailed in Syria, Egypt, and Greece, and was from thence communicated to such countries as held any intercourse with the inhabitants of these regions. And consequently we may reasonably infer, that it was the same general principle that caused many of those large stones to be erected, which are still visible in many parts of Cornwall; for to these parts the ancient adventurers of Phenicia and Greece resorted.

Among these enormous and venerable masses of stone which decorate this county, many seem evidently to have been erected by art, while several others appear to have been selected from the wild productions of nature, and impressed into the service of idolatry and superstition. Of a large pyramidical stone which once stood erect in the parish of Constantine, some notice has been already taken in a preceding chapter. This stone, which measured in length twenty feet above

the ground, while four feet were buried beneath its surface, and yielded when cleft in pieces twenty stone posts for gates, had evidently been erected by muscular exertion. And in all probability, if it could have been preserved from human violence, it would have remained till the end of time.

At a place called Bolleit, in the parish of St. Buryan, there are two remarkable stones standing erect, about a furlong from each other. One of these stones is twelve feet in height, and the other sixteen. Both are rough and unpolished; but to what depth they descend in the earth cannot be ascertained, as their buried parts have hitherto escaped the ravages of curiosity, and the grasp of avarice.

In Boswen's Croft, in the parish of Sancreed, there is an upright stone, which, like many others of a similar nature and description, is denominated Long Stone. This stone is also about twelve feet in height, and of a craggy appearance. But what renders it still more remarkable, its base is surrounded with a heap of stones, thrown promiscuously together, forming a kind of sepulchral barrow, with this pillar rising through its summit. It is not improbable that the ashes of some ancient Briton of considerable distinction were deposited near this spot, and that this pillar and these stones, were brought together to mark the consecrated tomb.

In the same parish, (Sancreed) in a tenement called Dryft, there is another monument, which has every mark of being sepulchral. It consists of two stones, one of which is about seven, and the other about nine feet above the ground. These stones are about eighteen feet from each other, standing in a line which points to the north-west, and in the opposite direction. The distance of these stones from each other, seems to have been chosen, to give to posterity a figurative idea of greatness, which might be transferred to the character and consequence of the person here interred.

But whatever may be thought of these stones, whether they may be considered as sepulchral, or as memorials of the ratification of some important civil treaty or contract, no doubt can remain respecting the use of another of a similar description in the tenement of Trewren-Maddern. This monument also consists of two stones, in a line E. N. E. placed ten feet asunder. To ascertain whether these stones were originally erected as a sepulchral monument or not, some men were employed on the 21st of October, 1752, to open the ground between them. These men having sunk about four feet, soon came to a place which had all the appearance of an ancient grave. The pit which they discovered was about six feet long, and about two feet nine inches wide, one end of which came close to the largest stone, which was farthest west, where Dr. Borlase supposes the head of the interred to have been placed. The bottom of this pit was filled with a certain species of earth, which appeared to the touch to be greasy. Its colour was nearly

black, but no remains of bones were to be seen, nor was any thing discovered that could lead to a conjecture respecting either the quality of the person interred, or the probable period when these stones were erected.

On all these pillars no appearance of any tool is visible, nor does it appear that any inscription was ever engraven on them. Many besides these that have been thus noticed, may without doubt be still found in Cornwall, though now considerably altered from their ancient and rude simplicity. And it is highly probable, that several others which once existed, have been cleft in pieces for domestic purposes, like the enormous mass in Constantine parish. It is sufficient that we can still find some of these rude memorials of our British ancestors in their primeval state, defying at once the ravages of time, of avarice, and of curiosity; and withstanding the shocks of every element through a long series of successive generations.

To the changes which some of these ancient pillars have undergone, the introduction of Christianity has in no small degree contributed. Habits that are once formed, are not easily eradicated; and they become more inveterate in proportion as they receive a sanction from custom, and a veneration from age. When Christianity was first introduced into this county, many continued to bring their offerings, to pay their vows, and to celebrate their worship in those places which their ancestors had taught them to revere as sacred. To these places many came with lighted torches, praying for safety in their journies, and success in their undertakings. Nor was it in the power of the Christian priests, wholly to restrain this Pagan propensity. Hence so late as the fifth and sixth centuries, several councils interfered by their prohibitions; and even then the whole weight of ecclesiastical power was scarcely sufficient to put an end to these remains of Druid superstitions.

The appearances however which Christianity at this time assumed, though badly calculated to exterminate idolatry, was admirably adapted to form a compromise with its newly acquired proselytes. In Ireland, some of these stones erect have crosses on them, which are supposed to have been cut by those temporizing Christians, in compliance with the Druid prejudices which still continued to prevail. It is easy to conceive, that although Christianity continued to gain ground, it was not so easy to destroy that reverence which the people entertained for these consecrated stones. But when the cross was cut on them, it was thought to be a justifiable adoration that was paid, which Christianity was disposed to tolerate, and which druidism was not inclined to reject.

In the western islands of Scotland, there are still some remains of adoration paid to such stones. In the Isle of Barry there is one stone about seven feet high;

MONUMENT NEAR ST. COLUMB, SUPPOSED TO COMMEMORATE A VICTORY.

and when the inhabitants come near it, they take a religious turn round, according to the ancient Druid custom.* In Cornwall, our crosses are almost innumerable, and some of them, from their appearance, are evidently very ancient. And perhaps it is not altogether improbable that some of those stones on which the cross is now raised, might originally have been erected for other purposes, and might have borne a resemblance, both in use and appearance, to those pillars which we have already surveyed. The removal of druidism, and the introduction of Christianity, might have occasioned that change in their appearance, which it is possible they may have undergone, in a manner somewhat analogous to many of the ancient Pagan temples, and similar to those changes which the Druid pillars in Ireland have sustained.

But besides these solitary pillars, which are most undoubtedly of British origin, there are in Cornwall many others of equal antiquity, sometimes placed in circles, and at other times in straight lines. On the downs leading from Wadebridge to St. Columb, and about two miles distant from the latter, we have a line of stones, which are nine in number, and are generally known by the name of *The Nine Maidens.*† Dr. Borlase thinks, if we may take analogy for our guide, that these stones were originally erected, either to commemorate some extraordinary action which took place on or near this spot, or to mark the boundaries of some territorial rights. These conjectures he founds upon their resemblance to some erected stones in Westmoreland and in Anglesea. In the former, the event of some dreadful battle is commemorated; and in the latter the termination of some patrimonial possessions is shewn. It is hard to say for which of these purposes the Nine Maidens were erected.

But how difficult soever it may be, to ascertain the distinct nature of those events, which any peculiar arrangement of these monumental stones denotes, many attempts have been made to discover a criterion, but with what success we are not bound to determine. Olaus Magnus asserts, that whenever we find any given number of stones erected in a triangular form, it denotes a victory obtained near that place by a troop of horse; and that when these stones are laid out in a square manner, they point out a place, in which either two armies engaged, or in which two renowned combatants fought. The same author asserts, that when these stones are placed in a circular position, the burial place of some family of renown, riches, or valour, is always pointed out. Very little dependance however, can be placed on these conjectural discriminations. The author who forms such decisions, is rather more indebted to fancy than to judgment; and that reader who places in

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 163. † Ibid. p. 189.

ANCIENT CANOPY, OR SEAT OF JUSTICE, STILL EXISTING IN ST. BURYAN.

them an implicit confidence, will furnish us with only a feeble proof of his own infallibility. From the memorials which remain, we have sufficient evidence, that these monuments of remote antiquity were various; and it is reasonable to conclude, that these varieties were designed for distinct occasions and purposes; but it is highly probable, that he who attempts to ascertain them, will spend his time in vain.

Among the remains of ancient British monuments which still exist in Cornwall, there is one in the parish of St. Berian, or Buryan, which is of a very singular construction. This monument, which is of the pensile kind, is in Karne Boscawen; it consists of one large flat stone, one end of which rests upon a natural karne or elevation of rocks, and the other on three large stones piled one on the other, in order to raise a proper support for the end of the horizontal flat stone. As the natural karne projects considerably in the bottom towards the stones that are piled in a perpendicular manner, the bases of the natural and artificial pillars or karnes, are very nearly in contact with one another. But although these karnes or pillars nearly touch each other at the bottom, that which is natural, gradually recedes from the other as we ascend towards their summits, which seem to be about fourteen feet from the ground; so that immediately under the canopy or covering stone, the opening between its two supporters is about seven feet wide. The whole has the appearance of a rude entrance or door way, of which one side is natural and the other artificial, exceedingly narrow at the bottom, but growing wider at the summit, where a large flat stone seven feet in length, extends from the natural pile to the artificial pillar.

"This canopy," says Dr. Borlase, "is too nicely supported to be the work of nature; and one must check one's imagination very much, not to conjecture, that the opening underneath it, was designed for the seat of some particular person, from which he might give out his edicts and decisions, his predictions, and admissions to his noviciates. The mind can hardly frame to itself a scene more striking and awful, than this must be to all persons who came hither for judgment, or instruction; nothing can be more suitable to the superstition of the Druids, nor more likely to promote the delusion of all that were to be initiated into the mysteries, or introduced into the presence of the chief priest. We may fancy, with some probability, that when any person of more than ordinary figure was to be admitted, he was to be conducted, first round the holy circle, of which the remains are still to be seen on the brow of the hill above, that as he descended, he was to be sprinkled and purified at proper pauses and stations, by the heavenly waters which the rock basons (very numerous here) contained. As he descended farther, passing along between the sacred obelisks, (of which some are still to be

ANCIENT CANOPY, OR SEAT OF JUSTICE, STILL EXISTING IN ST. BURYAN.

seen) he loses sight of every thing, but of vast rocks on either side, above and below, and the immense ocean before him, till being got about half way down this steep and craggy cliff, doubtful whither he was to be led, he is surprised with this throne, which has something so truly grand and simple in its supporters and canopy, that it almost leaves us uncertain whether it be the work of nature or of art. Between the supporters sits the venerable chief Druid with his tiara on his head, his holy vestments on, his sceptre in his hand, all these decorated with the insignia of his order, and every where round him the most stupendous rocks. A few paces below this throne, is an area of about twelve feet diameter, cleared of the rocks, from whence the person introduced, with his attendants, might easily hear the precepts of the Druid, without violating his dignity by too familiar an approach."*

Uncertain as these conjectures of Dr. Borlase are, it is scarcely possible for us to read them without being pleased with that captivating spirit of probability which runs through the paragraph. The apparatus of Druid superstition, with which this singular monument is surrounded, plainly proves that this was a place of no common sanctity. And although we might reject the conjectures of the venerable antiquarian, because no decisive proof can be adduced in support of them, it will be attended with no small degree of difficulty to introduce a more probable theory in their stead. In many more instances Dr. Borlase has indulged in this pleasing strain, but it is not in every one that he seems to be equally happy. Throughout the whole, he seems however to have illustrated his conjectures, by making appeals to the monuments of other nations, and to the uses to which they were applied; so that in most cases he is supported by analogy, where direct evidence withholds its aid.

It is well known that the Druids were particularly attached to numbers, to which they paid a kind of mystical veneration, apparently imagining that they had a secret influence over their mythological rites. But as their numbers were so multiplied and various, as they seemed to have no regular system, and as most of their complicated remains are more or less mutilated, it is scarcely possible to conjecture with any tolerable degree of accuracy, the principles upon which they proceeded. To this we may add, that the lapse of time and the numerous revolutions which have taken place in the world, leave no rays of light to guide us in these obscure researches. We must therefore be content to notice existing facts and monuments, without hoping to give such an analysis of their distinguishing characteristics, as will be sufficient to satisfy all inquiries.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 190.

SECTION II.

Of circular Stone Monuments which still exist in Cornwall.

In different parts of Cornwall we find several monuments of a circular form, consisting of stones erected in this position in open plains. These circles are of different dimensions, and the number of stones which constitute them, vary from one another both in number and magnitude. "Some circles," says Dr. Borlase, "consist of twelve stones, some of more; but the greatest number which has reached my notice, consists of seventy-seven." It will be unreasonable to suppose, that these variations were occasioned either by chance, or by the mere caprice of those who erected them. We have rather more reason to think, that they were formed agreeably to some established rules, with which we are at present unacquainted, and that these monuments were constructed according to the genius or erudition of these distant ages.

In attempting to ascertain the number of stones which each circle originally contained, much difficulty occurs. In some places the circles are broken, and the stones are carried off for domestic purposes. And even among those stones which remain, it is hard to determine whether those that are now contiguous, have not lost some intervening stones, which originally contributed to give perfection to the circle.

"In some places we find them oftener of the number twelve, than of any other number, either in honour to the twelve superior deities, or to some national custom of twelve persons of authority meeting there in council upon important affairs, or alluding to the twelve months of the year."*

In the hundred of Penwith we have four circles, within eight miles of one another, each of which consists of nineteen stones. This surprising uniformity, Dr. Borlase conjectures might have been designed to express the principal divisions of the year, the twelve months, and the seven days of the week. This conjecture will not appear strange and groundless, when we reflect that the priests were the chronologers and registers of time; and, forbidden as they were, either to teach by letters, or to commit their mysteries to writing, it is not a matter of astonishment, that they should endeavour to perpetuate the memory of their learning and astronomical computations, in such characters as were most likely to descend through all ages of their posterity, without transgressing the laws of their order. "But whatever was the reason, the number of these stones in other places is

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 191.

different; and where the design of the circle was either for electing governors, or holding councils, it must needs have been so; because the number of nobles there assembled, could not but be frequently different, and each noble so convened, had a right to his pillar, at which he was to take his stand. Again, when the authors of such monuments were eminent for family, fortune, or learning, they might probably choose to record some discovery in science, the number of their famous ancestors, or of the principalities they inherited in these their works."*

As these circles were formed from different motives, so also they were made on particular spots selected for the purpose. When a circle was formed to commemorate some decisive victory, the scene of action pointed out the place. But when the rites of religion, the election of a chief, or the burial of a Druid or a prince was concerned, the augurs were consulted, many ceremonies were observed, and nothing was finally determined, until the will of the gods was known.

So far as the distinct properties of these circular monuments can be ascertained, it does not appear that they were exactly uniform. Some were perfect circles, some were elliptical, with distinct openings, and distinguishing peculiarities. The most simple circles have their circumferences marked by large separate stones placed erect, but others have small ridges of stones between the perpendicular ones, and sometimes walls and seats are added, to confer on the whole the highest degree of ornamental perfection. In other monuments, the circles have such a connexion with one another, as to render the whole figure more complex and varied. Sometimes these circles are so constructed, as to intersect each other. In or near the centre of some circles, a stone much larger and taller than the rest, graces the enclosure; and near the centre of others, we find a stone sepulchral chest or cavity. A cromleh, or altar tomb of unhewn stone, sometimes distinguishes their centres, and at other times a huge rock marks those of others. Some have only one line of stones in their circumference, others have two; some circles are adjacent, some are contiguous, and others again include each other. Some appear to have been erected on geometrical plans, having their principal entrances facing the four cardinal points of the heavens. Some have avenues leading to them, placed due north and south, with detached stones, sometimes in straight lines to the east and west, which furnish evidence of more than common exactness and design.

In Cornwall, we have circles, and vestiges of circular monuments, nearly corresponding with all the varieties that have been noticed. And little doubt can

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 192.

be entertained, that, if all those monuments had escaped the ravages of time, which have suffered from them, we should be furnished with a still greater variety than any existing catalogue can now afford. The agreement between these circular pillars, and those which are recorded as existing in the patriarchal ages, is a decisive mark of their high antiquity. "Moses rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and *twelve pillars*, according to the twelve tribes of Israel."—*Exod.* xxiv. 4. And in obedience to the divine command, Joshua set up a monument at Gilgal, which consisted of *twelve stones* fixed in the earth, that had been taken from the bed of the river Jordan. The same number of stones was also erected in the bed of the river, exactly in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant, stood. *Joshua* iv. 9, 21, 22, 24. It is worthy of remark, that this Gilgal was first a place of pure religious worship; it then became a place of national council and inauguration; after which, when the Israelites degenerated into idolatry, it became a place of Pagan worship, which was practised according to the rites and principles of the eastern superstition. We may learn hence, that paganism borrowed many of its rites from that genuine religion which was established by the divine command, prostituting them to the basest of purposes, and making them instrumental in leading its deluded devotees at the greatest possible distance from the eternal God.

Simple circles, consisting of stones erect, we have many in Cornwall, which bear a strong resemblance to one another. In the tenement of Kerris, in the parish of Paul, we have an enclosure which answers this description in every respect, except that it is somewhat elliptical in its form. Its widest part is from north to south, in which direction it is about fifty-two paces in diameter. From east to west it is only thirty-four paces. At its southern extremity, which seems to have been its principal entrance, there are four rude pillars about eight feet high. At the feet of these pillars, several large stones are lying on the ground, which Dr. Borlase thinks were once placed horizontally on the pillars and supported by them, to give an additional solemnity to the entrance. The ground which these four large pillars occupy is eighteen feet from north to south, and about eleven feet wide. It is in this latter direction that the transverse stones must have rested on the pillars. This whole enclosure Dr. Borlase thinks was once a place of Druid worship. He further supposes, that these stones which were placed to guard and dignify the entrance, constituted the *Kibla* of the temple, or place to which the worshippers turned their faces, when engaged in the solemnities of their religious rites. This place is at present called *The Roundago*, a name it may possibly have acquired, from the superstitious rounds which accompanied

the Druid worship. Besides these pillars, the Roundago has nothing particularly remarkable to merit notice. The ring which forms the circumference, is so completely filled with stones of different dimensions, as scarcely to leave any interstices. A considerable portion of these stones seems to have been placed promiscuously, without any regard to order, except that of contributing towards the formation of the circle.

In the parish of Gulval, there is another elliptical ring, formed wholly of perpendicular stones. These stones were originally nineteen in number, all placed at nearly equal distances from one another, but not with any particular regard to exactness. Of these stones, thirteen only remained erect, when Dr. Borlase wrote; the other six, having been thrown down, lay on the ground near the places in which they once stood. No rule seems to have been observed, in the selection of these pillars or stones, with regard either to their height or their magnitude. They vary from one another in a promiscuous manner, leaving us wholly at a loss to conjecture the end for which they were collected, and placed in their erect positions.

There is another ancient monument, in the parish of St. Cleer, generally denominated *The Hurlers;* a name, which, according to vulgar tradition, these stones obtained, from the singular circumstance of their having once been men; who, from their hurling or throwing their ball on a Sabbath-day, were overtaken by the judgment of God, and transformed into stones. This singular monument consisted of three elliptical rings, placed longitudinally by each other, in such an exact direction, that their centres form an exact line, without having any thing erected in either to mark the circumstance. Of these circles, that which is in the middle is the largest, but those that are on its extremities are unequal in their dimensions. These three circles, which are very near each other, consisted of nothing but low perpendicular stones, placed at nearly equal distances from each other. The central circle, and one of the others, were respectively formed of seventeen stones each; but the other contained no more than twelve. These stones are of unequal height and magnitude, disposed without any apparent order or regard to the progress of gradation. Many of the stones which once formed these circles, are now carried off, so that the real dimensions of them can only be known by calculation.

In the parish of Wendron, on the summit of a hill called Karne Menelez, there is another singular monument, which is of great antiquity, and carries with it every mark of being purely British. This monument is also nearly circular. Its circumference is described by a number of rude stones, irregularly placed by the side of each other, on the edge of a trench which they enclose. This trench is

about thirty-five feet and a half in diameter, but of no great depth. Nearly in the middle of this circle, and of this trench, is a pile of natural rocks. This pile consists of four thin stones, placed by nature upon each other. The uppermost stone is nearly circular, and measures about nineteen feet in diameter. In this monument of antiquity, both art and nature seem to be combined; but to what uses it was applied, we know nothing but from analogy and conjecture. "In the Isle of Arran," says Dr. Borlase, when quoting Martin for his authority, "there is a circle of big stones, the area of which is about twelve paces. In the middle of this circle there is a broad thin stone supported by three lesser stones; the ancient inhabitants are reported to have burnt their sacrifices on the broad stone in the time of the heathens. We have here the same dimensions of the circle as that before mentioned, and the stone in the middle also; and I see no reason to question the truth of the tradition as to the use of the latter, which may therefore point out to us the use and intent of the former."

Very different from the preceding monuments, there is one in a tenement called Bodinar, in the parish of Sancreed, which consists of two circles placed close by the side of each other. One of these circles is nearly fifty-five feet in diameter, by fifty; but the other is no more than eighteen. These circles have the remains of a former communication, in that part where they approximate most nearly to each other. The larger circle is enclosed by two walls, one within another; and these walls are separated by a ditch about four feet wide, but its original depth cannot be easily ascertained. The area within the innermost wall is forty-one feet in diameter from north to south, and thirty-six from east to west. To this circle there are two entrances immediately opposite to each other, besides an opening that communicates with the smaller circle, to which no other passage is left than through the large one. The entrances into this larger circle, are guarded by large stones placed erect on each side of the apertures in the wall; and the same precaution, or dignified respect is paid to the opening which leads from the larger to the smaller circle. The little circle in this monument, Dr. Borlase supposes to be for the prince, and those of the most dignified rank, and the large one for the inferior members of the council.

In the parish of Senor, or Zennor, there is another remarkable, but irregularly formed circle. It consists of small stones thrown together in a ridge, in a loose and apparently careless manner. To this enclosure there is but one entrance, immediately within which there is a tall pillar, the top of which has a flat surface. This circle, Dr. Borlase supposes to have been used for the purpose of electing individuals to fill some particular offices; and he intimates, that we may gather from the stones being small and numerous, that the election was popular, and

ANCIENT AMPHITHEATRE IN ST. JUST, PENWITH.

determined by the voice of all the common people, who had a right to give their suffrages.

On some open ground, on the north-west side of Roughtor, in the parish of St. Breward, the remains of several circles are still to be seen. The stones of which they are formed rise only a little way above the surface of the ground; which appearance may probably be occasioned by the accumulation of the soil that has gathered round them when washed by torrents of rain from the still higher ground with which the rocks are interspersed. From the vestiges which remain, these circles appear to have been very large, and to have been marked out with no small degree of care. It is highly probable that these circles were connected with the religious rites of the Druids, as almost all the more elevated rocks are covered with rock basons of varied forms and dimensions.

Besides the specimens already given, Cornwall affords many other circular monuments, which furnish evidence of their being druidical. Some of these circles are formed of earth, and are laid out with much care on a very extensive scale. "The most remarkable monument of this kind," says Dr. Borlase, "which I have yet seen, is near the church of St. Just, in Penwith, now somewhat disfigured by the injudicious repairs of late years, but by the remains, it seems to have been a work of more than usual labour and correctness. It was an exact circle, of 126 feet in diameter; the perpendicular height of the bank from the area within, now seven feet; but the height from the bottom of the ditch without, ten feet at present, formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, fourteen inches wide, and one foot high, with one at the top of all, where the rampart is about seven feet wide."*

In this amphitheatre, Dr. Borlase supposes that plays and interludes were acted to entertain the people; but of what kind or description they were before the introduction of Christianity, it is not easy to form any rational conjecture. It seems however to be fully admitted, that when the rites of druidism gave place to the light of the Gospel, these interludes were taken from some parts of the sacred writings, and were acted in those places to which the people had been accustomed to resort, to prevent them from being shocked by too great an innovation.

It is scarcely possible to discover, at this distant period of the world, the distinct uses to which all these elliptical and circular monuments were applied. Some we have already seen were formed by stones erect, some by stones promiscuously thrown to mark the circumference of the enclosure. Sometimes we find solitary pillars, and at other times pillars evidently connected with the circles within the

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 208.

area of which they have been found. And little doubt can be entertained, that a still greater variety once existed, than the ravages of time have permitted to reach us.

Dr. Borlase has conjectured, that some of these monuments were erected and frequented for religious purposes, but that others were of a civil nature. Some pillars he imagines to have been places of judgment; some, stones to stand by; some to stand upon; and others to sit upon. The smaller circles he conceives to have been sepulchral, especially as in Ireland some urns containing human ashes, have been discovered within circles similar to several in Cornwall. In this latter conjecture we certainly perceive some degree of probability; but in some others it may be feared that we are in danger of suffering our fancies to triumph over our judgments.

SECTION III.

Observations on some singular Rocks in Cornwall, which were probably Objects of Idolatrous Worship among the Druids.

When we reflect on the nature of that idolatry which prevailed in the early ages of the world, and endeavour to estimate the general character of the Druids, we are presented with a scene that prepares us for every absurdity which superstition can display. The objects which found adorers in the east, were not without their admirers in Cornwall; and it is well known, that stupendous rocks, if recommended by any singularity of appearance, rarely failed to command the devotion of idolatrous worshippers.

Among the rocks of Cornwall, we have some of that surprising grandeur, magnitude, and singularity of shape and position, which we might naturally suppose would excite the idolatrous reverence of a people who were inclined to worship inanimate nature. And when we view these remarkable rocks, in connexion with the general character of the Druids, we can have no doubt that they have been the deities before which they have bowed down with reverence, and which they have taught their disciples to worship with trembling adoration.

It is probable that rocks were first chosen to represent the gods, from the firmness of their substance, and the apparent immutability of their nature. Under every change of circumstance or conflict of the elements, they continue still the same. They neither vanish like fire, disappear by exhalations like water, nor waste by vegetation, like earth. Against fire and water they seem to be

invulnerable; and are therefore no improper emblems of strength, shelter, shade, and defence. The eternal God is represented by David, as "his Rock, and his fortress."—*Psalm* xviii. 2. And Isaiah speaks of the Saviour of mankind "as the shadow of a great Rock in a weary land."—*Isaiah* xxxii. 2. We have therefore but little reason to be astonished, that the idolatrous Gentiles, who endeavoured to imitate those rites which the worship of God had consecrated, should select stupendous rocks for their homage and adoration.

"After rocks became symbols," says Dr. Borlase, "they were occasionally varied and shaped for several superstitious reasons; to avoid which, God ordered that the stones used in his worship should continue as nature left them. But the Gentiles in this, as well as in all other instances of simplicity, could not but depart from the true religion. Accordingly, our rocks in Cornwall have in some instances been cleared of their wildest excrescences, by art; in others, they have been evidently shaped and fitted by tools, and this could not be done without some aim and design; and no design was so likely, as that some, by shewing themselves to greater advantage, by being separated from the adjoining rocks, might by their vastness more easily procure the adoration of the beholder;—that others by being shaped in a particular manner might be more significant symbols of that deity or attribute, which they were designed to represent;—and that a third sort might be so carved as to become moveable to a certain point, or furnished with rock basons (both which are often met with in one monument) to promote the delusion of the people, and the gain of the priests. These rocks have lost the names of the deities to which they were dedicated, and therefore I shall content myself with calling them by their common names, though no ways expressive of that divinity formerly ascribed to them.

"We have however, some reason to think them dedicated to Saturn, Mars, or Mercury; for we have many places in Cornwall called *Tresadarn;* that is, the town or house of Saturn; and we have *Nansadarn*, or the valley of Saturn. And as Saturn was that god that chiefly delighted in human sacrifices; as the Druid age consisted of thirty years, and was probably taken from one revolution of the planet Saturn; as Saturn was worshipped in Italy, in rocks and in such rocky places where we find these stones set up, the Druids may well be supposed to have worshipped Saturn principally in and among these rocks.

"The fable of Saturn adds confirmation to the forementioned opinions. His delight in human sacrifices, and even offering his own sons, is well expressed in his custom of devouring his own children; his lying hid in Latium expresses his fondness for desert rocky places; and his receiving a stone to devour, instead of Jupiter, represents his having stones offered and dedicated to him.

CURIOUS STONE MONUMENT IN CONSTANTINE.

We have also places called after the name of Mars, as *Tremêr*, the town of Mars; and after the name of Mercury, as *Gun-Mar'r*, and *Kelli-Mar'r*, that is, the downs and grove of Mercury: and to these gods too it is most likely that the Druids sometimes dedicated in a formal manner these rock idols; and that rock worship was universally spread throughout by the Druids, in whatever part of the island they resided, will appear plainly, because in such rocky places most of the Druid monuments of every kind were erected, and are at present to be found."*

In the parish of Constantine, in a village called Mên, there is a stone of so singular a form, that it evidently appears to have been shaped by art. But as it cannot be conceived to suit any purpose, either civil, military, or domestic, the general and only rational conclusion is, that it was originally one of those stone deities, or rock idols, to which the ancient Druids paid their homage and adoration. The stone in question strongly resembles the Greek letter Omega, and has somewhat the appearance of a large cap with a narrow brim, upon which it rests, having the supposed concave part concealed within. In its narrowest part, immediately above the brim, around which the band may be supposed to be tied, this stone is thirty-five feet in circumference; and from its bottom to its summit, its height is eleven feet. The ground adjacent is rather uneven, and some indistinct ridges give a faint intimation that walls or houses once existed near it. On some other rocks, which lie at no great distance from this singular stone, some signs of workmanship are still to be seen; and from the appearance which they exhibit, it seems as though these were originally designed to be cut in imitation of it, and to be formed after the model of the large one, which appears to have been finished. In the Island of St. Mary's, Scilly, Dr. Borlase says, that on the edge of a most remarkable circular temple, there is a vast stone which is cut in much the same form as this in Constantine. Between these two rocks, there is however this remarkable difference; the stone in St. Mary's has thirteen perfect basons cut on its surface; whereas this in Constantine has no such indentations. The plinth of these rocks, this instructive antiquary supposes to be designed to express the stability of their god; and the roundness of their upper parts, he conceives to be emblematical of his eternity.

In the same village of Mên, there is another singular stone which merits some description. It is a large orbicular rock, supported by two stones, between which there is a passage, and from this circumstance it derives its name. In the Scilly Islands there are two rocks of this description, but much smaller. To a rock of magnitude, thus resting on supporters, between which a passage is left, the

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 172.

TWO TOLMENS IN SCILLY RESEMBLING THAT IN CONSTANTINE.

common name that is given both in Scilly and Cornwall, is *Tolmen*, a word which signifies the *Hole-Stone*, or *Holed-Stone*. The Tolmen which is in Constantine, bears some distant resemblance to an egg, when viewed at a distance; but on a nearer inspection the similitude disappears. This stone rests on its side, on two supporters which appear to touch it only with their projected points. The passage which lies between these supporters, and beneath the rock which rests upon them, is about three feet high and as many wide, so that a man may creep through it without any difficulty.

This rock, which lies longitudinally due north and south, measures in its longest diameter about thirty-three feet, in its widest part from east to west about eighteen feet six inches, and in depth at its greatest diameter about fourteen feet six inches. "I measured," says Dr. Borlase, "one half of its circumference, and found it according to my computation, forty-eight feet and a half; so that this stone is ninety-seven feet in circumference, about sixty feet across the middle, and by the best information I can get, contains at least 750 tons of stone. Getting up by a ladder to view the top of it, we found the whole surface worked like an imperfect or mutilated honey-comb, into basons; one much larger than the rest was at the south end, about seven feet long; another, at the north about five; the rest smaller, seldom more than one foot, oftentimes not so much, the sides and shape irregular." *

The Tolmens in Scilly are both standing on the declivities of hills, beneath the precipices of a large karne of rocks. The top stones of these singular monuments, Dr. Borlase is inclined to think were placed in their present position, by human labour and art, after having been brought from some part of the karnes with which they are still partially surrounded.

But how strongly soever the probability may be, in favour of the Tolmens of Scilly being the work of art, it is doubtful how far the same conclusions may be drawn in favour of that of Constantine. Seven hundred and fifty tons, in one solid mass of stone, is a prodigious weight; and to place it on its side, resting only on two points in that poised position, requires a degree of careful nicety and commanding power, of which more modern ages would be proud to boast. We know indeed, that the ancients possessed the power of moving vast weights; and in some of their works which have survived the shocks of time, we find bodies even heavier and larger than this Tolmen. In the ruins of Balbec, there are three stones lying end to end in the same row, extending conjointly sixty-one yards. One of these stones is no less than sixty-three feet in length, and the other two are

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 174.

sixty feet each. "The depth of these stones is twelve feet, and their breadth the same. The rest of the wall was made also of large stones, but none I think were so great as these. That which added to the wonder was, that these stones were lifted up into the wall more than twenty feet from the ground."*

That these stones are of greater magnitude and weight than the Tolmen, cannot easily be denied; and consequently, a greater force was required to lift them twenty feet from the ground, to their proper position in the wall. But it must also be admitted, that if these stones required a greater degree of force, they required a smaller degree of ingenuity to fix them in their respective places. To place an enormous stone on a level bed on a wall, must be attended with less difficulty, than to raise another mass nearly as enormous, and fix it on two points of projecting rock, with so much firmness that it should repel the attacks of storms, and the war of elements, through the long lapse of perhaps three thousand years.

But whatever power or ingenuity might have been necessary to raise this Tolmen, if it be a work of art, it is unquestionably certain, from their works at Stonehenge, and from several other monuments, that the Druids were sufficiently acquainted with the nature of mechanical powers, to raise vast weights, and to remove them from place to place. And perhaps the same knowledge of mechanical powers, and the same ingenuity, that enabled the architects to build Stonehenge, might, with some variations, enable them, or others of the same order, to raise the Tolmen in Constantine. And to this conclusion we shall be almost irresistibly led, if we admit that "the under stones appear in some instances to have been fitted to receive and support the upper one."†

We are taught however, by frequent experience, that appearances of this kind are sometimes delusive. We occasionally rob nature to embellish art; and create to ourselves those imaginary resemblances which we fancy we discover. Many doubts may be entertained, respecting this Tolmen, whether art or nature placed it in its present position; and with these doubts Dr. Borlase found himself perplexed. That the ancients were capable of raising such a mass, he seems fully convinced; and he illustrates his conviction, by referring to what is generally denominated Pompey's pillar, and to the ruins of Balbec, which we have already noticed. But after thus establishing the practicability of the work, he expresses his hesitation in the following words:—"Notwithstanding all this, I have some doubts whether ever this stone, so vast it is, was ever moved since it was first formed, and whether it might not have been only cleared from the rest of the karne, and shaped somewhat to keep it in proper poise, so that it might shew itself

* Maundrell's Travels, p. 137. † Borlase's Antiquities, p. 175.

to that advantage which it now does most surprisingly at some miles distance. But yet I am far from thinking it impossible that this rock might be brought where we see it by human force." *

As a matter of curiosity, it would be gratifying to know whether this Tolmen were indebted to art or nature, for its present elevation; but we meet with difficulties on each side, which leave us in a state of indecision, and in this state we are likely to remain. If we admit the hint which Dr. Borlase has given, that this vast stone "may have been cleared from the rest of the karne, and shaped somewhat to keep it in proper poise," we admit an intimation at which our understandings revolt. Until the surrounding rocks and rubbish were removed, the position of this rock could not be ascertained with accuracy; neither, if its inequality of balance had been discovered, could the workmen strike off any of its heavier side; and consequently their discovery would have been too late for their intentions and labour. If the rock were unequal in its balance, the removal of its props must have caused it to incline, and in this case we can no more conceive how art could restore the equipoise, than how ingenuity and power could give the stone its present position. And if we suppose that these artists removed all the contiguous rocks and earth, except such props as were necessary to preserve its equilibrium, until some parts of its heavier side were taken away, we must suppose them to possess such an accurate knowledge of the laws of gravitation, as we cannot reconcile with their state of rudeness, and small scientific acquirements. This much is certain; the monument is in existence, and whether raised by art or nature, or fixed by nature and improved by art, no doubt can be entertained, that it was formerly dedicated to superstition, and was probably connected with idolatrous worship. In this ignorance, and in this knowledge, we must be content to rest.

In the area below this Tolmen, many rocks are to be found, which have evidently suffered violence; the broken and splintered surfaces and craggs being still visible, and exposed in all their wild irregularity. But whether these rocks have received that injury which they have sustained, from some violent concussion of nature, or from the labour of men, who cleared this Tolmen from its contiguous rocks and broke off its superfluous parts, in order to preserve its equipoise, we have no means of knowing. It is however worthy of remark, that neither this Tolmen, nor the Tolmens of Scilly, are in any one part permitted to touch the ground. Their whole weight rests on their respective supporters, which in each place either art or nature has prepared to receive them. This appearance of these Tolmens is perfectly consonant to the established principles of the Druids, who considered

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 175.

that every thing which was sacred became polluted when it touched the ground. To prevent this was therefore an object of their particular care; and hence so much caution was used in cutting the mistletoe and other sacred herbs.

We have already noticed, that beneath these Tolmens, there is a passage between the rocks, and that this passage beneath the Tolmen in Constantine is sufficiently large for a man to creep through; but to what purpose these passages were applied, we can never hope to know with certainty. It is highly probable, when either rocks or wells were once regularly consecrated, that the Druids taught the people to believe, they had acquired some very extraordinary virtue; and, as a natural consequence, that whatsoever came in contact with these consecrated objects, acquired no small degree of sanctity, and became, on that account, more acceptable to the gods. Dr. Borlase intimates, that this passage through the Tolmen, might be a sanctuary for an offender to take refuge from the vengeance of his pursuers. "But I imagine," he adds, "it chiefly was intended and used for introducing proselytes and novices, or people under vows, or about to offer sacrifices, into their more sublime mysteries. For the same reason, I am apt to think, the vast architraves, or cross stones, resting on the uprights at Stonehenge, were erected; namely, with an intent to consecrate and prepare the worshippers, by passing through these holy rocks, for the better entering upon the offices which were to be performed in their *Penetralia*, the most sacred part of their temple."*

In the parish of Madern, in a tenement called Lanyon, there is another singular monument which leaves no kind of doubt, as to its being a work of art. This monument consists of three stones erect, on a triangular plan, one of which varies from the other two, in height, magnitude, form, and appearance. This singular stone, which chiefly merits notice, is comparatively thin and flat. It is fixed in the ground on its edge, and has a large round hole passing through its middle, fourteen inches diameter, from which circumstance it has obtained the name *Mên-an-Tol*, which in Cornish signifies the *holed stone; Mên-an-Tol* being little more than *Tolmen* reversed. The other two stones belonging to this monument are nothing more than rude pillars about four feet high, placed nearly at an equal distance from this holed stone, which seems to form the obtuse angle of this monument. One of these pillars however, has a long stone lying just before it, which seems to suggest the idea of a cushion, or convenience, to enable those to kneel with more ease, who came before the pillar either to pay their devotions, or to perform their vows.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 176.

As this monument, particularly the stone which has been perforated by art, can have no conceivable reference to any civil, military, or domestic concerns, we are led from this structure to conclude that it was useful only to superstition and idolatry; but in what manner it was applied even to these purposes, we are at a loss to conjecture with any tolerable degree of satisfaction. Among the various opinions of its use, that have been entertained, some have imagined that libations of milk and beer were poured through this hole to Browney, a kind of tutelary spirit that is supposed to preside over the bees, and which is still invoked in Cornwall, in many places, when they swarm. Of this imaginary spirit we shall take some notice hereafter. The circumstances which have given rise to this opinion are, the resemblance which this stone bears to one in the Shetland Islands, through which the inhabitants pour such libations to Browney, and which is called Browney's Stone; and the known fact, that such an invocation is made to Browney in Cornwall on the swarming of the bees.

Against this conjecture, thus founded upon a coincidence of circumstances, it will not be easy to urge any opposite reasonings. It is however, possible, and perhaps not improbable, that this *Mên-an-Tol* might be applied to other purposes besides those of conveying libations to Browney. It might have been made subservient to several delusive ends. It might have been necessary in the process of initiation; it might be necessary for children to be drawn through this hole, when dedicated to rock worship; and it might be necessary, in order to give purification to the victim that was to be offered in sacrifice. Probable conjecture may therefore give to Browney a right to this stone, in order to convey libations to him, without granting him the exclusive possession of it.

But independently of the preceding uses of this stone, there is another purpose to which we may suppose it to be applied, with no small degree of probability. It is well known that the Druids were no novices in the arts of imposition; and that they rarely failed to exercise these arts, when they had an opportunity of increasing either their wealth or power, may be fairly inferred from their general character. As therefore, some extraordinary virtues were presumed to reside in these stones, when legally consecrated, it is not improbable that the people might be taught to expect some miraculous cures for their afflicted children, by drawing them through this hole, upon giving to the officiating Druid some pecuniary compensation for his trouble. From the children these benefits might have been extended to the parents, and perhaps to others, in case they made their application at proper seasons, and followed such directions as the Druid only was able to give.

SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOM OF PASSING THROUGH THE HOLED STONE TO CURE VARIOUS DISORDERS.

That the hole in this stone possessed the power of working extraordinary cures, we may gather from the voice of tradition, which is still to be heard, and from the imaginary virtues which it still retains. Mr. Tonkin describes "*Maen Tol*," as "a stone with a hole, on Agnidal Downs in Madern, famous for curing pains in the back, by going through the hole three, five, or nine times." And this tradition is confirmed by Dr. Borlase, with some additional circumstances, and supported by the authority which he quotes.

"When I was last at this monument," says he, "in 1749, a very intelligent farmer of the neighbourhood assured me, that he had known many persons who had crept through this holed stone for pains in their backs and limbs; and that fanciful parents, at certain seasons of the year do customarily draw their children through, in order to cure them of the rickets. He shewed me also two brass pins carefully laid across each other on the top edge of this holed stone. This is the way of the over curious, even at this time; and by recurring to these pins, and observing their direction to be the same, or different from what they left them in, or by their being lost or gone, they are informed of some material incident of love or fortune, which they could not know soon enough in a natural way, and immediately take such resolutions as their informations from these prophetical stones suggest."*

In the parish of Buryan, about sixty paces north of a circle called Rosmodreuy Circle, there is another stone which seems to be of great antiquity, which also is perforated with a hole that is six inches in diameter. This stone, which is about five feet high, two feet wide, and about six inches thick at a medium, has its hole about fifteen inches below the top, which appears to have been rounded off; so that in its general figure it bears some distant resemblance to a mile-stone. Even in Dr. Borlase's days, this stone was the only one that remained to ascertain the spot on which a departed monument had stood. In an hedge, not far from this stone, another was discovered, holed quite through in a similar manner; and in a wall belonging to a village near by, a third stone made its appearance, which was evidently of the same description; and consequently it is but fair to conclude, that they all belonged to the same group; but of what number this group consisted, it is now impossible to say.

As these stones were evidently distinct from any others, both in their appearance and position, if we may be permitted to take that which remains erect for our guide, we cannot but suppose that the whole monument was different from any that we have hitherto surveyed; and from hence we must infer, that it was

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 178.

designed for some distinct use; but that use it will be rather difficult to assign. In the adjoining fields several large stones still erect, are to be found; and from their irregularity it may be concluded, that they were formerly connected with others that are now no more, but which once gave uniformity to the whole. It appears therefore, highly probable, from these scattered stones with holes, from the large stones still standing in the fields, and from a circle which still remains entire, that this was once a place of considerable resort and consequence. And Dr. Borlase imagines, that these holed stones, which originally belonged to the circles, though detached from them, were placed in their original position, and perforated with holes, in order that the Druids might fasten the victims that were to be offered in sacrifice, while they went through their preparatory ceremonies, and made their accustomed supplications to their gods.

Among the rock deities to which these circles, these pillars, and these groups were made subservient, Dr. Borlase reckons that singular pile of rocks, which is called the Wringcheese. This pile is situated in the parish of St. Cleer, not far from Liskeard, and is of so strange a construction as to command the attention and admiration of every traveller. The whole mass is thirty-two feet high, and consists of something like seven rocks piled one upon another, which seem to have very little of any natural connexion, in some places with each other. It is however, highly probable, that although to the eye of a spectator they appear to be detached masses, they have a secret union in their more central parts, through which they have been enabled to repel the storms of all preceding generations.

But it is neither the height nor the magnitude of this rude heap, that either excites the notice, or awakens the astonishment of the beholder. The rocks which lie at the base are much smaller than those which are near the summit, and they grow considerably more narrow as we ascend the pile, until we have reached about ten feet from the bottom. From this place the rocks grow more stupendous, and the craggs project in wild irregularity over those beneath, leading us to expect their immediate overthrow with every gust of wind that blows. But the pile has hitherto withstood the assaults of time, the conflict of the elements, and every concussion of nature; and if from what is past, we may venture to predict what will be, it is probable that this group will continue to the end of time, to mark the folly of those expectations, which its threatening appearance excites.

From the singular manner in which these rocks are piled upon one another, a spectator might be induced, on a superficial view, to think that this sublime fabric had been raised by art; but a nearer inspection will produce another opinion. On the same hill there are several piles of stones, raised up in a similar manner, which would be sufficient to awaken attentive astonishment, if seen in any other

place; but as the Wringcheese is so much more stupendous, it engrosses the whole of the spectator's admiration, and all besides are disregarded. It may however be gathered from the manner in which these contiguous piles appear, varying in magnitude and irregularity, that the whole is the work of nature, unaided either by the science or the tools of mortals.

Nevertheless it is not improbable, that this enormous pile was formerly in part concealed by the surrounding rocks and earth; but that so soon as the Druids, who were always conversant with rocks, discovered, from what was visible, that its appearance was promising, they hastened to remove the rubbish which hid its grandeur, and brought the monument into public view. It has been reported, that in former years, the uppermost stone was a logan rock, and that it might easily be put in motion with a long pole from the bottom; but that in subsequent years, some of its parts were broken off, so that its equipoise was destroyed. If this traditionary report be true, we may learn from it the cause which primarily excited the attention of the Druids. And it is easy to conceive, that in those ages of credulity and imposition, when on removing the rocks and earth which concealed its sublimity, they brought it forth to notice, it could appear nothing less than the work of some invisible agent; and, that it was exhibited as a miraculous monument, to confirm the various predictions which the priests delivered, by constantly submitting to the evidence of sense.

On the uppermost stone there formerly were two rock basons. One of them still remains entire, and a part of the other is visible on the edge of the rock, from which a portion is evidently broken off. It is therefore not improbable, that the same violence or accident that split the rock bason into two parts, and destroyed that which is absent, by removing the centre of gravity, caused this stone to lose its equipoise, and deprived it of the capacity of being moved. From these various circumstances, Dr. Borlase observes, respecting the Wringcheese, "I think we may truly reckon it among the rock deities, and that its talness and just balance may probably be intended to express the stateliness and justice of the Supreme Being. And as the rock basons shew that it was usual to get upon the top of this karne, it might probably serve for the Druid to harangue the audience, pronounce decisions, and foretel future events."*

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 174.

SECTION IV.

Observations on the Logan, Lâgan, Logging, or Rocking Stones in Cornwall, and on the probable use to which they were applied by the Druids.

It is somewhat singular, that Dr. Borlase, who had spent all his days in Cornwall, and was intimately acquainted with the dialect of its inhabitants, should spend so much time and labour as he has, in attempting to find the derivation of this term ***Logan Rock***, or ***Logging Rock***, when perhaps there are few terms in common use with which every labourer and mechanic in the county are better acquainted. The term *logg* is regularly applied in the common dialect of Cornwall, to every thing that moves to and fro in a tardy manner, and finally regains its wonted position. Thus a man who aukwardly moves from side to side while he walks, is said to *logg*, and the term is applied to every kind of motion that is of a similar nature. It is however worthy of remark, that this term is never considered to be applied with accuracy, unless the moving body be placed above the common centre of its motion. A pendulum in motion would not be said to *logg*, because the centre of its motion is above the weight that moves. But if the pendulum rod were to be continued, so that its extremity should be extended above that pivot on which it swings, and if we could retain the idea of its motion, while we detached it from its connexion with the pendulum below, this extremity of the rod would be said *to logg*, because the centre of its motion would be below the part of the rod that moved. In this manner the provincial phrase *to logg*, is used in vulgar language in most parts of Cornwall. It is employed as a regular transitive verb, capable of undergoing all the inflexions which person and number in a regular conjugation require; and is occasionally applied to a ship, a man, a tree, a carriage, or a rock, when in that state of motion which I have just described, even to the present day.

But Dr. Borlase, instead of looking into the provincialisms of his native county, for the meaning of the phrase, proceeded to examine foreign languages and idioms; and, as might naturally be expected, found himself at last in a state of indecision. For after applying to the Belgic, Saxon, German, Celtic, and Welsh, and gathering from each the import of some word which seemed to bear some resemblance to logan, either in sound or meaning, he confesses his dissatisfaction in the following words:—"In Cornwall we call it the Logan Stone, the meaning of which I do not understand."*

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 180.

LOGGING-ROCKS DISCOVERED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD.

That these logging-stones are not confined to this country, is evident from an observation of Pliny, who informs us, that there was to be seen at Harpasa, a town in Asia, "a rock of a wonderful nature. Lay one finger to it and it will stir: but thrust at it with your whole body, and it will not move." Ptolemy Hephestion also mentions a stone which he calls "the Gygonian Stone, which signifies rocking, near the ocean, which may be moved with the stalk of an asphodel, but cannot be removed by any force."* We may gather from these circumstances, that since logging-stones are found in many parts of the world, besides Cornwall, we have no right to attribute the peculiar position in which they are found, either to the ingenuity or power of the Druids.

When we look exclusively to the beds on which they rest, and to that particular nicety with which they are poised, we are almost insensibly led to attribute their construction to the combined efforts of power and ingenuity. But when we reflect that they are not wholly confined to any peculiarity of situation, that many similar rocks are to be found among the adjacent blocks, in various stages of approximation towards an equipoise, that the moving masses are enormous, and that their situations are sometimes exceedingly difficult of access, we find ourselves forbidden to indulge the idea that nature has had either a rival or an assistant in the erection of them.

In the parish of St. Levan, there is a point of land which is generally called Treryn Castle, or Castle Treryn. Descending from this cape towards the sea, three groups of rocks appear before us, which seem to be formed of perpendicular crags or columns, the bases of which project with wild disorder into the sea. On the western side of the middle group, and not far from the craggy summit, an enormous logging-stone has found its bed. This extraordinary stone, which is a block of granite, and weighs by estimation about ninety tons, has, projecting from its bottom, a kind of central ridge, upon which it is so nicely poised, that resting as it does, on the flat surface of another rock, a small degree of force can easily move it from side to side, through the space of a few inches. But as the extremities of its base are at a considerable distance from the central ridge on which it moves or loggs, and consequently at a distance still greater from each other; and as the whole mass is so well secured by its nearness to the widely extended surface of the rock on which it rests, it is scarcely possible that any mechanical power can be applied to remove it from its present situation. And certain it is, that no lever or powerful engine can in any form whatever derive the

* See these Authors cited by Borlase's Antiquities, p. 180.

A LOGGING-STONE IN SITHNEY THROWN DOWN DURING THE REBELLION.

least assistance, in its removal, from that singular property of logging, which it possesses.

As it must be attended with inconceivable difficulty to remove this enormous block from its native bed, so it must have been attended with so many to bring it hither by human art and power, as might justify us in pronouncing it to be impossible. It is not without considerable trouble, that the rocks can be scaled with which it is surrounded; and many who have proceeded to the group of rocks on which it rests, have been deterred from ascending the winding path, if such it may be termed, which leads over crags and chasms to its elevated but sublime abode. It is not easy to conceive a situation of more magnificent grandeur than the station which it fills. Surrounded by an immense pile of rocks, in an elevated region, where the reign of silence is interrupted only by the screams of sea birds, the roaring of tempests, and the dashing of waves, this enormous logging-stone seems to frown in solitude over that desolation which its appearance augments. It is scarcely possible for any one to ascend this venerable pile, and contemplate the awful scenery with which he is encircled, without having his mind inspired with the mingled emotions of terror and admiration.

In the parish of Sithney, about four miles north-west from Helston, there is a rude pile of stones, among which, in former ages, stood a celebrated logging rock, generally known by the name of *Mên-amber*. This name Dr. Borlase thinks to be a corruption of *Mên-an-bar*, which, in the Cornish language signifies the *top-stone*. The stone itself is eleven feet long from east to west, four feet deep from top to bottom, and six feet wide. In former years, this stone would logg or move from side to side, with the application of a very inconsiderable force; and this circumstance, in conjunction with the traditionary accounts of its virtues and miraculous powers, which every age continued to propagate, collected together at certain seasons of the year, vast numbers of persons, who approached it with such superstitious rites, as cannot easily be reconciled with the pure principles of Christianity; but which thus insensibly led them to fan and keep alive that idolatrous fire, which Druidism has originally kindled.

In the days of Oliver Cromwell, when superstition struck out a new path, and it became fashionable to treat every monument of antiquity with some mark of indignity, this stone was thrown off its balance; and no doubt it lost its virtues when it lost its capacity to be moved. This top stone, says Mr. Scawen, in his MS. was so nicely balanced, that "a little child could instantly move it, and all travellers that came this way, desired to behold it; but in the time of Cromwell, when all monumental things became despicable, one Shrubsall, then governor of

LOGGING-STONE IN SCILLY OF A SINGULAR FORM.

Pendennis, by much ado, caused it to be undermined, and thrown down, to the great grief of the country."

It does not appear however, that this moving stone was actually thrown off the pile on which it originally stood; it was only thrown off its balance; for although robbed of its primitive honours, it still remains resting in part on that surface which formerly supported its motion. But in the position which it now occupies, it evidently appears with marks of violence on it. Its under parts seem to have been cleared off by some instrument, so that being thus thrown from its proper balance by the destruction of its equipoise, it lies in an inclined position, to inform future generations in what a variety of shapes superstition may appear.

On the superficies of this stone, some marks of a tool are visible, in those light and wavy indentations which seem to flow along its surface. From its quadrangular shape, Dr. Borlase imagines, that in the days of Druidism, this stone was dedicated to Mercury. And, as a rock bason is visible on the surface of that stone on which it originally moved, the same learned antiquary conceives, that the logging-stone was raised upon it by human efforts, at some subsequent period, since rock basons have never been found in any stones that were not immediately exposed to the heavens.

Besides these logging-rocks which have been described, there are others in different parts of the county; but as they have nothing remarkable to recommend them to distinct notice, one general principle will apply to all. In the parish of St. Just, in Penwith, there is a natural logging-rock in a large heap of stones called Bosworlas Lehau, but it is not so large as either of the foregoing. On Carn-bre, near Redruth, there is another, which consists of a large flat rock, that rests on another of a similar surface, and is balanced by an irregular protuberance which projects near its centre of gravity. Among the rocks of Rough-Tor in the parish of St. Breward, several moveable crags may be found; and no doubt among the promiscuous heaps, that in some places croud and ornament our broken shores, if diligent search were made, many might still be found, equal both in magnitude and sublimity, to those whose celebrity is enrolled on the records of antiquarian fame.

But these logging-stones of our own country are by no means confined to Cornwall. Dr. Borlase describes one in St. Agnes, in Scilly, of an enormous size, being no less than forty-seven feet in circumference, and eight feet six inches in height. And what renders this rock more singular, is, that it rests on another which is much the same in circumference, and which touches the ground with no more than half its base. The moving rock which is above, is nearly globular, and touches that on which it rests, so nicely, that it may be put in motion with

a pole from below. This rock Dr. Borlase supposes to have been rounded by art, if not placed by art on the concave surface of that rock which still sustains it.

In the county of Devon there are many logging-rocks, of which Mr. Polwhele has given a minute description. "On East Down, in the parish of Manaton, is a logan stone, called in the neighbourhood the Whooping Rock, from the noise which it used to make when set in motion by the winds. In stormy weather, it might be heard at the distance of at least three miles, with the wind. A few years ago, several persons moved it by main force off its balance; so that it *loggs* no more. It is evidently a druidical logan stone, and has been venerated by the superstitious neighbourhood as an enchanted rock, from the time of the Druids to the present day. And the hands that wantonly displaced it from its primitive position, are execrated by the villagers around, as having profanely violated the spirit of the rock."*

In Derbyshire, in Wales, and in Ireland, these logging stones have also been noticed; but they have nothing to excite particular attention, except it be that minute diversity which general uniformity supplies. Dr. Borlase speaks of three that had come to his notice through the medium of information; one near Byrchover, four yards high; and two at Rowtor, the largest of which was computed to weigh at least twenty tons; this rested on a karne that was twenty feet high.

That these logan, or logging-stones exist in Cornwall, Scilly, Devonshire, Derbyshire, Wales, and Ireland, as well as in some foreign parts, is a fact which no one can deny; but whether we ought to ascribe them to nature or to human ingenuity and power, is a point that we cannot so easily determine. By several eminent writers, they have been supposed to owe their elevation, and their capacity to be moved, to the genius of the Druids; and in some instances Dr. Borlase seems strongly inclined to favour this opinion; and he produces the rock basons which he found in the supporting stone at Sithney, in confirmation of this hypothesis. But this evidence must appear in a dubious light, if it should hereafter appear, that the rock basons themselves, instead of being the work of art, should be found to be nothing more than natural excavations, produced by the continual action of the elements, fretting the stones into those curious indentations and excavations which we behold.

Mr. Polwhele, when speaking of a logging-stone at Holy Street, in the parish of Changford, says, "I thought I discovered a cavity in the centre of the surface of the lower stone, seeming to receive a corresponding part of the upper. That this logan stone is the work of art, copied by the Druids from similar ones in nature,

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 57.

would not admit of a doubt, if the circumstance of the mortise were ascertained." But of this fact he found reason to entertain very serious doubts. "I have narrowly inspected all this scenery, with a strong prepossession on my mind, that it was, in a great measure, artificial. I was almost determined to convert every cluster of stones into a ruin. But I was much disappointed on viewing these phenomena. They are certainly natural. If they are ruins, they are the ruins only of nature, deluged by torrents, or convulsed by earthquakes."*

It will hardly be denied, that the Druids were capable of raising some of these logging-stones to the situation in which they have been found, even by those who entertain doubts how far they were able to prepare them for it. The former required nothing more than muscular and mechanical power; but the latter demanded much judgment, calculation and ingenuity; perhaps rather more than we may reasonably suppose their state of civil society to allow. And when to this we add, the wild confusion in which the massive rocks in many places appear to lie, the grotesque appearances which they exhibit, the uncouth manner, in which they seem to be piled upon one another, and the surprising relations which we well know the power of nature has caused them to sustain, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that these singular phenomena may be ascribed to the operation of the same causes, displayed under circumstances with which we are not fully acquainted. And finally, to confirm us in this belief, that these logging stones are the production of nature, they seem frequently to make a natural part of those rocks on which they stand, or have stood; they assume the same appearance, and are evidently of the same composition. We may therefore reasonably conclude from these combined circumstances, which are opposed by nothing of any considerable moment, that these rocks were never indebted to human art, either for their elevation, or for those singular properties which they possess.

But although we ascribe the elevation of these stones, and their capacity to receive that singular motion which we discover, to nature, we cannot infer from hence, that the Druids did not avail themselves of their peculiar appearances, to make them subservient to their purposes. Of this fact hardly any doubt can be entertained; but to what purposes they applied them, is by no means so clear. Toland, in his history of the Druids, asserts, that "the Druids made the people believe, that they only could move them, and that by a miracle; by which pretended miracle they condemned or acquitted the accused, and often brought criminals to confess what could in no other way be extorted from them."†

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 57.

† Toland's History of Druidism, p. 103.

There is something highly probable in this conjecture of Toland's. For as the Druids were well acquainted with the rocks, to which any degree of sanctity was attached, and this sanctity extended to all that were stupendous and magnificent, the rude piles on which the logging-stones are found, would naturally excite their attention before that of any other persons; and it is but reasonable to infer, that these were the most likely men to discover them. But having once made a discovery of these moving rocks, and finding it practicable to turn them to their own advantage, they would naturally interdict the spots on which they were found, to preserve them from the unhallowed gaze and footsteps of the vulgar; who, under such an interdiction, would not presume to intrude into the sanctuary of the gods. If therefore they found it necessary to issue any unpopular mandates, or predictions, which the incredulous multitude were backward to believe, the movement of an enormous rock, with a touch of the finger, would be a sufficient attestation of the truth of their predictions, and a certain evidence that their mandates, however discordant, were sanctioned in a visible manner by the approbation of heaven. From these miraculous motions, it was easy to persuade the people, that some celestial intelligence or spirit resided in these rocks, which were too sacred for any except the Druids to touch; and from hence it is easy to perceive that by a small transition the logging-stone would become an idol.

We have however, from what we know of the character of the Druids, little reason to think, that they restricted these logging-stones to the confirmation of their predictions or mandates. These stones could be easily made to answer many other valuable purposes; and, in the discovery of innocence or guilt, might supersede the necessity of evidence, and supply its place when it could not be conveniently procured. It can only be in allusion to this circumstance that the following lines can be understood:—

"Behold yon huge
And unhewn sphere of living adamant,
Which poised by magic, rests its central weight
On yonder pointed rock: firm as it seems,
Such is its strange and virtuous property,
It moves obsequious to the gentlest touch
Of him whose heart is pure: but to a traitor,
Though e'en a giant's prowess nerved his arm,
It stands as fixed as Snowdon." MASON.

"As to the pits or basons," says Dr. Borlase, "which we find sunk on the tops of these logan stones, I will only observe here, that it can scarcely be doubted, that they had their part to act in these juggles, and by the ruffling or rest of the

water, which after every shower of rain they must have contained, were to declare the wrath or pleasure of the god consulted, and some way or other to confirm the decision of the Druid."*

As none but the Druids, and those who acted under their immediate direction, were permitted to touch these sacred stones, the deluded people had no opportunity of detecting the imposition which was practised on them. In all cases the will of the gods was to be consulted and obeyed, and the Druids only were capable of comprehending it. None therefore would presume to lay his finger on any other part of the sacred rock than that which the Druid pointed out. It was easy therefore to direct those who were presumed to be innocent, to that part of the rock which would yield to their pressure; and to appoint such as were suspected to be guilty, to make an effort in a place where no energy that any individual could possibly exert, would produce the least effect. Thus guilt and innocence were alike at the disposal of the priests; and through the virtue which resided in the logging-stone, it was in their power to change the nature of either, and to acquit or condemn accordingly. It is painful to reflect that ever such days existed; but it is pleasant to observe, that they are gone, to revisit our country no more.

SECTION V.

Rock Basons, and their most distinguishing properties described, with general Reflections on them.

Among the various monuments of antiquity with which the attention of the curious traveller is arrested in Cornwall, there is a certain species denominated rock basons, which have a claim to particular notice. These rock basons are not confined exclusively to this county; they abound in Devonshire; and several have been discovered in Wales. But found as they are in Cornwall, in those places which it is well known the Druids frequented, we cannot but consider them in that connexion, and ultimately view them as forming a part of the general apparatus of superstition.

A rock bason is a certain excavation or hollow, made either by nature or art, on the horizontal surface of a rock, that has, through a revolution of departed centuries, been exposed to the influence of descending torrents. These basons have no determinate dimensions, either of depth or width. Neither are they confined to any particular shape; nor is uniformity, whether of magnitude or

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 162.

appearance, one of their distinguishing characteristics. Some of these basons are quite circular; some are regularly elliptical; and others exhibit a shape of wild and fantastic irregularity. From six feet to two inches, may be considered as the general range of their diameters; and their different depths may be estimated from three feet to one inch, making allowances for occasional variations. Some few of these basons, so well as the writer recollects, particularly on Rough-Tor, have a small convergence on their brims; but in general, the case is just the reverse; as the openings seem to spread, and widen to the utmost, as if to expose the cavity so much as possible to the skies, in order to receive either the hail, snow, or rain, and arrest it in its descent.

In general these basons are found on the most elevated hills, spread out on such ranges of rocks as have the most bleak and exposed situations. This however is not uniformly the case. In some instances they are found on solitary stones of no considerable magnitude, when they are much exposed, as is the case with a few on Curclaze Downs, near St. Austell. And in other instances they have been discovered in declivities, as at Bosworlas in Northill; but in both of these instances the basons are few and small. On the sides of rocks they have, however, never yet been seen, unless these rocks have been overturned by violence, and thrown, with their basons on them, from their native beds. Occasionally they have been met with in rocks over which the tide passes; and sometimes on such logging-rocks as have been noticed in the preceding section. But it is on elevated and substantial ranges of massive rock, that these basons are to be contemplated in all their magnitude, number, and variety.

It is not however, on the summit of every hill that is ornamented with a conspicuous range of rocks, that these basons are to be found. Many rocks, and ranges of rocks, are to be discovered in Cornwall, in very elevated situations, which furnish no basons; and afford no evidence, by any remaining vestiges, that ever such basons existed on them. To account for this deficiency, Dr. Borlase supposes that "it is owing, in all likelihood, to the many rocks which have been cloven up and carried off for building."* But this does not seem to be a very probable conjecture. In many places, where no basons are to be discovered on the contiguous rocks, no marks remain of any rocks having been cloven up and carried off. And it seems remarkably singular, even if this were the case, that those rocks, and all those with basons on them, should be broken up and carried away; and that not a single memorial, either of the violence, or of the basons should remain, to inform us of what had taken place.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 242.

DISTINGUISHING PROPERTIES OF THE ROCK BASONS.

On those rocks where these basons are numerous, an apparent connexion is observable between many. When small basons are on the most elevated parts of the rocks, a channel is frequently perceivable, through which the water that they receive is conveyed, when they overflow, to channels that are still larger, and from thence conducted to a larger bason below, which serves as a general receptacle for their different contributions. And from this larger bason, in a lip which discharges the general collection of water, a passage leads to some convenient outlet, in which some vessel might be placed to receive the general discharge. These outlets, or lips of the basons which have them, are not confined to any one point of the heavens, neither do they appear to have been made with an eye to any particular order. They point in all directions, and seem to have been accommodated to the natural descent of the water, both in the general discharge and in the tributary streams. They are such outlets, as nature, under the direction of the laws of gravitation, would constantly dictate; and, without any assistance from art, would invariably find.

But while some of these basons thus appear to have a connexion one with another, there are others which seem to discharge their waters in a solitary manner, without any relation to those which lie in their vicinity. In some, the channels through which the water passes are deep; in others they are rather slight; and in others the indentation is scarcely visible. But in what state of depth soever these channels appear, the same principle is uniformly obeyed. The lowest part of the brim, over which the water would run, in case no channel had been made to carry it off, is that in which the channel appears; and this seems to be invariably the case, whether we view the basons as solitary, or as connected with others, and throughout all the meanderings which the waters take, in their passage from the highest bason to the ground.

Between the depth of the bason, and that of the channel through which its water is conveyed, no proportion whatever seems to be observed. Sometimes the channel is as deep as the bason; and when this is the case, no water can settle in either. At other times the channel is not more than half the depth of the bason with which it communicates; and in other cases the indentation is only just perceptible; and consequently the basons, in seasons of rain, is either full, or partially filled, or empty accordingly.

It is not however found that all basons have these channels, either with or without any communication with others. Neither do these outlets depend upon the magnitude of the basons. Some of considerable dimensions, have no lip or outlet; but the water, when they are full, gradually overflows, and runs silently

away over the lowest part of their brims, through such natural declivities as it can find; while others that are more diminutive, and which receive a much less quantity of water, have drains, to which their magnitude bears no proportion. The different degrees of hardness or softness in these rocks, will furnish us with a reason for these variations.

It is worthy of observation, that no mark of any tool has ever yet been discovered on these basons. But this is a peculiarity which we should naturally expect to find, if they had been indebted to art for their formation. For this visible deficiency I do not recollect to have ever yet heard any reason assigned. The bottoms of them are sometimes horizontal, and at other times somewhat concave. Between the sides and the bottoms, the edges are ill defined, so that it is difficult, in some instances, to say where they mutually give place to each other. Dr. Borlase observes, that the floors of the connected basons are sunk generally to a horizontal level, or if not exactly so, that they are a little inclined towards that part where the drain is placed, in order that the water may be discharged with the greater ease. But he thinks that in others, which savour less of workmanship, the bottom is not so exactly levelled.

In all of these basons, the bottom presents a rough surface to the touch of the hand or finger; and whether wet or dry, a sandy substance is generally to be found in it. In many of those basons which are on the rocks of Rough-Tor, a small instrument, which could make no impression on the surface of the rock, may, without difficulty, pick from their bottoms some gravels, which appear to have been partially laid open by the removal of the softer particles with which they were originally surrounded. In some places, on the adjoining rocks, perhaps something more than imagination and fancy can discover the commencement of new basons on their surfaces. In places where the rain has been accustomed to settle, the enamel of the rock seems to be worn away; the dirty particles seem to have been washed off; a particular freshness appears; and a peculiar roughness is perceptible to the touch, bearing some resemblance to the bottom of those basons which have been formed many ages since. In other places these marks are still more conspicuous; the rock seems to have been fretted away, and the dimensions of the growing bason can be easily ascertained. On some rocks, these forming basons may be discovered in different stages of progression; and in every stage in which they can be contemplated, they furnish evidence, that they owe their existence rather to the attrition of the waters, which, through a lapse of ages have descended from the clouds, than to any instruments by which the rocks have been excavated by the hand of man. If therefore we join all these branches of

presumptive evidence together, by retracing our steps, we cannot but conclude that they lead us almost irresistibly to attribute these rock basons to the cause which I have assigned; namely, to the operation of the elements upon these solid substances, through a series of ages which baffle our calculations.

As to the channels in some places, and the want of them in others, together with their different depths, and the insulated basons which appear, all may be resolved into that general principle upon which we account for plains and vallies on the surface of the globe, when we admit the universal Deluge. Some rocks are naturally harder than others, and some are more or less exposed to storms and torrents of rain. And even in the same rock, some places are less susceptible of impressions than others. The plain consequence therefore is, that under these diversified and complicated circumstances, different appearances must be exhibited; and we might rationally expect to find them in such varieties, as these rock basons and their channels display.

It does not appear that these excavations were ever suspected to be the works of nature, by Dr. Borlase; at least, no such intimations are given in any of his descriptions, either of their origin, their properties, or their uses. He assumes it as a first principle that they are of Druid workmanship; and from hence proceeds to calculate upon the conceivable uses to which they were most probably applied. But the only reasons which he assigns for this assumption are, because they are found chiefly in those places, where certain known monuments of Druidism remain; because they could not be applied to any other conceivable purpose; because they are adapted to the receiving of water pure from the heavens; and because the Druids used holy water in their purifications and ablutions. All these reasons may easily be allowed, and allowed to the full extent for which Dr. Borlase contends; but it will not follow from either of them, or from the whole when combined, that the Druids actually made these basons. They might have applied them to their purposes, without calling them into existence; just as they took advantage of the logging-stones which they discovered, without raising the moving monument upon its supporting bed, or fixing that nice balance which constituted the supposed prodigy.

That the Druids did actually make these rock basons subservient to their superstitions, no reasonable doubt can be entertained; and it will not be difficult perhaps, to find among them, some decisive marks of ingenuity in turning them to their account. On some of the rocks of Rough-Tor, there are several rock basons of very large dimensions. From the edges of one of these, there are several indentations cut down over the side of a sloping rock, in such regular channels, and at nearly such equal distances from each other, as to leave no room

to doubt that they are the work of art. These channels were, from their present appearance, originally designed to carry off the water which the bason collected from the clouds. But it is unreasonable to imagine, that nature would form five or six distinct channels, nearly of an equal depth and distance, to carry off the water from one bason. The laws of nature would direct the water to flow from the lowest part; and the channel that was once found, could never be deserted for a new one. Instead of this, every age would fret it still deeper, and ultimately render that absolutely impossible, which at first it is irrational to admit. But these channels still remain visible, to attract the notice of every eye, although they are now no longer of any use. For since the guidance of art has consigned over these basons and their waters to the laws which nature imposes and obeys, the streams or rills seem to have formed for themselves, either a new channel, or to have so completely engrossed one of the old ones, that by fretting it below the level of the others, they are totally abandoned; and remain to form a contrast with those ridges which rise between them, leading towards the edge of the bason, over which, by means of the channel that is deeper, no water at present ever flows. In these channels which are now completely dry, the work of art is evidently conspicuous; and to whom shall we attribute these indentations of the rock, but to the Druids?

Perfectly correspondent with this description, is that which Dr. Borlase gives of the channels which he has noticed on the side of the Tolmen, or rock deity, in the parish of Constantine. "The Tolmen, in Constantine," says he, "must be taken notice of here, as the most astonishing piece of this kind of fret-work, which perhaps the world affords. The whole surface is bespread entirely with basons, most of which supply and run into two large ones, in comparison of the rest, one at the south end, another at the north; but where the convexity of this vast body of stone shelved off from the middle of its top towards its sides, there are many little rills or channels (five in number) cut in the brim of the Tolmen to discharge what the basons next the edge did contain; and underneath a great number of basons are cut into the natural karne, as if to preserve from waste the precious liquor as it fell."*

As the rock basons which are to be found in Cornwall exhibit an almost endless variety, a description of each would become more tedious than amusing, if we were to follow them through all their local peculiarities. Their most distinguishing features have been already noticed, and what remain may be comprehended by the general principles which have guided us in our observations. As to the variations

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 354.

by which their situations and grotesque appearances might be signalized, we must attribute them to the corrosion of the elements, and to that wild irregularity in which nature delights to display her works.

It can hardly be credited, that the Druids, who availed themselves of every opportunity to preserve their authority, and to inculcate a belief that they were in an alliance with the gods, would neglect to seize, and to apply to their own purposes, a phenomenon so favourable to their interests as that which the rock basons presented. That they were impressed into the service of their superstition, is admitted by all, even by those who attribute their primary formation to nature, and by such as ascribe the whole to art. But to what particular uses they were devoted, is rather dubious. This has given rise to a variety of opinions, some of which are better calculated to excite a smile, than to arrest the judgment.

It can scarcely be supposed, when we reflect on their varieties, their situations, their different dimensions, and their forms, that they could ever be designed for any domestic or mechanic purpose. And consequently, we are led almost inevitably to conclude, that, like the logging-stones on which they are frequently found, they were devoted to religion, and served to inspire the vulgar with such terrors as the Druids found convenient to keep alive. But to what particular department of their religious economy these basons belonged, we can only gather from the different uses for which they are evidently unfit, and from those for which they appear to be adapted.

If they had been sufficiently deep, square, mortised, and regular, we might have thought that they had been designed to receive pillars or obelisks; but for this purpose they are evidently unfit. In many places they are too shallow; in some they are too close together; and in others, the channels, through which they have a communication one with another, forbid us to countenance such a supposition. The same circumstances must pervert them from being the receptacles of stone deities, that might be supposed to be placed in them.

Nor will circumstances appear more favourable, if we suppose that these basons were designed to contain those holy fires in which the Druids consumed their sacrifices, since they are by no means adapted for this purpose. No doubt can be entertained that the idolatrous nations of antiquity offered their sacrifices on rocks, but then they were of a very different description from those of which we now speak. When Balaam went to an high place, and prepared seven altars, and offered upon every altar a bullock and a ram, and exclaimed, "From the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him;"* no intimations are given

* Numbers xxiii. 9.

that can lead us to imagine that any rock basons were there. And when the angel of the Lord said unto Gideon, "Take the flesh, and the unleavened cakes, and lay them upon this rock, and pour out the broth,"* nothing appears to suggest to us the idea of a rock bason. The same may be said, when "Manoah took a kid, with a meat offering, and offered it upon a rock unto the Lord, from which the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar."† In all these cases, the rocks must have been adapted to their respective uses; and consequently, we have no reason to believe that they selected an elevation which had scarcely any thing but impediments to recommend it.

It is certain, that no altars, on which sacrifices have been known to be offered, bear any resemblance to those rocks which are covered with basons; and it is very improbable, that the excavations on the rocks of Cornwall should stand as exempt cases from all that history or tradition has recorded. In some places the surfaces of these rocks are eaten out almost in appearance like an honey-comb, and are spread on an area more than twenty feet high, which is wholly inaccessible, except through the assistance of art. In other places these basons are so difficult of access, that we have no other means of reaching them, than by climbing from rock to rock, over crags and precipices, by which nothing but curiosity can be allured. In addition to this, many, nay, multitudes of these excavations are so diminutive, that no fire, sufficient to consume a sacrifice, could be kept alive within their dimensions. And so closely are they stationed by the side of one another, that no distinction could possibly be preserved between the fuel that should feed, and the flames that must arise from the fires of each.

Neither is it more easy to conceive, if these basons were designed for burnt sacrifices, how those drains and channels, which could only be of service where some fluid was intended to flow, could be rendered subservient to the operations of fire, preying only on such combustible matter as must either evaporate in smoke, or be reduced to ashes. And if we even abandon this consideration, from a conviction that the Druids found these channels in the rocks on their discovery of them, and that they only applied the excavation to their purposes of fire, other difficulties will arise, not less numerous, nor less formidable than those which we have surveyed.

In some places, those basons are visible in stones not ten inches thick; and in others they are divided by partitions, that are evidently too thin to withstand the violence of the fire. That intenseness of heat, therefore, which was sufficient to consume the sacrifice, must have caused these thin stones, and still thinner

* Judges vi. 20. † Judges xiii. 20.

ANCIENT SACRIFICING ROCK ON CARN-BRE, NEAR REDRUTH.

partitions between the basons, to splinter, and burst in almost every direction. But instead of discovering any such effects as we might thus naturally expect to find, neither the thin stones, nor the partitions which divide the basons, furnish us with the most distant evidence that any fire has ever passed upon them. The plain conclusion therefore is, that these rock basons, though made subservient to the religion of the Druids, were never used as altars on which the flame ascended to consume their sacrifices.

With less improbability it may be asserted, that on these rocks the devoted victims were bound, and immolated by the priest, and that these basons were destined to receive the blood of the unhappy sufferer. On Carn-bre, near Redruth, there is a rock which is commonly denominated the Sacrificing Rock; and the general idea which this name conveys, is, that it is a rock on which human victims have been immolated. And perhaps, if we view this rock without having any reference to others, and consider this hill as exhibiting an entire system of druidical worship, we shall find but little difficulty in connecting truth with the voice of tradition. But although we can by no means perceive the remains of that systematic order which fancy might easily discover, as this hill was assuredly a scene of druidical idolatry, and as it is beyond all doubt that the Druids did actually offer human sacrifices, we have scarcely so much reason to dissent from the commonly received opinion, as we have to concur in it, and to allow that on this rock human victims might have been offered. And if this be once admitted, it is easy to conceive that the blood of the sacrifice might be received in the large excavation which this rock still retains, and from thence be transmitted to some vessel placed beneath the indentation, through which its rain water is now discharged.

But although we may admit these conclusions respecting this rock, we must not forget that they stand almost wholly on the ground of conjectural probability. No sufficient evidence appears to assure us that the hill of Carn-bre contains the whole apparatus of Druid superstition; and therefore, it is far from being certain, that this rock was ever appropriated to that purpose which tradition has assigned to it. But even if this should be granted respecting this single rock, and a few others that are scattered over the county, this will by no means lead us to account for that general use to which the rock basons at large were applied. Multitudes of them are evidently far too small, to receive or to retain the blood of an immolated victim. And in many places they are so crouded together, as to prevent us from supposing that this could be their general use. In some places these basons appear on rocks, the area of whose surface is not sufficiently extended to permit the priest and the victim to rest upon it; and in others, they are so situated from

their vicinity to other rocks, that no victim can be supposed to have ever been offered from them.

If we cast a transient glance over the county, and reflect for a moment on the number, situation, configuration, and varied dimensions of these rock basons, we cannot but conclude that they could not possibly be all appropriated to these sanguinary rites. Being without all doubt natural excavations, multitudes have unquestionably existed, which the Druid's eye never saw. And it is highly probable, that on some retired and inaccessible crags of our broken cliffs, if a rigorous search were made, several might even now be found, which foxes and sea-fowls only have hitherto been permitted to inspect. These considerations forbid us to conclude, that the basons which now give such a venerable air of antiquity to our native rocks, were ever, in their general use, either scorched by fires, or deluged with human blood.

Thus far we have both seen and examined the distinct claims of blood and fire, and have found reason to discharge both from that general appropriation, which tradition and conjecture might justify us in associating with these basons. And as these are the most powerful candidates for admission, among all that must be rejected, our next inquiry must be, into the most probable use to which these basons were applied.

Among the various rites in which both Jews and Gentiles have concurred, there is scarcely one that is more ancient, or more universal, than that of purification by water. It appears to have been a general opinion that prevailed in the early ages of the world, that the body, which was polluted, communicated its impurity to the soul, and that these washings and lustrations were necessary to counteract this impurity in both. Hence nothing of importance was undertaken, nothing of moment was executed, either in the civil, military, or religious department, without this preliminary preparation.

From what source this universal custom was primitively derived, it is not very easy to determine. There can be no doubt that purifications by water may be traced back so far as the ceremonial law of Moses; but it will not follow from thence that this was the period of its primitive origin. It rather appears to have been a custom fully established in the days of Moses, in many parts of the Gentile world; and consequently its original establishment demands an earlier date. When Moses, while an infant, was thrown on the banks of the Nile, he was found by Pharaoh's daughter, " who came down to wash herself at the river."—*Exodus* ii. 5. This washing is in general considered as a religious ablution, that the princess thought it necessary to perform. But whether health or religion dictated to her this particular act, it is well known, that the ancient Egyptians, on both

accounts, washed themselves no less than four times a day. And among the modern inhabitants of Egypt, travellers assure us, that when the Nile begins to rise, the dancing-girls annually plunge themselves into the water, to testify their gratitude for the periodical inundation. We may learn from these circumstances, that the custom of purification by water prevailed long before the days of Moses; and consequently, that it was not primarily derived from the Jews.

As the whole of mankind descended from the offspring of Noah after the Deluge, it is reasonable to presume that the founders of the different nations of the earth carried this custom with them from their common family; and, under a variation of circumstances, transmitted it to their posterity. At first it might have been adopted as conducive to health, and nothing more. But when idolatry began to prevail, it is easy to discover how an innocent and wholesome custom might be rendered subservient to the purposes of superstition, and be transformed into an engine of state, or an instrument of ecclesiastical despotism.

When idolatry became matured into a science, it was an object worthy the attention of the priest, how to preserve and enforce the observance of so necessary a rite, and at the same time turn it to a considerable advantage. To accomplish this, nothing could be so well adapted as the expedient of consecrating the water. But as this could only be performed by the priest, the people might soon be taught to believe, that the water thus consecrated, acquired thereby no small degree of sanctity, and that it was entitled to more than common veneration.

To keep alive such a profitable deception, "the very temples were ritually besprinkled, not only when first consecrated, but as often as the gates were opened, with this holy water; and the people, whenever they came to worship. The priests were to wash in one only kind of the purest water, their vestments dewed, their victims, altars, and sacrificial instruments washed; they had their magical water to divine by, to foretel events, to try doubtful and criminal cases by, and the purest water was poured out in libations to their gods. Their noviciates were initiated with no other than one particular sort of water, at stated times, in certain appointed places, before particular persons, in proper habits; so that it became one of the mysteries of the Pagan religion, an emblematical science, of which the most minute circumstance was not to be omitted; a science which no one but their priests understood, which without the most powerful solicitations and timely probation, no one was admitted unto, nor so much as to be present when another was admitted."*

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 247.

To give completion to this systematic farce, the water itself became a subject of serious consideration. Different nations had different attachments, and each was always able to assign a satisfactory reason for its peculiar opinion. The Romans thought it unlawful in their sacrifices to Vesta, to use any other water than that which was taken from the fountain where the river Numicus rises. The Syrians preferred the waters of Abana and Pharpar to all the waters of Israel. The Egyptian priests could only be purified by that water which the Ibis had already consecrated, by drinking of the stream. And the Greeks, before prayer, would wash their hands only in sea water. Others again preferred the dew of heaven; some were partial to rain; some to dissolving snow; and others to the particular manner in which a fountain yielded its supplies. Thus almost every species of water had its admirers. All admitted that the most pure was the best; and in the aggregate of their selections, they actually rejected and adopted every kind.

In applying these general observations on the nature of water purifications to the Druids, it will be only necessary to observe that they were idolaters; that their order was of great antiquity; and that they were always ready to adopt any custom that could promise them either an increase of wealth, or an extension of their power. Consecrated water, received immediately from heaven, in excavations on the summits of elevated rocks, that were apparently made in a miraculous manner, to collect, retain, and discharge it, was admirably adapted to accomplish their purpose, by securing both.

Between those basons which have no lips, and such as have, Dr. Borlase imagines that the Druids made a considerable distinction, assigning to each class its particular use. From the rock basons without lips he supposes, that on solemn occasions the officiating Druid, standing on an eminence, sanctified the congregation with a more than ordinarily precious lustration, before he expounded to them, or prayed for them, or gave forth his decisions. Of the water which these basons received from the skies, and retained, the Druid sometimes drank; and as it was accounted more sacred than any other water, he sometimes purified his hands in it before he presumed to touch any other vessel. To the more diminutive basons, with which the larger ones were surrounded, during the time of libation, the priest might have recourse; to observe the quantity, colour, and appearance of the water, and from thence decide dubious cases, predict future events, and bring suspected criminals to a confession of their offences.

As the mistletoe was too sacred to be permitted to touch the ground, it can hardly be supposed that the Druids would mix it in common water, when it was to be prepared as a general antidote. To their oak leaves they could easily

give an additional sanctity, by infusing them in this water, which, as coming immediately from the heavens, cannot be supposed to have contracted so much impurity as that which issued from an earthy fountain, or was taken from a common stream.

From the basons with lips, it has been supposed, that the sacred water was carried in some holy vessel to places at a distance, to accomplish some purifications which could not be performed on the spot. In all cases, whenever the basons could be discovered on the surfaces of the logging-stones, they must have acquired an additional reputation, from the singular circumstance of blending two apparent miracles together, which could not fail to strike the terrified beholders with mute astonishment. Astonishment, when thus excited, naturally begets fear; and fear is generally the basis of blind submission.

In several of those large basons that have lips, the figure is somewhat singular, having apparently a cavity to receive a human body, and a recess seemingly adapted to receive the head, both of which are connected by a wide channel, just fitted to accommodate the neck. In these, Dr. Borlase conjectures, that men afflicted with particular disorders were laid, that by the healing virtue which was attributed to the god who inhabited the rock, or by the sacred influence of the water that had passed through these cavities, they might be cured of their afflictions. And when no such afflictions rendered this expedient necessary, he conceives, that such men as were to be devoted to the service of the rock deity, were prostrated in them, that by this previous consecration, they might be prepared for that office which they were designed to fill. The smaller basons, he imagines, when bearing some resemblance to the human form, were intended for children whose conditions and prospects in life corresponded with those of the men. In both instances these basons answered the double purpose of communicating health, and of preparing the votaries for a further initiation.

We ought not however to suppose, that the various theories to which the rock basons have given rise, are actually founded on substantial evidence. They rather arise from an accumulation of probabilities, than from any direct proof. As the religious rites of the Druids resembled those of the ancient nations of the continent, among whom lustrations and ablutions were in constant practice, no doubt can be entertained that they were exact in the observance of an institution so ancient, so sacred, and so advantageous to the interests of power and imposition. But these circumstances rather arise from analogical principles, than historical details; and beyond these general principles, and inferences drawn from them, we cannot with safety scarcely advance a single step. Analogy says, that these general uses were highly probable; but for the diminutive arrangements which have been

presented to the world, the public are more indebted to the fancies of authors than to any sources of information which they have been able to explore.

SECTION VI.

Description of a particular kind of Monument called Cromleh, with general observations on its antiquity and use.

When we look back on the logging-stones and rock basons, which have been described in the preceding sections, and take a retrospective survey of those various opinions which have been entertained respecting them, we perceive that we have been called to witness a train of conflicting theories. Of these theories we have been obliged to take some notice. And although accumulated facts have conspired to extricate us from the labyrinths in which they entangle us, they have occasionally compelled our judgments to fluctuate in indecision. Like the logging-stones which we have examined, our minds have been suspended in a state of equipoise, and have oscillated between the productions of nature and the contrivances of art. But whatever doubts may remain on our minds respecting those phenomena, it is scarcely possible for more than one opinion to prevail, respecting that species of monument, the cromleh, after which we now inquire.

A cromleh is a large flat or table stone lifted from the ground, and placed in an horizontal position, on other flat stones which have their under edges fixed in the earth, and their upper ones raised sufficiently high to support the large flat stone which rests upon them. The term *Cromleh* is not exclusively applied to the large horizonal stone, nor to either or all of its supporters separately taken; but to all in their combined state, as forming the monumental fabric.

The name itself appears to be purely British; and in the Irish, Welsh, and Armoric dialects, for in each of these countries these monuments are to be found, and in each language the name, with some variation in the orthography, is retained, signifies nothing more than a *curved*, or *crooked stone*. This must arise from the convex appearance, which the upper surface of the horizontal stones, occasionally exhibits. But the signification of a term will not always mark its derivation. Mr. O'Halloran, in his introduction to Irish Antiquities, says, that "the term Cromleh is derived from the old Irish deity Crom, by whom was meant Jupiter." And as Mr. O'Halloran imagines that these cromlehs were erected as religious edifices, he turns *Crom* into *Cromlia*, which signifies the altar of Jupiter. Dissatisfied with this derivation, others have sought its etymology in the Phenician language, and from thence have proceeded to the Hebrew. But inquiry in this,

as in many other subjects of remote antiquity, has ended in disappointment. We may with more success hope to obtain some knowledge of its nature and use, than to ascertain the origin of its name.

The situations in which these monuments of antiquity are found, have nothing singular to attract our attention. In general they are erected on the summit of a hill, or on some elevated ground; but this is by no means an invariable case. When these elevated grounds have not been seized, some gentle declivity has suited the purpose; and in Devonshire the situation of the cromleh has inclined towards the north. Sometimes this flat stone and its supporters stand upon the plain natural soil, having no other work of art, nor the ruins of any near them, to share the solitude of their retirement. At other times the cromleh is mounted on the summit of an artificial earthen barrow; and occasionally the base of the supporting stones is surrounded with a heap of stones thrown promiscuously together, and extending round it to an indefinite distance. Sometimes this monument has been found within the dimensions of a circle, formed of stones erect; and when this is the case, and any pillar has occupied the central part of that circle, as is the case at Boscawen-ûn, in Buryan, the cromleh takes its station near the edge of this sacred enclosure. From this circumstance two things may be inferred; first, that the pillar in the centre was placed there before the cromleh was erected; and secondly, that it was unlawful to remove it from the station which it occupied. It does not appear that a place of public exposure was always thought necessary to give perfection to these monuments, or their station; for in several instances they have been discovered near the centre of barrows, when either curiosity or necessity has induced any person to remove the surrounding earth. And we may learn from these combined circumstances, that neither a circle nor the absence of it, neither the summit nor the declivity of a hill, neither an exposed situation, nor a concealment from public inspection, furnished any exclusive guide to the erectors of these singular monuments.

In the construction of these rough fabrics, the upright stones, on the edges of which the horizontal stone rests, are generally three in number. They are almost invariably so in Cornwall; but many instances occur in other parts, where the supporting stones consist of four, and sometimes of five in number. Why three stones should be chosen in preference to any other number, is sufficiently obvious. As every part is in a rude and wholly unpolished state, it would have required a considerable degree of trouble and nicety, in adjusting the elevation of four or five stones, so that each should bear an equal proportion of the weight of the incumbent stone. In short, it would have required a much greater degree of address than could be expected from the architects, who, we may reasonably

suppose, were destitute of such tools and implements as every modern builder would think absolutely necessary for his work. But in causing the horizontal stone to rest on three supporters only, no such care or precaution was required. However unequal their heights might be, the horizontal stone was always sure to find a resting-place on each; and the inequalities of their height would always be indicated by the inclination of the incumbent stone. Agreeably to this principle the incumbent stone is always found in an inclined position; but whether this has arisen from the accidental inequalities of the supporters, or from previous design, it is difficult to determine. Circumstances however rather induce us to suppose the former, because these incumbent stones, instead of being inclined in any particular direction, as might be expected, if design had dictated their visible position, appear rather to have taken that which the unequal heights of the supporters compelled them to assume.

The area, which the supporters in general enclose, is of an oblong form, extending to about six feet in length, and about four feet in width. But from these dimensions there are many variations; for among the lesser ones, we find some that have been buried in barrows, not more than twelve inches, when measured in their longest direction. In height, the variation between these monuments is not less diversified than the area which the supporting stones enclose. From three feet they rise to a height sufficient to accommodate a man sitting on horseback; and the weight of the stones is equally destitute of any fixed standard. Several of the more diminutive cromlehs that have been discovered in barrows, are little more than twelve inches high, and the stones which constitute them are proportionably thin and contracted. With monuments of this kind, of the most stupendous size, Cornwall has not the honour of being graced. Wales can boast of some that display more rude grandeur, magnificence, and magnitude; and there is one which appears so striking, that I venture to transcribe a description of it.

"The village of St. Nicholas has nothing remarkable about it, except some very neat cottages, with uncommonly pretty gardens. But a road turns aside to the left, which leads to some ancient monuments, supposed to be druidical, near Duffrin House, in a vale with a cottage so called, about six miles south by west of Cardiff.

"These monuments bear in every point of view, the marks of great antiquity. Duffrin is Welsh for vale, and the proper English translation of the name by which this estate goes, would be the Vale of Worship, adoration, or prayer. But there are no traces, nor the least vestige of any place here, in which Christian worship can be supposed to have been instituted. Of druidical worship indeed,

there are obvious and striking appearances. The most remarkable of these monuments, is a grey stone on one of the farms belonging to the Honourable Booth Grey, about half way between the village of St. Nicholas and Duffrin House, near the abode of a farmer. It is a rude piece of antiquity, and seems to take its class among that kind, which in North Wales is termed *Cromlieh*.

"This monument at Duffrin is supported by five large stones, enclosed entirely on the east, west, and north sides, and open to the south, forming a considerably large, though low room, sixteen feet in length, fifteen wide, and at the east end six feet high, but only four and a half at the west end. What the real height originally was, cannot be known, without clearing away the rubbish within it, that stands about two feet and a half or three feet above the surface of the field in which the cromlieh is situated. Some other rubbish, with a heap of stones, is placed about it to a greater height on the outside. The supporting stone to the north is sixteen feet long; that on the west is about nine feet in length. At the eastern extremity there are three stones set closely together. The middle stone is four feet and half wide; the northern stone of these three, about three feet, and the southern nearly two feet in width. Three stones standing upright support a large stone on the top, which forms the roof of this rude apartment. The length of this horizontal stone is twenty-four feet. It is seventeen feet in its widest part, and of different breadths at other places. I found it by measurement to be ten feet at one extremity, and twelve about the middle. I likewise found it to be from two feet to two feet and half thick. The top stone therefore, having for its main breadth thirteen feet and half, if twenty-four feet be multiplied by that main breadth, the contents will be three hundred and twenty-four square feet; by which it appears that this top stone is nearly three times as large as that of the cromlieh near Newport, in Pembrokeshire. There appears to have been an immense heap of stones thrown over it; and it seems as if subsequently this had been in part removed, so as to open a way into the room. This is a singular circumstance; but the like appears in a structure of the same kind near Barmouth, in Merionethshire, and in many other places, according to the best accounts."*

As the large horizontal stones which complete these monuments, from their oblate and spreading form, resembling a discus, communicate this idea to the superficial observer, they have been invariably denominated Quoits, both by the Welsh and Cornish. And both in the principality and the dutchy, these rude monuments, in a strain of grave historical romance, have been ascribed to prince Arthur, whose power has been supposed to be equal to that of Ajax, Achilles, or

* Scenery, Antiquities, and Biography of South Wales, by B. Heath Malkin, Esq. M. A. F. S. A. p. 106.

CROMLEH ON GOSS MOOR, NEAR ST. COLUMB.

Hector. In Merionethshire, the Welsh have their *Koeten-Arthur*, and in the neighbourhood of St. Columb, in "a watery wilderness of desolation," called Goss Moor, the Cornish have their Arthur's Quoit.

This cromleh, which is on Goss Moor, in the neighbourhood of St. Columb, consists of five stones, of which one covers, three support, and one is used as a buttress, with a cove or hollow under the covering and between the other stones, now used for a hog-stye; like the Temple of Peace at Rome, which is made a fold for sheep on every Friday, the ancient and modern market day of the Forum. The apartment within this enclosure is sufficiently large for three or four men to stand upright. "The side stone on the left or north is a spar, exactly perpendicular, seven feet in height, and four feet six inches in width at the middle; the side stone on the right or south, is an iron stone, six feet eleven inches high, and three feet seven inches wide at the middle. The back stone on the east is equally an iron stone, seven feet six inches in talness, and three feet three inches wide at the middle; and the coverer, which is equally an iron stone, lies reclining from this along those, forming a declivity of 19 degrees, 40 minutes from east to west, and not from west to east, as Mr. Hals has stated. I mention these little circumstances, not from an antiquary's parade of accuracy in petty uninteresting points, but to explain more clearly a particular incident in the construction of the whole. The northern corner of the back stone appears to have broken off under the weight of the top stone, as the latter was laid or was settling upon the former; and the top stone now touches not the back stone in that corner at all, resting only on the other the southern corner. In consequence of this accident, the whole weight nearly of the top stone was *canted* off upon the adjoining side stone on the right or south; this, finding that to press with a force which it was not calculated to bear, began to shrink from its original uprightness, and to lean considerably towards the north. It would have leaned considerably, if the eastern edge of it had not lapped over the southern part of the back stone, and there impinged strongly upon this its inclination, and been stopped by the resistance which it thus encountered; but even with that resistance, it has come to lean no less than 16 deg. 30 min. to the north, or two feet out of the true perpendicular. The whole building, therefore, was in the most imminent hazard of being off its poise, and the supporting stones were likely to be crushed to the ground by the covering stone. To prevent this, with the same skill and boldness which could raise such masses upon such supporters, which could also calculate upon the duration of a structure so warping, and even rest secure enough in their calculations to work under such a warping structure, a fifth stone was introduced into it, being thrust in behind the side stone on the north, as a buttress to the northern edge of

the back stone. A stone was accordingly chosen, tapering upwards in form, but about six feet in talness, a kind of bastard spar, having two legs, a long and a short one, to it. The long leg was pitched in the ground, while the short remains above ground useless, and the body of the stone was then fixed reclining in a sharp angle against the edge of the back stone, so as to compose a rude kind of powerful *arc-boutant* to it. Thus buttressed, the back stone has remained between the supporting and the pressing stones, without any inclination at all to the north; yet with a projection to the west, the quarter on which it felt no resistance, of 7 deg. 30 min. or of one foot from the perpendicular. Thus has the structure stood as firm as if no misfortune had befallen it, and is likely to stand to the end of time."*

Such is the nature, such was the accident, and such were the means adopted by the architects, to prevent the total overthrow of this singular cromleh or quoit near St. Columb. From the preceding minute description of all the circumstances attending its history, we cannot but conclude, that the whole is the work of art. And although it has been said, that "as its situation is generally on the summit of a hill, the cromleh would often assume perhaps its present form, by the removal of the earth, and loose stones from the natural rocks," it can be little better than madness, to suppose that the stones which compose the cromleh which has just been described, came into their present situation, either by the laws of gravitation, or by any accidental commotion of nature. And then in addition to this, to imagine that nature herself, discovering that the fabric was in danger of falling, actually raised a buttress to prop the tottering edifice, and thus actually secured the venerable pile, is a species of absurdity for which language scarcely affords an adequate name.

In the parish of Madern, in Cornwall, there are two cromlehs, one at a place called Molfra, and the other at a place called Lanyon, on which account they have, in general language, obtained the names of Molfra Cromleh, and Lanyon Cromleh. Of these two monuments, that of the former is situated on the brow of a round bald hill, the name and situation thus exactly coinciding with each other; *Mulfra*, or *Mulvra*, or *Mulvera*, signifying in the old Cornish language *the bare hill*. In this cromleh there are three supporters, each at a general medium about five feet high. These originally sustained an incumbent stone, fourteen feet three inches long, and nine feet wide. But either through accident or intentional violence, a piece of the incumbent stone has been broken off, in consequence of which its proper bearing has been destroyed, so that one of its

* Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. pp. 77, 78.

edges now rests upon the ground. The area which these supporting stones enclose, is about four feet in width, and about six feet eight inches in length, extending in its longitudinal direction due east and west.

On examining the nature of the quoit, or covering stone, and comparing it with the quality of the adjacent rocks, it evidently appears to have been severed from a ledge of rocks, the situation of which is plainly much below the monument; and therefore it must have been removed, either by muscular exertion, or by some machines with which we are not acquainted, from its native bed, to that station which it has continued to occupy, through unnumbered ages. And, what is particularly remarkable is, that in the same quarry from which this stone appears to have been taken, which is about a furlong distant, several stones of prodigious magnitude now lie piled upon each other; and several smaller ones, which seem by their parallel edges to have been severed from the native rock by some powerful instrument, augment the same promiscuous heap. All these detached rocks, when viewed in the aggregate, combine together to suggest the idea either that they were the rude materials, thus prepared for future monuments of a similar nature, to be erected whenever occasions should render another fabric necessary; or, that having been raised for the present monument, and being found defective through some causes which superstition taught the architects to discover, they were thrown aside as unfit for service, while those that compose it were substituted in their stead.

At Lanyon, in the same parish of Madern, it has been already observed, that there is another cromleh, but its position is diametrically opposite to that of Molfra, being not east and west, but due north and south. The incumbent stone of this monument is about nineteen feet long; but its thickness, which is not proportioned to its area, is rather irregular. In the middle, and on its eastern edge, it is sixteen inches; at each end rather less; but at the western edge it is full two feet. The two principal supporters of the incumbent stone were either not originally placed in a true perpendicular, or they have since been forced from it by the prodigious weight which they have been compelled to sustain. At present they have an inclination in their summits towards the verge of the incumbent stone, and consequently they recede from each other in the same proportion. There is however no danger of their ultimately giving way. For as the stone by which they are pressed, has its under surface somewhat inclined towards a concave form, the weight must chiefly rest on the outward extremities of the supporters, and therefore prevent them from falling asunder, as much so as if the supporters had been exactly perpendicular, and the incumbent stone strictly flat and horizontal.

This monument, which is more elevated than any one besides of this kind which the county can produce, being sufficiently high for a man to sit on horseback under it, stands on a low bank of earth, that is raised about two feet above the surrounding soil. This little bank is about twenty feet wide, and seventy feet long, extending in its longest direction due north and south; but whether its elevation may be considered as natural or artificial, it is hard to determine. At the southern end of this monument there are a great many rough stones, some lying promiscuously on the ground, and some placed in an erect position, but without any regard whatever to order. It is plain however, that these stones are not natives of the spot on which they rest; neither does it appear that in ancient days the place was denominated from its rocks or stones; Lanyon, in the old Cornish, signifying *The Furzy Enclosure*, or *The Furzy Croft*. The stones therefore must needs have been brought from some distant place to this, for purposes, after which we may now inquire in vain.

In the parish of Zennor, about half a mile to the east of the church town, there is another monument of this description, standing on the top of a high hill. This cromleh, which appears to have been neatly finished, coincides both in the dimensions of its area, and its position, with that of Molfra already described. One of its supporting stones is eight feet ten inches high, from the surface of the ground to the under face of the incumbent stone which it sustains. The other supporters are somewhat less; but so trifling is the variation, that the height may be estimated at eight feet at a medium, from the surface of the ground to the under plane of the quoit. Around this monument there is a rough stone barrow, formed of stones promiscuously thrown together. This barrow, which is fourteen yards in diameter, was so heaped about the monument, that many of the stones almost reached the edge of the horizontal cover. But to prevent any of these stones from getting within the enclosed area, great care must have been taken, as the sacred repository, when opened for examination, proved that every part had retained its primitive station. The incumbent stone of this monument appears to have been brought from some natural rocks at about a furlong distant, and somewhat higher than the ground on which the cromleh stands. Contiguous to this bed of natural rocks, there is another cromleh, which coincides with the former in almost every respect, except that its dimensions are not so large, and it is not surrounded with a stone barrow.

This is not the case however, with another cromleh in the parish of Morva, in the west of Cornwall. This monument is about 500 yards south west of Chûn Castle, in that parish. Its incumbent stone is twelve feet and half long, and eleven feet wide, the upper part of which is very convex. This stone is supported

by three stones, which are pitched on their edges, and is surrounded by a low barrow of stones; but it is by no means so magnificent as that which has just been described.

In a tenement called Carwynen, in the parish of Camborne, there is another cromleh; but it has nothing remarkable to merit a particular description. It has three supporters, which enclose an area five feet three inches wide, and seven feet long. The incumbent stone is twelve feet three inches long, and eleven feet six inches wide; but it is so thin, as to be no more than one foot thick, considered as a medium of all its dimensions.

Another monument of this description may be found in the parish of St. Cleer. It stands on an eminence, which commands an extensive tract of country towards the east and south-west, but it cannot be said to be erected on any particular hill. At some considerable distance on the north, some barren hills appear to swell above it. This monument, which is about a mile and half east from the church, is all formed of granite, and consists of six upright stones which were inserted as supporters, although one of them sustains no weight, and an incumbent stone, which, like all others of a similar description, is in an inclined position. The incumbent slab is sixteen feet in length, and ten in breadth; but its medium thickness is not more than fourteen inches. The most remarkable circumstance attending this monument is, that the most elevated part of the incumbent stone is perforated with a small circular hole, but for what purpose this hole was made, even conjecture itself can scarcely afford us any light. The general name by which this monument is known, is that of *Trevethy Stone;* but no tradition remains respecting either its use or the time of its being erected. Its name will give us some information respecting its original designation; *Trevethoe*, in the old Cornish language, signifies *the town of the graves;* and consequently, we cannot but infer that it is a sepulchral monument; and this circumstance may serve to direct our views respecting others of a similar nature, to which no specific appellation is applied.

But it is not on this solitary circumstance of a name which designates these monuments to be sepulchral, that this opinion takes its exclusive stand. Numerous facts unite their corroborating evidence, and even prove its certainty with the most indubitable clearness.

The only rival of any consequence which this opinion has to encounter is, that these monuments were originally designed for altars; but against this the arguments are numerous, strong, and decisive. "It is very unlikely," says Dr. Borlase, "that ever the cromleh should have been an altar for sacrifice, for the top of it is not easily got upon, much less a fire to be kindled on it, sufficient to

consume the victim, without scorching the priest that officiated; not to mention the horrid rites with which the Druid sacrifice was attended, and which there is not proper room or footing to perform in so perilous a station. Molfra and Zennor Quoits are so very thin, that the intenseness of the sacrificial fire must have soon broken them, as they are all of moor-stone, and can therefore resist the fire but indifferently, the strongest and most compact stone easily splitting on being roasted. But what is almost decisive in this dispute is, that the table stone of the cromleh at Ch'ûn in Morva, is so very gibbous, that no priest could stand upon it, either to tend the fire, or to oversee the consumption of the victim. There is also one in Pembrokeshire, of which the middle or covering stone is eighteen feet high, and nine feet broad towards the base; now, what kind of altar could this be? The top stone of many is also too high for the priest to pour out his libations upon, so that it could in no sense serve the purpose of an altar, but only of such an altar as was to receive the oblations and presents of the assembly in honour of the deceased.

"That the ancients might sacrifice near the cromleh, is not unlikely; whence it comes to pass, that great quantities of ashes may be found near these monuments, as in Jersey; but that the cromleh itself was an altar for fire, will by no means follow: it is incongruous both to the structure and the materials, the nature of which last, as well as the shape and dimensions of the former, are more invariable rules to judge by, than any other now to be discovered or expected."*

It is in reference to the preceding passages, and others of a similar nature, that Mr. Whitaker speaks as follows:—"That such a monument as this, which the Welsh call a Cromlech, was not an altar, Dr. Borlase has argued with much force, yet not with all which the argument should have suggested. Mr. Pegge, indeed, has written in opposition to the Doctor, but has adduced nothing that carries the weight of a straw in the balance. It is not what it has been considered by the generality, an altar monument for the oblation of sacrifices; the very aspect of it proclaiming to every eye that can see, and to every mind which can think, that such it never could have been. The very view thus becomes demonstration itself, and all good sense must have been buried in a quagmire of learning, before it could have been believed to be such. It is merely a sepulchral monument, merely a mighty tomb, constructed at such a vast expence of manual labour, and with such high exertion of mathematical knowledge, to save the remains buried within it from all probability of violation, yet to honour the remains with a memorial equally conspicuous and grand."†

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 217.

† Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol II. p. 78.

To ascertain this fact, whether these monuments were sepulchral or not, Dr. Borlase caused the area which the supporting stones of Molfra Cromleh enclose, to be opened, the circumstances of which he states in the following words:—"As this quoit is off from its ancient situation, with one edge resting on the ground, I thought it might permit us with safety to search the enclosed area. In digging, one foot (of earth) was very black, the natural upper soil; we then came to a whitish cineritious-coloured stiff clay, two inches in depth, then a thin stratum of yellow clay mixed with gravel, four inches deep; then a flat, black greasy loam, mixed in and throughout, more or less with the yellow natural clay, ten inches deep, under which appeared the hard natural stony stratum which lies on the karn, not moved since the Deluge. The pit was twenty inches deep under the natural hill. Although here is not all the discovery that might be wished, yet the following truths may be deduced from this digging. By the black greasy loam being got down under the two layers of yellow cineritious clay, it appears that a pit had been dug in the area of the kist-vaen, or enclosure, between the supporting stones of the quoit, and that something which either was originally, or has since turned black, was placed in the bottom of the pit."*

Beneath the cromleh at Lanyon, the same experiment was also made by the same indefatigable gentleman, but his exertions were not attended with much more success, than in the foregoing instance. "Under this quoit," says Dr. Borlase, "I caused to be sunk a pit four feet and half deep, and found it all black earth that had been moved, and should have sunk still deeper, but that a gentleman in whose ground it is, told me, that a few years before, the whole cavity had been opened, on account of some dream, to the full depth of six feet, and then the fast or unbroken ground appeared, and they dug no deeper; that the cavity was in the shape of a grave, and had been rifled more than once, but that nothing more than ordinary was found. By the black earth thrown up in digging here, nothing is to be absolutely concluded, there having happened so many disturbances. By the pit being in the shape of a grave, and six feet deep, it is not improbable that a human body was interred here; and by the length of the bank, and the many disorderly stones at the south end, this should seem to have been a burial-place for more than one person."†

"But although," continues Dr. Borlase, in a subsequent page, "in searching these monuments, I was not so fortunate as to find any bones or urns, yet those who have lately been employed in the same inquiries, have had better success; and as their discoveries plainly confirm the use assigned to these monuments in

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 230. † Ibid. p. 231.

the foregoing papers, I beg leave to transcribe a paragraph from Mr. Wright's Louthiana:—

" I chanced, one day," says Mr. Wright, " to meet with a fallen cromleh, upon Lord Limerick's ground, about two miles from this, by the side of a river, exactly between the two Druid groves before described; two of the supporters were broken down with the fall of the incumbent load, the other standing. The cavity between the stones his lordship immediately ordered to be dug into, and in the middle, about two feet deep, covered and enclosed within broad flat stones, great part of the skeleton of a human figure was found, all crowded together within a bed of black greasy earth, as if originally enclosed within an urn. Mixed with the bones, were found some pieces of clay about the thickness of my little finger, quite solid, and round, as if part of a rod broken to pieces, which if really so, probably may have been the insignia of the high office of the person here interred. Since my return from Ireland, I received this farther account from a friend upon the place.——' Yesterday I went with Lord and Lady Limerick to the great cromleh at Bullrican, near Dundalk, Louth, where you found the human bones. The country people had sunk above a yard deeper, in quest I believe of treasure, and we found them still at work. They had got under, and were trying to pull up the large square stone which stood on one edge. They came to another flat stone, under which they found many large bones, but we do not yet know whether they be human.* They raised also many regular stones of a considerable length, and the whole place seems to have been built up regularly, as well to strengthen the three great props, as to contain a proper repository for bones, or whatever was to be laid there."†

" The Doctor," says Mr. Whitaker, when alluding to the preceding paragraph, " has brought from the Louthiana of Mr. Wright, a positive proof for the sepulchral nature of the cromleh, a proof which the wary wisdom of Mr. Pegge has not presumed to encounter. To this I add a proof equally positive, and from Cornwall instead of Ireland, lying open to the public eye, in such a work as Norden's, a work that unites with Carew to compose a primer, as it were, for Cornish antiquaries. ' Withiel, a parish,' cries this Carew Redivivus, ' wherein one Gydlye not manie yeares since, as he was digging into a borowe or burial hill, founde *in the bottome of the borowe*, 3 whyte stones, *sett triangularly*, as *pillers*

* " If these bones were not human," says Dr. Borlase, " why were they buried with that care and labour, and with the same sort of covering over them, as where human bones were found by Mr. Wright?" To this question, unless they were human bones, no satisfactory reply I think can possibly be given.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 233; and Wright's Louthiana, p. 12.

supporting another stone, nere a yard square, and *under it a earthen pott*, very thyck, *haulfe full of black slyme matter*, seeminge to have been *the congealed ashes* of some worthy man,' some man of worth, '*ther comitted in this manner to his buriall.*' This was a cromleh with a barrow over it, and therefore could not possibly be an altar."*

That a cromleh, or any other monument, should be an altar, when originally concealed and completely covered by a mound of earth, it is ridiculous to suppose. Yet that such monuments of antiquity there are, we have the most convincing evidence; of which the downs of St. Austell will furnish an instance, still more decisive, because more circumstantial in its details, than that which the parish of Withiel and the records of Norden can afford.

In the middle of an extended waste, generally denominated St. Austell Downs, in the parish of St. Austell, originally stood a very large mound of earth, artificially raised, which was uniformly known by the name of *One Barrow*. Many other barrows stood on the same downs; but this stood alone, and from this circumstance it probably derived its name. The ground on which it rested, was somewhat elevated; but the ascent was easy; and the prospect which the summit of this barrow afforded, was very extensive. As it was resolved, in the year 1801, to enclose this waste, it became necessary to level this barrow, which was done accordingly; the finer parts of it being preserved to mix with the soil, and the coarser thrown by, to be incorporated with other materials for the erection of a fence. In prosecuting this work, as the labourers came near the centre, one of them, who then happened to be alone, discovered several stones that appeared to be thick slates, standing on their ends, and enclosing a small area that was nearly square. These stones were about one foot and half in height, or rather more, and were apparently fixed on the ground before the formation of the barrow, and then covered over with that heap of rubbish which formed the enormous mound. The stones did not seem to have been prepared for their situation, as they did not exactly suit each other, so as to fill up the crevices where they joined. To supply this defect, several little stones were selected, and carefully placed so as to preclude all communication between the rubbish without, and the contents within. The tops of these erected stones were regular in height, which seemed to be occasioned by their being more or less sunk into the earth, as an eye to this circumstance required.

On the heads of these supporters was laid a square freestone, which had evidently been shaped into this form. This stone rested with its extremities on

* Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. p. 79. Norden's Survey, p. 70.

the edges of the others, and was about eighteen or twenty inches in diameter. Above this monument the barrow rose in perpendicular height, about ten or twelve feet; but it was so complete in all its parts, that it afforded no room for any suspicion that it had ever been opened to admit the deposit which occupied its centre. The barrow and its monument must therefore have been of coeval date; and from the manner in which the materials were gathered round it, it appeared unquestionable, that the barrow was made to enclose the monument, to accomplish which, all its parts seemed to be accommodated.

The workman, on making the discovery in the centre of the barrow, expected, like most others in similar situations, to find a pot of money; but in this he was disappointed. He found, on opening the enclosure, a quantity of remarkably fine dust, inclining to clay. Towards the surface this dust was brown; about the middle downwards, it assumed a dark chesnut colour; and at the bottom it approached towards a black. Nothing of a sandy nature was discoverable among this dust; it was a fine mould, which, through the dampness it had contracted from its situation, gave to the whole the appearance of dusty clay, which seems to prove that the stones which had been placed around to guard it, had proved faithful to their trust.

On stirring up this heap of dust, a great many little bones appeared, which evidently betrayed the elements that composed it. These bones were of different sizes, but none exceeded six or seven inches in length. Among these bones were several little pieces, about the size of a half-crown, their concave form being a convincing proof that they belonged to a skull. The whole mass of bones and ashes when taken in the aggregate, seemed by vague estimation, to be about two gallons in quantity.

On touching the bones, they instantly crumbled into dust, and assumed the same colour, and the same fineness, that the dust had exhibited in which they were originally found. When first discovered, these bones appeared exceedingly white; which in all probability was occasioned by their passing through the fire before they were buried; and this calcination, it is probable, had contributed towards their brittleness.

In passing through the barrow, several apparent veins of earth were discovered, disposed in an irregular manner, which seemed in colour and fineness to resemble that which was so carefully deposited near the centre. From whence these could arise, it is not easy to conjecture. It has been imagined, that these veins of earth were the remains of distinct human bodies that had been laid upon the funeral pile; but Mr. Whitaker supposes, that they were only certain portions of the same

body, reduced to ashes, and so adhering to the ground as not to be easily separated from it, and now furnished with a lodgement in the enclosing barrow. These veiny parts seemed even more inclining to clay than the dust that was guarded near the centre of the barrow; and this might probably arise from the exposedness of their situation among the external rubbish.

The workmen, after reflecting a little upon the nature of the discovery which had been made, were fully convinced that the bones and dust once belonged to a human body; and therefore took up such parts as could be got together, and carried the whole to a contiguous hedge which was then building. In this place the bones were again mixed with the ashes, the supporting stones were again erected around the whole, and the covering stone once more resumed its original position. In this condition the whole still remains, and will remain, unless disturbed by another accident, to await the sound of the trumpet which shall awaken the dead.

Such was the discovery which the One Barrow of St. Austell Downs afforded. These circumstances furnish, in their combined effect, a decisive evidence, that the cromleh in its true designation, was erected for funeral purposes; and that it was neither intended for an astronomical observatory, as Mr. Chapple supposed, nor for a sacrificial altar, as has been more generally believed. It is scarcely possible for more decisive evidence to be adduced, than that which this One Barrow affords, to determine the real use of the cromleh. We have here the kist-vaen, the incumbent stone, and the barrow over it. And, in the repository, we have ashes and bones, and some pieces of them in such concave forms as to fix the attention immediately on a human skull. It is not easy to imagine any thing that on such a subject can be more convincing.*

When we look to such monuments as that which has been just described, although we connect with it the barrow with which it was covered, we can find no difficulty in supposing the Britons, even in their rude state of science, to be capable of raising the enormous mound with ease. But when we turn from these diminutive and enclosed cromlehs, to take a survey of those prodigious blocks which the cromleh of Wales, the masses of Abury, and monstrous architraves of Stonehenge afford, we pause in silent astonishment, and ask, by what unknown arts did the rude architects raise these incumbent stones on their supporters, and fix them with such firmness that they have defied the waste of time, and repelled the storms of successive generations? It is from an inability to account for this phenomenon, that vulgar tradition ascribes all these difficult works, either to

* See a description of this monument in Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. p. 84.

giants, or to infernal agents, and names have been frequently given to them accordingly.

" It hath always," says Mr. Pownall, " been a matter of wonder with the vulgar, and a subject of disquisition with the learned, to conceive how the unwieldy masses of stone, of a bulk and weight beyond the commonly known powers of man to deal with, could have been moved, conveyed such a length of way as some of them must have been, and how finally they were raised such heights. The one have imputed these effects to magicians and giants; the others, to operations equally fanciful, though assuming the name of philosophy."*

If we confine our views to Cornwall, and survey the cromleh on Goss Moor, we cannot but reflect upon it with astonishment. The incumbent stone, which is the most striking part of the whole monument, is a black kind of iron rock, very hard, very massy, and no less than thirteen or fourteen tons in weight. Yet this stone must have been raised by some mechanical powers. But these powers are generally supposed to be wholly unknown to the present generations of the world; and these venerable monuments of antiquity are brought as evidences of our inferiority to the rudest, as those of the polite arts are, of our inferiority to the most refined, of our distant ancestors.

That some of the Roman or Grecian powers of mechanism may be lost, some of the Grecian sublimities or Roman refinements in geometry, of raising immense weights, is easily to be conceived, and readily conceded. " No one," says the sober Montfaucon, " is ignorant of the toil and labour which it cost the Cavalier Fontana, a celebrated architect, to erect the obelisk in St. Peter's Place, which is yet to be seen there. The design of the machine he made use of to effect it is engraved and published, and is looked upon by our architects with admiration. But after all, what was this obelisk in comparison of those colossal statues of above a hundred feet high; of the Colossus at Rhodes, and even of the obelisk which is before St. John Lateran, which far surpasses in magnitude that of St. Peter, and which would have lain prostrate to this day, had it not been broken into several pieces by its fall, which facilitated the raising it again. But all these great machines are now lost; so that if any thing of uncommon weight was to be erected, new machines and engines must be thought upon, the expence of which would perhaps be greater than the work itself, though it should fall short of those enormous buildings the ancients raised. These curious inventions, I say, are all lost through the injuries of time; and nothing remains to us but the machines they made use of to erect the obelisks and columns of the Hippodrome

* Cited by Mr. Whitaker, Vol. II. p. 74.

at Constantinople, which, after all, are so imperfectly represented, that I question whether any thing can be made of them or not."*

On the preceding passage from Montfaucon, and in reference to the monuments which remained of ancient British genius and power, Mr. Whitaker makes the following observations:—"These glorious inventions of the geometrical genius of Rome, or Athens, were undoubtedly swept away by that grand revolution in all the eastern and western parts of the globe, the subversion of the Roman empire; which turned back the sun of science many degrees upon the dial, and plunged all the arts in the gloom of midnight. Then such only as were calculated for the *reduced* stature of man, emerged from the gloom again; and the others were left to perish there, as adapted for purposes too great and gigantic for the new *pigmies* of the earth. Yet with all this ample allowance in favour of Roman or Grecian machinery, I cannot extend one particle of it to the British. That a principle of mechanic power, which was known to the very Britons themselves in all their rudeness, before the Roman arrival, should be effaced from the memory, and wholly inconceivable by the mind of the present generation of Britons, would be one of the most extraordinary incidents in the whole history of our island; would indeed be an incident of so miraculous a quality, as not indeed to become absolutely incredible in itself, but to require the highest degree of evidence for it. The fact however is entirely different. We have common machines at present, that, by means of the screw, can raise more than fourteen tons. We have also improved machines, that, by an addition of four pullies to the screw, unite all the mechanical powers in one grand combination together, and can therefore raise a weight of 120 tons; yet the largest stone in that structure of the largest stones among the Britons, Abury, on the largest scale of estimation, is not more than seventy tons. How practicable then was it for the Britons, even in a much lower acquaintance than we have with the mechanic powers, to raise such stones as the coverers of our coyts, as the squared pillars and flat architraves of Stonehenge, and the vast monstrous masses of Abury. Yet at the same time how highly do all these shew them advanced in the use of engines with the screw, even under their state of rudeness, and before the coming of the Romans, to be capable of raising five times as great a weight as our common machines, and more than half as great as our improved can do."†

But great as these works are, we cannot but consider them as comparatively diminutive, when we advert to the account which records the raising and removing of an enormous rock in Russia. This work may be justly estimated as one of the

* Montfaucon, Vol. III. Part ii. c. 1.

† Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. p. 76.

greatest efforts of human ingenuity and power, and one of the greatest operations of mechanics that was ever displayed in any age or nation. According to Mr. Pownall, this enormous rock, which weighed no less than *twelve hundred tons*, was raised out of a swamp in Russia, and was urged onwards on rolling balls, several miles by land, after which it was put on a float, and sent to Petersburg, and there disembarked to make a pedestal for the statue of Peter the Great. This work was accomplished by Count Carbars, of Ceffalonia. Another account of the same work, gives a statement, which, though it records the fact, takes from it some of those marvellous circumstances with which the former memorial seems to be attended. "The greatest work of this kind," the author observes, "seems to have been the removal of the rock in Russia, which serves as a pedestal to the statue of Peter the Great. The engineer upon this occasion was Count Carburi, who took the advantage of a frost, and with the assistance of four hundred labourers, brought it to Petersburg. For an account of the ingenious expedients which were also used, see the Count's own relation, illustrated by engravings."*

But although the name cromleh has been almost universally applied to these monumental structures in Cornwall, from time immemorial, Mr. Whitaker contends that it is an innovation. "Nor is *Cromlech*," says he, "the *native* name of these sepulchral structures, it being one used popularly in Wales, from what was seen by the eye in some, *the reclining posture of that top stone which had no mound upon it*." To confirm this opinion, he appeals to the authority of Rowlands, page 47, and then recurs to the original appellation. "The native, the general appellation," he continues, "is obviously *Twmpath*, in Welsh, a *hillock*, a *knap*, a *tump*; or *Tuma*, *Tuama*, *Tumba*, in Irish, a *sepulchre*, a *tomb*. Thus we have 'a round mount or barrow at this town,' as Gibson informs us, concerning Bala in Merionethshire, called *Tommen y Bala*, or the tomb at Bala. *Tommen* in Welsh signifying a hillock primarily, and a tomb derivatively. This, indeed, is supposed from its name, form, and situation, 'not to have been erected for burial,' but for warfare; when its very appellation shews it to have been for burial only: such appellations denote the *popular* meaning of the objects, and such suppositions betray the *learned* reference of them. The popular understanding keeps generally to the solid ground of actual appearance and immemorial tradition combined together, while the genius of learning mounts astride its witches broom, and flies away to the moon. Barrows are denominated tombs in British, on the same principle that tombs are denominated barrows in English; because tombs for ages were merely barrows, and barrows were the only *burrows*, or burying

* See Barrington and Pownall, as cited by Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. p. 75.

places for ages."* In both instances, whether the ashes of the deceased reposed under a cromleh that was naked to the eye, or concealed beneath a barrow, the dignity of the person interred was denominated from the magnitude or quantity of the materials that composed the monument. But by what particular rule of magnificence the barrows of kings were distinguished from the sepulchres of others who were less dignified in rank, they have furnished us with no distinct criterion to direct our judgments.

SECTION VII.

Observations on the origin, nature, design, and use of Barrows, many of which still exist in Cornwall.

It may easily be perceived, from the connexion which has been traced in the preceding section, between the cromleh and the barrow, that the substance of this is in a great measure anticipated. There are several circumstances however, belonging to the barrow, which remain to be considered; and if their prevalence and antiquity may be permitted to plead, they cannot but have a claim upon our attention.

Although barrows have been formed of various materials, and have been differently constructed in distinct ages and nations, it does not appear that they have been confined to any particular state of society, nor to any rank or dignity, which the builders, or the occasions of them have suggested. It appears that the primitive design of barrows, was to afford protection, and to do honour to the remains of the dead. Hence they are found in most countries, and their existence may be traced back almost to the beginning of history. Among the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and Romans, some accounts of these ancient monuments stand upon record. According to Livy, Claudius Nero buried his own soldiers after this manner in the second Punic war, and Cesar Germanicus brought the first turf to raise a barrow over the fallen troops of Varius. Among all the northern nations this mode of interment prevailed; and the ancient Britons, the Phenicians, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes, have each in their respective turns left some memorials of their attachment to these monuments behind them.

In the most simple construction of the barrow, nothing more seems to have been intended, than that the heap should be raised to such a height as the base would conveniently support, and that it should be so formed as to bear the injuries of time, without the possibility of falling. Hence the form which these monuments

* Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. p. 80.

have assumed, is that of an obtuse cone; and from the perfection in which they still appear, it is evident that their builders were not deceived in their calculations. Some of these barrows are edged at their bases with a single row of stones; some with a mound of earth; others are distinguished by a large flat stone on their summits; some are ornamented with a pillar; some, both at their summits and their bases, have either stones or earth to finish the structure in some singular manner; and others again are decorated with trees. The situation, and relative position of these monuments, are not less diversified than the manner in which the structures are finished. If these monuments were for private persons, they were generally, it is supposed, placed near some public road; but if they contained the remains of soldiers that fell in battle, the scene of conflict became the scene of interment; and on those plains in which the contending parties fought, they are sometimes found in straight lines, which seem to resemble the front of an army. The barrows which contain the remains of distinguished personages, are chiefly known by the magnitude of their dimensions, the ground on which they stand, and the solitude of their situations.

The most ancient barrow of which we have any account upon record, is that of Ninus, who founded the Assyrian empire. This prince, according to Diodorus Siculus, was buried in the royal palace by order of his wife Semiramis, who caused a mound of earth to be raised over him. And Herodotus informs us, that Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, king of Lydia, was buried under a barrow. The monument of Laius, the father of Oedipus, is yet extant in the middle way, *(Trivium)* where he and his servants were interred. Tydeus, the father of Diomed, who was slain in the Theban war, was buried under an earthen barrow; and it seems to have been a prevailing custom, both with the Greeks and Trojans, to bury their soldiers and generals in the same manner during the siege of Troy. The monument of Lycus, near Sicyone, was an earthen barrow; and in this manner Alexander entombed his friend Hephæstion. The Romans had the same custom, some think as ancient as Remus and Numa, and Virgil makes it still more ancient.

If we turn from profane to sacred history, we shall find the same customs recorded. When all Israel stoned Achan, and burned him and his family with fire, after they had stoned them with stones, "they raised over him *a great heap of stones* unto this day."* And the king of Ai Joshua hanged on a tree until even-tide; and as soon as the sun was down, "Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon *a great heap of stones*, that remaineth unto this

* Joshua vii. 26.

day."* And when Absalom was slain, we read that they "cast him into a great pit in the wood, and laid *a very great heap of stones upon him.*"†

It is plain from the preceding instances, that this mode of interring the dead under barrows or heaps, sometimes of earth, and sometimes of stone, was very ancient; and if not universal, was so general, that it may justly be denominated the prevailing custom of mankind. And from the general prevalence and antiquity of this practice, it is almost impossible to determine with precision, when a barrow is discovered, to what age or people it belonged.

In some of the Cornish barrows, urns, containing human remains, have been discovered; and in others, as in One Barrow, on St. Austell Downs, as described in the preceding section, a little cromleh has answered the purpose, and preserved the sacred deposit from mixing with common earth. In some, a square or round pit dug near its centre has yielded on inspection a kind of black greasy mould, which, corresponding with the productions of other barrows, that have furnished unequivocal marks of human remains, lead us to infer from analogy, from what substance this black greasy mould arose. Sometimes the human remains which these barrows have afforded, appear to have passed through the fire; and at other times, such portions of the skeleton remain, as forbid us to suppose that any calcination of the bones has taken place. Both the barrows which contain urns, and those which are destitute of them, appear to be alike subject to these variations, as in each kind indubitable evidences have been found of human ashes and bones, which have, and which have not, passed through the fire.

It is highly probable, from a train of circumstances, that the most ancient British and Phenician barrows, bore a strong resemblance to each other; and this not merely in their magnitude and form, for in these particulars nothing remains to distinguish one nation from another; but in the manner in which their internal contents were disposed. These barrows are generally thought to be distinguished by their having either unpolished urns, or small cromlehs, to preserve the bones and ashes, but nothing more. The Grecian and Roman barrows on the contrary, not only furnish urns, but these urns are distinguished by the superiority of their workmanship, and have frequently a piece of pavement underneath. The Saxons and Danes, it has been said, had abandoned the custom of burning their dead, long before they visited this country. But even while this was the case, they still retained the original practice of burying under barrows, but without enclosing their dead in any durable materials. Now, if these discriminating marks were so invariable as to command confidence, we should on all occasions have an unerring

* Joshua viii. 29. † 2 Samuel xviii. 17.

guide, when a barrow was opened, to direct us to the nation by whom it was erected. But all these distinctions furnish us with a very uncertain criterion.

The urns themselves were frequently formed of different materials. Some have been discovered of gold, some of silver, others of marble; but more frequently they have been composed of earth or pottery ware. In general, these urns were deposited near the centre of the barrow, but this was not invariably the case; especially when several urns were placed in the same barrow; and in some a great number of urns have been found. The most natural position of the urn, that of standing upright, with a stone to cover its mouth, is that in which they have in general been found; but in some instances this order has been inverted, and the urn has been placed with its mouth downwards, resting on a flat stone. On some of these barrows the Druids have been supposed to perform many of their religious and civil rites. On such as were formed of stone, when their summits suited their convenience, they lighted up their annual and festal fires; and on such as were made of earth, they sometimes offered sacrifices, pronounced decrees, and conducted the ceremonies of inauguration.

Between the barrows made of stones, and those made of earth and rubbish, a distinction was always made in the name; the former being called *karne*, *carn*, or *carne*, (a Cornish word, which signifies a high rock, a heap of rocks, or a rocky place;) and the latter, *Tumulus*. "From the circular plan," says Dr. Borlase, "on which they were erected, in Cornwall they were often called *Crigs*, or *Crugs*, (in British, round heaps,) and by the vulgar oftentimes *Crig-an-Bargus*, or the Kite's Round Hill; it being no uncommon thing for a bird of that kind to perch upon such habitations of the dead."*

In constructing the barrows, they took particular care to extinguish all the fire in which the bodies had been burnt, before they attempted to collect the ashes, and erect the monument. This fire, when the number of bodies was great, was not supposed to be completely extinguished until the third day from the time that it was lighted; after which, their first care was to collect together the ashes, and such parts of the bones as remained unconsumed, and to deposit the whole either in an urn, or beneath a perpendicular stone supported by others in that place where the barrow was to be raised.

When the barrow was to be composed of earth, the materials appear to have been collected by many hands, chiefly from the neighbouring grounds, and to have been added together until the little hill or tumulus was deemed complete. But it does not appear that they always availed themselves of the materials that

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 213.

were nearest; for according to Dr. Williams, in his dissertation on the St. Austell barrows, "some barrows are composed of foreign, adventitious earth, of a yellow colour, known to be the natural soil of a hill a mile distant."* This opinion of Dr. Williams has however been much disputed; and it has been suggested, that the removal of the rubbish from its native bed, the action of the elements, and an exposure of the materials in the barrow through many centuries, may have contributed to give that new colour to the materials which Dr. Williams has attributed to another soil. To this may be added, the mixtures of turf, sand, stones, earth, clay, and ashes, arising from the fuel which composed the funeral pile; all of which, may in their combined effects, have made that alteration from the contiguous earth, which is discoverable in many.

It appears however, very evident, whatever may have been the case with the barrows composed of earth, that nothing of this kind can be said respecting those that are formed of stones. These all appear to have been collected from the nearest heaps; and no reason can be assigned, why the architects should be at more pains to collect materials of earth than of stones. It has been said, that "by taking more than common pains to collect the materials, they discovered the greatness of their attachment to the dead, and veneration for them." This reason might be of weight, if they had been uniformly guided by this principle; but the same reason is equally good respecting stones as earth; and as it no where appears in the former, we have no just grounds to suppose it in the latter.

The only reason that appears, why some of these barrows are formed of stones, and some of earth, is visible from the face of the country in which they respectively stand. When stones were more plentiful than earth, they were formed of stones; but where stones were rather scarce, earth and rubbish answered every purpose, and the tumulus was raised with it accordingly. And this also suggests another reason, why we may suppose that the materials which compose them, were not brought from any considerable distance. For as either earth or stones were indiscriminately selected, in which nothing but convenience seems to have been consulted, it is hardly to be conceived that proximity would give place to distance, when an ample supply could be easily procured.

To account for the difference between barrows of earth and barrows of stone, some ingenious theorists have conjectured, that the different kinds denote the distinct dignity and quality of the persons interred; and hence they have imagined that barrows of earth contained the remains of persons of inferior rank. But this opinion does not seem to be warranted by the common practice of mankind.

* Philosophical Transactions. 1740.

The barrow of king Dercennus, in Italy, was formed of earth; and that of Abradates in Lydia, and that of Patroclus, who was slain at the siege of Troy, was formed of the same materials. The monuments of Achan, and of the king of Ai, on the contrary, were formed of stones; and those of Hector and Alyattes were formed both of earth and stones together. Nothing therefore, either of rank or dignity, seems to be inferrable from the materials with which these monuments were composed, that being wholly determined by the magnitude of the barrow, and the peculiarity of its situation.

In the description given of One Barrow, on St. Austell Downs, when describing the cromleh which it enclosed, we have already noticed the manner in which the bones and ashes were deposited near its centre, and the different strata of which the barrow itself appeared to be composed. In several respects that description corresponds with one that Dr. Borlase has given of a barrow that was opened in 1751; but as in several particulars they differ from each other, his account shall appear in his own words:—

"In a field near Trelowarren, the seat of Sir R. Vyvyan, (now Sir Vyell Vyvyan, Bart.) in the county of Cornwall, there was opened, in July 1751, an earthen barrow, very wide in circumference, but not five feet high. As the workmen came to the middle of the barrow, they found a parcel of stones set in some order, which being removed, discovered a cavity about two feet in diameter, and of equal height. It was surrounded and covered with stones, and enclosed bones of all sorts, legs, arms, ribs, &c. and intermixed with them, some wood ashes. There was no urn here; but at the distance of a few feet from the central cavity, there were found two urns, one on each side, with their mouths turned downwards, and small bones and ashes enclosed. All the black vegetable mould which covered the place where the urns were found, was industriously cleared off, and the urns inverted, placed on the clean yellow clay, which in this field lies under the soil; then the black vegetable mould was placed round about the urns; and throughout the whole composition of the barrow, I observed afterwards the same materials, clay, mould, wood-ashes, and rubble stone, mixed very disorderly, so that there can be no doubt, that the people who formed this barrow, took indifferently of the mould and clay that lay nearest at hand. Three thin bits of brass, found near the middle just before I came there, were given me by the workmen; they were covered with *aerugo*, neither enclosed in the cavity, nor in the urns; by which I conjecture, that they were pieces of a sword, or some other instrument of war, which, after having been inserted in the funeral pile, and broke, were thrown into the barrow among the earth and other materials that were heaped together.

"All the materials therefore, were in this instance, (as I believe they were in most others) fetched from the adjacent and most convenient grounds, gathered from the surface nearest to the funeral pile, not dug very deep for, but the surface skimmed and stripped of its glebes, which lying more dispersed, and open to numbers of workmen, were more easily raised, and lighter to carry, than if the more solid parts which lie under the glebe were first dug and broke, and then carried. The chief point was for many to work at a time, and for each party to bring their share of earth, stone, and turf, in such regularity and succession, as might create no confusion, or any way retard the work in hand, about which such a number of workmen were to be constantly employed. That they skimmed the surface in this manner, needs no other proof, than that no hollows, (generally speaking) trenches, or pits, appear in the neighbourhood of these monuments from which the earth might possibly have been dug. The earth was brought and poured out of helmets. The stones were brought from as far as conveniently might be, on the shoulders of the soldiers, and so the monument was soon completed; especially if plain, and not immoderately great, neither adorned with circles, or pillars of stone, nor crowned with large flat stones; which stones, in some monuments, are indeed of astonishing magnitude, must have been far fetched, and brought with considerable labour to bear a part in these works."*

Besides these simple barrows which have been described, there are others to be found in Cornwall, which appear to have been ornamented with much care and exactness. Some of these ornamented barrows are surrounded at their base with a single row of stones, which describe the area of the enclosure. Others, instead of such a stone circle, have a ring or fosse of earth, evidently designed for the same purpose. But none of this description can be considered as purely British. They may indeed contain the remains of some British bodies, but the manner in which they are ornamented, shews that they must have been erected at a period when foreign nations, by their intercourse with the native inhabitants, had taught them to deviate from that simplicity of manners, by which their forefathers had been distinguished.

On monuments which are purely British, and which were erected when the dominion of Druidism prevailed, no inscription whatever is to be found. It was against the laws of their order, to suffer any thing to be transmitted to posterity through writing. This prohibition extended to every kind of monument erected by them, whether of a sepulchral, civil, military, or religious nature. Any kind

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 214.

of inscription on a monument, always furnishes a decisive proof that it is not purely British.

At a place called Ten-creek, or Ten-cruck, in the parish of Creed, which name signifies the fire bank, or tumulus, Mr. Hals says, " a sepulchre was discovered of one interred there before the sixth century, whose body was burnt to ashes by fire, according to the then accustomed manner of interring the dead, and his bones laid up in an urn, or earthen pot, in a bank, or barrow, or tumulus, upon some part of the lands of this barton, from which facts it was called Ten-creek."* Of this urn Mr. Hals gives no particular description, neither does he mention the time when it was discovered. Of the barrow itself he marks no distinguishing properties, and therefore no decisive evidence can be obtained, whether it was a British, a Phenician, or a Roman sepulchre. But admitting Mr. Hals to have here stated all the particulars that either the barrow or the urn afforded, the presumption is, that it was a British sepulchre, according to the marks by which the different kinds have been distinguished.

The barrows throughout the county may be considered as varying in elevation from four to thirty feet in height, and from fifteen to one hundred and thirty feet in diameter at their base. But elevation and circumference determine nothing, respecting either their antiquity or their builders. Throughout the county, the number of barrows is very great. Many of these have been opened from different motives; and although they have been variously ornamented without, and their deposits variously arranged within, they all appear to furnish evidence with a greater or less degree of clearness, that their primitive use was to protect the ashes and other remains of the dead. And no reasonable doubt can be entertained, if those barrows which have hitherto escaped the injuries of time, and the rifling hand of man, were to be examined, that they also would appear as depositories of the dead; and, like those already explored, would furnish curiosities, as well as venerable fragments of antiquity. Of such monuments as have been discovered, notice will be taken hereafter, when any thing remarkable demands our attention. But these must be reserved until we reach the parishes in which they have been found. At present, it is sufficient to produce specimens of antiquity, which we have every reason to believe to be British. Many others will without doubt occur hereafter, to confirm the general principle; but in subordinate arrangements, we can scarcely hope for discoveries, either to gratify our wishes, or to direct us in diminutive discrimination.

* Hals's Parochial History of Cornwall, p. 76.

SECTION VIII.

Brief account of some Gold Coins, supposed to be British, which were found at Carnbre in 1749.

Among the various memorials of departed nations, there is scarcely one which is more universally sought, or more carefully preserved, than the coins which they leave behind them. Whether this arises from the intrinsic value of the metals of which they are in general composed, from a transfer of the rate of money, from the information that may be gathered from their inscriptions, or the genius of the people which may be discovered from their devices, it is difficult to say. It is highly probable, that different persons may be influenced by different motives; but we are taught by experience and daily observation, that in their combined effect they issue in one general result.

Many coins have been found in Cornwall; some with inscriptions, and others without any; and these have been formed of different metals, and have been ascribed to different ages and nations. When devices and inscriptions have been sufficiently legible, these coins have been traced to their primitive and respective sources; but when these have been found deficient, conjecture has supplied the place of evidence, and led to a diversity of opinions. Among these ancient coins, although many have been thought to be of British origin, it does not appear that any can so justly lay claim to that character, as those which were found on Carnbre Hill in 1749, and which have been described by Dr. Borlase, from whose account the substance of what follows is extracted.

In the month of June, 1749, a great number of coins of pure gold, were found in the middle of the ridge of Carnbre Hill. These not being regarded by the finder with any other eye than that which was fixed on their intrinsic value, he sold them by weight, and received for them about sixteen pounds sterling. A few days afterward, another person, who was searching near the same spot, but from what motive does not appear, found nearly the same quantity in weight, but whether of the same description it is impossible to say, though it is highly probable that in this respect they all bore a common resemblance to one another. Of these coins, which were soon dispersed throughout the country, seventeen fell into the hands of Dr. Borlase, of which he has given impressions, and marked the weight. These coins vary, from 22 grs. to 4 dwts. 14 grs. and their apparent magnitudes appear to increase or diminish in the same proportion. In their forms they appeared rude, not one among them was perfectly circular, and their irregularity was governed by no common principle. But whether this irregularity arose from their primary formation, or was the effect of time and use, is quite uncertain. On

their surfaces they appeared to be much worn, so that their original impressions were only indistinctly visible. No inscription could be discovered on any, nor did it appear that they ever had any thing of the kind. The gold of which they were formed was pure; and from its having nothing mixed with it, to fix the impressions on their surfaces, they appeared to be more worn, than time and use under other circumstances, would have occasioned them to be.

As soon as these coins began to circulate among the curious, a general opinion prevailed that they were Phenician; and to this, the place where they were found, and the appearance of a horse on some of them, seemed to give a degree of sanction, it being well known, that the Phenicians, on many occasions, chose that animal for their symbol. But after some time this opinion began to be doubted; for, on comparing these coins with others that were known to be Phenician, they were found destitute of the other more decisive, permanent, and distinguishing characteristics. The Phenician colonies which traded to the Cornish shores, were not those that had settled near Egypt, where the horse was used as a symbol; but they came from Cadiz, or Carthage, where the horse was not used in this symbolical manner.

Of coins, that are known with certainty to be Phenician, there are none extant more ancient than the days of Alexander the Great; so that although the Phenicians were renowned for ages in several other respects, their skill and ingenuity were never turned towards the coining of money, until the time of the Macedonian conqueror. And, from the skill which they displayed on every other occasion, and the manner in which they finished their coins when they turned their attention to this art, it is hardly to be conceived, that they would have finished any in so rude and barbarous a manner, as those were finished in, that were found on Carnbre Hill in 1749. These circumstances forbid us to attribute these ill-designed and badly executed coins, to so polite and cultivated a nation as the Phenicians. And finally, what seems to be decisive is, these coins bear a strong resemblance to others that have been found in Wales, and in other parts of Britain, which it is well known were never visited by the Phenician traders.

As these coins cannot be ascribed to the Phenicians, so neither can they be attributed to the Greeks or Romans. That they are not of Roman workmanship, may be gathered from their first appearance. They are too barbarous, and too unpolished, to be the production of Rome. And we have still less reason to attribute them to the Greeks, whose medals are superior to the Romans, both in force and delicacy. If therefore the coins found on Carnbre Hill, cannot be ascribed either to the Phenicians, the Greeks, or the Romans, we cannot but

conclude, that they belong to this island, and consequently, that they are actually British.

Against this conclusion, it has been urged on the authority of Cesar, that the British had no money before the Roman invasion. The language of Cesar, Dr. Borlase examines; and from it he infers, that the import of his observations can only amount to this; that the Britons used either brass money, or iron tallies instead of money, on his arrival, and that his declarations were confined in their application to the maritime parts. In addition to this, Dr. Borlase argues, that although we should admit what Cesar has asserted, to be literally true, as his expressions have in general been understood, we may account for the fact without either impeaching his character as an historian, or allowing that for which he contends.

When this country was invaded by the Romans, it is natural to conceive that the inhabitants would use every effort to conceal their treasure from a rapacious invader. Perhaps it was at this time that the coins were buried in this consecrated spot, and the proprietor dying before they could be taken up, the secret might have perished with him. And it is not unreasonable to suppose, that such coins as were not thus concealed, were thrown out of circulation, and thus preserved from the eye of Cesar, who admits them to have money of brass, and tallies of iron. Cesar therefore only recorded what he knew, and he rested his declaration on the best testimony he could procure. But if, by means that were totally unknown to him, we now find, from the discoveries which have been made, that the probability, in favour of their having such coins as Cesar doubted of and denied, is extremely high, his authority must give way, and our judgments must be guided by the greater degree of probability which now appears, and this leads us to conclude that these Carnbre coins are purely of British origin.

If these coins had been imported from any foreign country, it is natural to expect that they would be found in greater abundance in that place or nation in which they were made, than in this to which they were only occasionally brought. But instead of this, there is not one instance of any number of coins found abroad, which are of the same kind as those that have been found here; although with regard to regular Roman coins nothing is more common. It is very wonderful, that all the Gaulish coins that are correspondent to ours, should be destroyed, if ours have been imported from Gaul, and that not one that resembles ours should ever have been dug up, from the days of Cesar to the present period; and the same may be said respecting every other nation from which these coins might be supposed to be brought. These circumstances once more compel us to suppose,

that no nation has a better title to the making of these ancient coins than Britain.

Nor will it invalidate the claims of our British ancestors, to assert, that their acquaintance with the refined arts was insufficient to enable them to coin money. Their having brass money in the days of Cesar is an indubitable proof to the contrary; and this is confirmed in the most conclusive manner by the edicts of the Roman emperors, which were published to suppress all such coins as issued from any other mint but theirs, and to prohibit the circulation of any money in Britain, besides that which was stamped with the image of Cesar.

If it should be urged that the Britons were destitute of the necessary materials, this objection will be found insufficient to invalidate their claims. That the Britons had gold and silver in their own country, is acknowledged by Strabo and Tacitus, and this is confirmed by the reservations of both these precious metals to the dukes of Cornwall in all their grants to the tinners of this county. "Gold discovered here," says Dr. Borlase, "I have seen, found among tin grains near Grampont, in the parish of Creed, in the year 1753; and both that and native silver, the produce of a Cornish mine, in the parish of St. Just, I have now in my keeping; and it must be allowed, that people who have materials ready at hand, will take the first hint of answering their necessities therewith." The gold with which the Druids made their hooks, with which they cut the mistletoe, was no doubt derived from the same source; and the same genius of a people that could bring it into a state of fusion in the one case, can hardly be thought to be inadequate to the other. How they acquired this art it is in vain to inquire. The same question might be proposed respecting the present generation of men, and may be asked concerning any nation upon earth. To account for the first discovery, or invention of any art, there is always some difficulty, and the same solution that may be given in most cases, will in general be applicable to all.

To settle the age, when the coins found at Carnbre were made, is perhaps impossible; but several concurring circumstances appear to give some direction to our views. That the Britons circulated coins of their own making, seems evident from the prohibitions of the Romans; for unless this be allowed, no reason can be assigned for the interdiction. The first general knowledge which the Britons had of the Romans, was through the conquests of the latter; immediately after this, they forbad any coins to circulate that had not upon them the head of Cesar. But as the Carnbre coins have nothing of Cesar on them, the presumption is, that they were struck off before Cesar visited these shores. And consequently, it is folly to suppose that the Britons learnt from the Romans an art which the latter never practised, but interdicted under severe prohibitions.

If the coins found at Carnbre, had been struck at any period subsequent to the Roman invasion, there can be no doubt that they would have preserved something of the Roman taste and regularity, as those inscribed coins that were struck about the Julian age, and which are produced by Camden and Speed, certainly do. But nothing of this regularity or taste is to be discovered in the Carnbre coins; and therefore, we have more reason to believe them to have been struck before, than at any other assignable period.

As the Gauls and Britons were total strangers to the elegance and refinements of Greece and Rome, in the earlier periods of their political and commercial history, the money first coined among them, could not but partake of the barbarity and ignorance of the times in which it first came into use, and the figures on it must be equally rude and inexpressive. Of this rude and uncouth kind of money, which Cesar found among the Britons, and which he denominates *iron tallies*, it is very probable that Mr. Lhwyd speaks, in his travels through Cornwall. In a letter to Thomas Tonkin, Esq. dated Falmouth, November 29, 1700, in which he sent the outlines of some pieces which he found, he writes as follows:—

"The fifth and sixth figures are two iron plates of that form and size, whereof several horseloads were found about six years since. *Query*, Whether these may not be the British money mentioned by Cesar?" On this passage Mr. Tonkin remarks, "I am apt to believe Mr. Lhwyd rightly concludes, that this was the British money mentioned by Cesar." Mr. Tonkin then adds as follows: "This present year, 1730, as they were pulling down the great tower, and some old buildings at Boconnock, the seat of the late Lord Mohun, in Cornwall, about a peck of the same sort, but of a larger size, were found in part of an old wall there."

It does not appear that any of these iron plates or coins, thus mentioned by Mr. Lhwyd and Mr. Tonkin, had any inscriptions or letters on them. And from this circumstance, with others that have been mentioned, it is inferred, that they were made before the days of Cesar. The final conclusion from the whole therefore is, that those coins which are not inscribed, are most probably elder than those of the same nation which are inscribed; inscriptions or legends being a part of elegance and accuracy, which were not at first the primary objects of attention. But to these in after ages, the highest regard was paid by all, as they tended to promote the convenience of their commerce, to give stability to their character, and to augment the glory of their country.

In most of these Carnbre coins, the horse is the principal figure that appears. The wheel, which is an emblem of the war-chariot, usually seems to follow the horse; and in ten of these pieces the spear is visible, but no human figure can be

discovered as wielding it. But in another coin of which Dr. Borlase has given an impression, a coin which seems of equal antiquity with those found at Carnbre, there is a human figure in the attitude of pointing the spear, as if advancing to meet an enemy. And from the indistinct lines and curves which appear in some of the Carnbre coins, it is easy to conceive that the human figure was once to be found on them, but that through time and use it is too much obliterated to be retraced.

On all of these coins, many little balls or globules appear; but they seem to be distributed over their surfaces without any particular regard to order. Besides these, there are in some, rings or plates, in others a garland, a crescent, a human head, curled hair, a diadem, and the edges of the dress just appearing round the neck. What these were designed to represent, we cannot know with certainty. The war chariot is easily to be understood; and its various implements form the most considerable part in these symbolical representations. *

SECTION IX.

Ancient Warlike Instruments, called Celts, found occasionally in Cornwall, supposed to be British.

If metallic substances can be supposed to have an affinity to one another, the coins which have been described, and the celts which now offer themselves to our notice, must be allowed to have a kind of kindred claim; although the metals of which they are formed, and the uses to which they have been respectively applied, bear little or no resemblance to one another.

The instruments commonly called celts, are generally formed of mixed metal, and seem to have been cast in moulds made for the purpose. They bear some distant resemblance to a wedge; and in some respects correspond with those hatchets and chisels, which the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands possessed, when they first came to the knowledge of the Europeans; but of their particular use, various opinions have been entertained. They have been discovered in many parts of this island, and among other places, a considerable number has been found in Cornwall.

In the year 1744, several of these instruments were found in the side of Carnbre Hill. These were made of brass, and on examination, were found to be hollow towards the widest part, as if for the insertion of a handle, to which they were

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 258—274.

attached, when in use, or from which they were thrown to a distant enemy, when the contending parties engaged in battle. Besides this, they had a loop-hole, or little handle on one side near the socket that was to receive the staff; but the opposite end was widened at its extremity, and ground to an edge, by which the wound was to be inflicted. For what purpose the handle or loop-hole was intended, scarcely any one can conjecture with any degree of probability.

Besides these celts that were found at Carnbre, Leland asserts, that "a few years before his being in Cornwall, there were found spear heads, battle-axes, and swords made of copper, near the Mount, in the parish of St. Hillary;" by which spear heads it is probable he meant those instruments which have since been called celts. Camden authenticates the same accounts, and says, that they were found near the foot of the Mount, as some men were digging for tin. And Carew observes, that "there are also taken up in such works, certaine little tooles heads of brasse, which some terme thunder-axes, but they make small shew of any profitable use."* About four miles north of the Mount, in the parish of Lelant, a great many celts were discovered by a farmer in 1802, about two feet below the surface of the ground. These taken together, weighed about fourteen or fifteen pounds; and near them were found several pieces of copper swords, and some heavy lumps of fine copper, which seemed to indicate that a foundery of these instruments had been established in the neighbourhood. In the socket of one of these celts some small pieces of gold wire were found, but to what purpose these were intended to be applied, cannot be ascertained. In 1812, in a field called Long Moor, belonging to Lanherne House, in the parish of Mawgan, a quantity of celts was found, together with a sword that seemed evidently of the same mixed metal. Dr. Borlase describes one that was made of white flint. This had neither loop-hole nor socket. It was nearly four inches in length, about one inch and three quarters wide towards the extremity, which was ground to a very keen edge, and in its most solid part about three quarters of an inch thick. On the edges of each flat surface towards the sides were four indentations, which made the thickness of the sides very irregular. The formation of this flint celt must have been a work of some considerable labour, but of which the uses are now almost unknown. This appears to be the only stone celt that has yet been discovered in Cornwall.

But it is not exclusively in Cornwall that these instruments have been found. Camden observes, that both in Wales and Germany many celts were found, not long before the time they were discovered on Carnbre Hill. At Bramham Moor, in Yorkshire, Mr. Thoresby gives an account of some that were found in 1709. And

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 8.

several were discovered in a stone quarry in the same county, many of which had cases exactly fitted to them. In May 1735, above one hundred were found on Easterley Moor, twelve miles N. W. of York, together with several lumps of metal, and a quantity of cinders; so that no doubt remained of there having been a forge there for making them. At Danbury, in Essex, about 1747, some instruments of the same kind were found; and at Fifield, in the same county, in 1749, a similar discovery was made, together with a large quantity of metal for casting these instruments. And finally, Mr. Rowland has published an account of some found near the place where the Romans made their attack upon the Britons in the Isle of Anglesea, under Suetonius.

From these combined circumstances it appears, that these instruments, though plentiful in Cornwall, were not confined to a single county, nor even to this island. They were scattered over it, but they extended beyond its limits. They were found in Germany; and no doubt among the Gauls, whose modes of life and of warfare, so strongly resembled those of the ancient Britons. It is plain however, from the cinders found in Yorkshire, and from the lumps of metal found at St. Hillary and at Lelant, that a manufactory of these instruments was carried on in these places; and consequently that they were not of foreign importation.

With the celts that were found at Carnbre in the year 1744, several Roman coins were taken up; and from hence it was concluded, that these celts were of Roman original, to which opinion the Roman coins seemed to give no small degree of countenance. But against this conclusion there are several important reasons, which in their aggregate effect, will give a different turn to our thoughts. Dr. Borlase argues, that from their being made of brass, we cannot suppose them to be Roman, as in the days of Julius Cesar, the use and superiority of iron was well known, of which metal they would have been made, if they had been cast under the direction of the Romans.

Secondly. Although a complete delineation of arms is given on the Trajan or Antonine pillar, no celt in any form whatever appears; which is an omission that cannot be accounted for, if we suppose them to be Roman weapons or instruments.

Thirdly. There are but very few to be found in the cabinets of the curious, in Rome, Naples, or Italy; and where they occur, they are looked upon by all the Italian virtuosi, as transalpine antiquities, and not to belong to their predecessors.

Fourthly. In all the discoveries that have been made among the ruins of Herculaneum, where weapons, tools, and utensils, for almost every occurrence in life have been found, none of these instruments have yet appeared.

Fifthly. In the voluminous collection of Montfaucon, there are none of these instruments either engraved or mentioned. The *Miscellanea* of Spon is silent

concerning them, and they occur not either in the *Museum Romanum*, or in the *Museum Kercherianum*.

It appears from the preceding circumstances, that, if these instruments had been of foreign original, and had been introduced into Britain by the Romans, they would have been frequently found in Italy; and, from being very numerous in the cabinets of the curious, could not have escaped the notice of Montfaucon, nor have been forgotten in the museums above mentioned. "I am therefore apt to believe," says Dr. Borlase, "that they are not to be ascribed in general to the Romans, and were not used by the Roman legions in Italy and the east; but that they were probably made and used by the provincial Romans of Britain, and by the Britons themselves, when they had improved the arts under their Roman masters."*

To what particular use these curious instruments were applied, it is not very easy to conjecture; and to determine a point that is so perplexed with discordant opinions, is attended with still greater difficulty. Some have imagined that these celts were originally used as heads of walking staves; others, with equal reason, have concluded that they were the *falx* with which the Druids cut the sacred mistletoe; and others, with no less ingenuity, have supposed that they were used as wedges by the Romans to split rocks or cut stones, when they made their public roads through Britain. But for all these purposes they seem to be so exceedingly unfit, that without being considerably indebted to fancy, it will be impossible to countenance either supposition. The more probable opinion is, that they were instruments of war; but in what manner they were used is very uncertain.

It is an unquestionable fact, that these celts were of different sizes; and it is well known, that the ancients had weapons of the missile kind, which varied in magnitude from each other. For one engine some were heavy, and for another some were light. Some were designed to be thrown at a distance, and others to be used near by. Some were calculated to attack the light armed, and others to assail the heavy; on which account it has been thought, that the celts of the larger kind were intended for the heads of spears; the middle kind for javelins; and the smaller for the heading of arrows. To all these purposes we may admit that it was possible for these instruments to be applied; but hypothetical possibility can never be received as a substitute for fact.

We know that the Sarmatians, the Germans, and the Huns, for want of metals, pointed their darts with bone; and the same practice is followed with the Indian nations to the present day. The Gauls armed their arrows, sometimes with ivory,

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 283.

and sometimes with stone; and it appears from what have been found in their sepulchres, that they had hatchets made of stone. The Britons also, as we have already seen, had their celts of flint as well as of brass; but the metal must have been best adapted to their purposes, as it required less labour to bring it to the perfection they required.

For the loop-hole or ring, no better use has been assigned, than that it was intended to receive a line, through which the weapon might be recovered when it had once been thrown. This, it must be confessed, is an ingenious conjecture; but it is hardly sufficient to induce us to admire the contrivance. The plain fact seems to be, that these celts were British weapons, but the particular use of them appears to be nearly unknown.

SECTION X.

Memorials of the Ancient Britons still remaining, in the ruins of their Castles and Fortifications.

As the ancient Britons were a stern and warlike race, we may naturally suppose that they were not more ready to invent weapons to commence an attack upon their enemies, than they were careful to provide for their own safety, by erecting strong, if not invulnerable fortifications. This conclusion might be drawn from their general character, even if no memorials of their military architecture had escaped the ravages of invaders, and the wastes of time. But it so happens, that the ruins of many ancient fortifications still remain in Cornwall, to exhibit an appearance which points us back to the builders of them, through the long series of perhaps nearly two thousand years.

Among these ancient fortifications, the old castle which stands upon Carnbre Hill, near Redruth, may be considered as bearing the most indubitable marks of British origin. This venerable structure stands on a rocky knoll, at the eastern end of this elevated range. Its foundation is laid on an irregular ledge of tremendous rocks, which seem to have been thrown into a state of wild disorder, by some violent convulsion of nature. As these rocks are not contiguous, nor equal to one another in their respective heights, the architect who began the building, instead of reducing the highest, or filling up the interstices between them and the lowest with other rocks, permitted them to retain their native irregularity; and, in order to procure a proper support for the wall which he intended to raise, turned arches from rock to rock, leaving the ground floor within as rough and irregular as the natural crags on which the arches were turned, that

still appear without. As the ledge of rocks on which the superstructure was raised, was rather narrow, the rooms, though purchased with incalculable labour, were neither large nor handsome; but they were calculated to lift their inhabitants to the storms, to ensure to them a free circulation of unpolluted air, and to furnish them with an extensive prospect of the country round. The walls as they still remain, have in one of the turrets, three stories of windows, and in another but one, which arises from the irregularity of the rocks on which the foundations of the building were laid. The walls are almost every where pierced by small loop-holes, which must have served the double purpose of enabling the defenders to discover an enemy from what quarter soever they came, to prepare for the attack, and to discharge their arrows, without having much to fear from the power of the assailants. To these original loop-holes some larger openings appear to have been made in more modern times, for the discharge of fire-arms, after these implements of destruction were invented.

At the north-west end, the vestiges of some very ancient buildings still appear, but they are in a state of ruin. These in all probability were once connected with the castle, and they may be considered as belonging to the outworks of it. But they have fallen a prey to the corroding tooth of time, so that the vestiges which remain are scarcely sufficient to direct the eye over that line which the outworks once occupied. To these fortifications of art, the situation which they chose, added to the fortifications of nature. The enormous rocks which are scattered over the declivities of the hill, could not fail to retard the progress of an advancing army, and expose them to a considerable annoyance from the arrows of those who were safely lodged within the citadel. "This," says Dr. Borlase, "was certainly a British building, and erected in those uncultivated ages, when such rocky, hideous situations, were the choice of warlike, rough, and stern minds."*

About three hundred yards to the west of this venerable pile, on a part of the hill that is still more elevated than that on which this antiquated building stands, some remains of an ancient circular fortification still appear. They present to the eye the ruins of a wall which was twenty feet wide, and no doubt was once equally high in proportion to its thickness. This part is now denominated *The Old Castle.* Dr. Borlase says, "That this was built by the ancient Britons, and as anciently as when Druidism was the established religion of Cornwall, I have great reason to think, because I find the large flat stones, which have most remarkable rock basons, (instruments probably of Druid superstition) entire, as if preserved out of devotion; whereas, if this wall had been built by Saxons, Danes,

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 351.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



Drawn by M.P.Marle. Published by W.m Penaluna, Feb.y 1816.

SOUTH VIEW of CARN BRÊ with a distant View of REDRUTH.

Dedicated to the Right Hon.ble Lord De Dunstanville

By his Obed.t Hble. Serv.t

Wm Penaluna

or even Christians, they would have been clove up, as being of the quoit or discus shape, and therefore commodious for the use of building. In the next place, I find that their wall does not cut or mangle any of their sacred circles, which are numerous here; whereas there is not that care taken of these places of devotion in the Danish fortifications."*

That the castle at Tintagel, in the northern part of Cornwall, was originally a British fortress, is a fact which very few will presume to doubt; the evidences in favour of it being scarcely less convincing, than those which have induced us to ascribe to Carnbre a British origin.

"Tintagel Castle," says Dr. Borlase, "was built on a cape of land, the extremity of which was a peninsula, a very lofty hill. Where this peninsula joined the main land, there are the fortifications, partly on the peninsula and partly on the main. The remains here are not considerable. The ruins on the peninsula consist of a garreted wall, enclosing some buildings, among which there was a 'pretty chapel of St. Uliane, with a tomb on the left side, (standing in Leland's time) and men then alive remembered a postern door of iron.' Leland calls this, improperly, the dungeon, (for it is indeed only the walling of the base-court) and thinks the situation must have rendered it impregnable. The cliffs it must be owned are hideous, and not to be climbed without the utmost danger; but the ground was so badly chosen, the hill dipping so very quick, that every thing within the wall was exposed to a high hill over against, and scarcely an arrow's flight from it. On this hill, if the fortifications had been erected, although the inhabitants would have been exposed more to the weather, they would have had less to dread from an enemy, and this, in all works of such a nature, is primarily to be regarded."†

Carew describes Tintagel, as "more famous for his antiquitie, than regardable for his present estate; and as abbutting into the sea, yet the ruins thereof argue it to have been once no unworthie dwelling for the Cornish princes. The cyment wherewith the stones were layd, resisteth the fretting furie of the weather better than themselves. Half the buildings were raysed on the continent and the other half on an island, continued together within men's remembrance, by a drawbridge, but now divorced by the downfalne steep cliffs, on the farther side, which though it shut out the sea from its wonted recourse, hath yet more strengthened the late island: for, in passing thither, you must first descend with a dangerous declining, and then make a worse ascent, by a path as every where narrow, so in many places through his steepnesse threatning the ruine of your life, with the failing of your

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 352. † Ibid.

foote. At the top, two or three terrifying steps give you entrance to the hill which supplieth pasture for sheepe and conyes; upon the same, I saw a decayed chappell, a faire spring of water, a cave reaching once by my guide's report, some farre way under ground, and, which you will perhaps suspect of untruth, a hermit's grave, hewen out of the rocke, and serving each bodie's proportion for a burial."*

The insulated rock on which the fortifications, or rather the memorials of them at present stand, Browne Willis represents as "being of a stupendous height, containing about thirty acres of pasture; and as being so very steep and difficult, that it is hard to be conceived how it is possible the sheep should keep their footing, and not fall into the sea as they ascend or descend. The renter of the pasture, as I am informed, has two or three sheep which he has often driven to and from thence, which he puts foremost to lead the rest; and what is very remarkable, there is a spring of fresh water on the top, which rises to the surface, and then makes its way through the pasture to the edge of the rock, and so falls into the sea." The same author says, that Tintagel was very anciently demesne land of the crown, and famous in our histories for its castle, which is frequently called King Arthur's Castle, the ruins of which are reckoned among the wonders of this county.

This venerable structure is situated about half a mile from the little towns of Trevenna and Bossiney, on the sea coast. What remains on the peninsular part is a circular garreted wall, enclosing some traces of buildings; here was probably the keep. Underneath is a cavern, or subterraneous passage, through which boats could once sail from one side of the rocks to the other at full tide. The walls on the other side of the chasm enclose two narrow courts. The whole is constructed with slate, which is pierced with loop-holes for the discharging of arrows.

Leland, when describing this castle, says, that "It had in all liklihood, three wards, whereof two were worn by the sea, insomuch that it had made there almost an isle, and that there was no way to enter it, but by long elm trees laid for a bridge, so that without the isle runned only a gatehouse and a wall. In the isle remained old walls, and in the east part of the same, the ground being lower, remained a wall embattled." The same author informs us in another place, that "This castelle hath bene a marvelus strong and notable forteres, and almost *situ loci inexpugnabile*, especially for the dungeon, that is on a high and terrible cragge, environed with the se, but having a drawbridge from the residew of the castelle into it. Shepe now fede within the dungeon. The residew of the buildings of the castelle, be sore beaten and in ruine, but it hath bene a large

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 120.

thinge. The castelle standeth in the paroche of Trevenny, and the paroche thereof is of St. Simphorian."*

The great antiquity of this castle is sufficiently proved, by its being the birth place of the renowned hero, prince Arthur, about the year 500; and its situation is attended with circumstances which clearly prove it to be a British structure. At the period of prince Arthur's birth, it appears to have been an established seat of the dukes of Cornwall; but how long before we cannot say. From its situation it seems to have been erected in the rudest times, although no doubt can be entertained, that in subsequent ages the buildings underwent great alterations, to suit the taste and convenience of its successive inhabitants. It is highly probable that it was erected before the Britons had learned from the Romans the art of war; for it can scarcely be supposed, that a people who had observed the judgment which the Romans displayed, in selecting their ground for fortifications, or had been acquainted with their modes of attack, would have ever made so injudicious a selection. And that it cannot be a Roman work, is equally clear, from the same circumstances, and for the same reasons.

The extent over which the disappearing vestiges of its ruins still spread, prove that this venerable fortress was once very considerable. The precipice on which it stands presents to the ocean a bold, craggy, and terrific front. In all the vicinity the rocks are majestic and frowning, and calculated to resist the tempestuous waves which burst around them, and whiten into foam among their projecting points. It is in this region of wild magnificence, that the ancient castle of Tintagel rears its venerable head in solitude, to shew the alliance which subsists between sublimity and desolation.

The fortress of Tintagel continued to be one of the castles of the earls of Cornwall, till the time of Richard, king of the Romans, who entertained in this mansion his nephew David, prince of Wales. After the death of Richard, and his son Edmund, all their ancient castles in Cornwall sunk into neglect, and degenerated from palaces to prisons and gaols. To preserve this fortress however, from falling into ruin, an yearly sum was allowed by government; but even this, in the days of queen Elizabeth, was withholden by the lord treasurer Burleigh; from which period to the present, it has been compelled to contend with storms, and the ravages of time, with no other assistance than that which its own innate strength has supplied. Its ruins may continue a few ages longer; but the period will in all probability arrive, when the place of its situation will only live in the pages of history, or the records of tradition.

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. p. 73.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF LAUNCESTON CASTLE.

Among the old fortified places which still survive the devastations of revolving years in Cornwall, the castle of Launceston may probably date its origin from the ancient Britons. But without all doubt, its buildings have undergone many considerable alterations since that period, and the town itself is evidently of a more modern date.

The buildings which remain of this castle, are of different styles, which shew that the several parts of which it is composed, were built at distinct periods of time, and by men whose views of architecture had little or no affinity with one another. Over the first entrance through the great gateway, there is a flat but pointed arch; but within, at the second gate, the arch is much rounder. On the angle of the rampart there is a round tower, which, if not built by the Romans, is undoubtedly of the Roman style. There is a squareness also in the area of the base-court, which agrees with the manner of the Romans much more than any thing we have in any of our other castles; but whether these parts are really as old as the Roman times, it is impossible to say. It is however, highly probable, from the fordable passes of the Tamar near this place, that the Romans had a station at this castle, as it must have been of considerable importance to them. This probability will naturally mature itself into a fact, when we reflect, that some Roman coins, one of Vespasian, and one of Domitian, were actually discovered in the walls of an ancient house; and that another, with the letters I V L I plainly to be seen upon it, was found by a man who was digging a vault in the church.

"I know," says Dr. Borlase, "it is generally held, that William, Earl of Moreton and Cornwall, built this castle; but this is a vague expression, and must not be understood so as to suppose him the original first builder and founder of this castle. That he built something here, is not unlikely; but that he built all, can never be agreed to, when we consider of what different parts it consists, and recollect that it was a castle long before the Normans came over."*

Norden, in his Survey of Cornwall, calls this fortress "the dukes' most ancient castle, in which dwelt divers earls and dukes of Cornwall, before William, Earl of Moreton."† "In the latter part of this assertion," says Dr. Borlase, "Norden is undoubtedly right; but whether this castle, though of larger jurisdiction, higher honours, and stronger fortifications, may be more ancient than that of Tintagel, it is impossible to determine."‡

"About sixty yeeres past," says Mr. Carew, "there were found certaine leather coynes in the castle wall, whose fair stamp and strong substance, till then resisted

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 360.
† Norden's Survey of Cornwall, p. 21.
‡ Borlase's Antiquities, p. 362.

the assault of time, as they would now of covetousnesse."* Of these coins, it is to be regretted, that neither a description nor an impression has been preserved; as it might have led to a discovery of many interesting particulars which are now unknown. Kennet however, in his Parochial Antiquities, alludes to a circumstance which bears no small degree of resemblance to the leather coins discovered at Launceston; and if we will permit analogy to be our guide, the one may serve to illustrate the other. "King Edward I. his leathern money bearing his name and picture, which he used in the building thereof, to spare better bullion, were, since I can remember, preserved and kept in one of the towers of Carnarvon Castle, and his statue is still upon the great gate of the town."†

But it is not to the days of Edward, to the conquests of the Normans, or to the dominion of the Romans in Cornwall, that the origin of this castle is to be ascribed. "The walls of the keep have every appearance of being more ancient; and, from a retrospective view of the events which have happened in this county, the conjecture appears to be fully warranted, that its foundation is as remote as the time of the Britons, who would undoubtedly endeavour to defend their territory both from the Roman and Saxon usurpation, by fortifying the more advanced and important situations."

The earliest historical documents that are known respecting this ancient castle, lead us to conclude, that it was then a place of long established fame; for these documents mention the displacing Othomarus de Knivet, its hereditary constable, for being in arms against the Conqueror. After this, it was given to Robert, Earl of Moreton, whose son William held his court in it with all the magnificence of royalty. From William this castle reverted to the crown, but continued attached to the earldom of Cornwall, until the 11th of Edward III. when it was constituted a part of the duchy of Cornwall, to the inheritance of which it still belongs. In Leland's time, several gentlemen of this county held their lands on condition that they repaired, and when occasion required, defended the fortifications of this castle. This was called *The Tenure of Castle Guard.* In succeeding years, little notice was taken of the castle or its fortifications; so that the condition on which the lands were held was rather nominal than real. But its importance was revived a little during the late civil wars; and this castle, with some trifling repairs, was garrisoned for the king. But on the failure of the royal cause, like most other places, it was abandoned to a successful rival, though it was one of the last supports of which Charles could have the honour to boast, in this portion of his departing dominions.

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 116.

† Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 697.

LAUNCESTON CASTLE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF THE STRONGEST IN ENGLAND.

Leland, who was a judicious traveller, and had seen most places in England, and had examined with much attention most of the ancient fortifications of the island, when speaking of Launceston Castle, observes as follows:—"The hill on which the keep stands, is large and of a terrible height; and the arx (the keep) of it having three wards, is the strongest, but not the biggest, that I ever saw in England."*

"The principal entrance to this castle," says Dr. Borlase, "is on the north east; the gateway is 120 feet long. The whole keep is 93 feet in diameter. It consisted of three wards. The wall of the first ward was not quite three feet thick, and therefore I think could only be a parapet to defend the brow of the hill. The wall of the second ward is twelve feet thick, and has a staircase three feet wide, at the left hand of the entrance, running up to the top of the rampart. The entrance of this staircase has a round arch of stone over it. On the left of the entrance into the third ward, a staircase leads to the top of the innermost rampart, the wall of which is ten feet thick, and thirty-two feet high from the floor. The room is eighteen feet six inches in diameter. The lofty taper hill on which this strong keep is built, is partly natural, and partly artificial; it spread farther into the town anciently than it does at present; and by the radius of it was 320 feet diameter, and very high. I took the height of it by a quadrant, and made it from the base-court to the parapet of the dungeon, 104 feet perpendicular; but, as it rained violently, I cannot depend on the observation, though I believe it is pretty near the truth.

"At the bottom of this hill on which the keep stands, Norden describes a wall in his delineations; and though there is no confidence to be placed in his drawings, yet it is not unlikely that it had a wall or parapet round the bottom of it towards the town; for the principal rampart of the base-court breaks off very abruptly fronting the town, and seems patched and maimed, and to have lost some works at that place. The base-court (half of which or more as I judge, is now covered with the houses of the town) had formerly in it the assize hall, a very spacious building, a chapel, and other buildings, now all gone, but the county gaol."†

On comparing the buildings and fortifications of this castle, with some very old structures in the East, Mr. King has inferred the great antiquity of this venerable

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. II. p. 79. The *Keep* (or *Arx* of a castle, as Leland calls it) is a turreted building that is elevated above the rest, by means of some mount or tumulus on which it rests, whether this tumulus be natural, or only artificially raised.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 359.

pile. His observations are ingenious; and they can hardly fail to entertain and instruct, even those who deem them insufficient to produce conviction.

"Launceston Castle must be placed among castles of very great antiquity; both on account of the manner in which the staircases are constructed, and on account of the small dimensions of the area of the inner tower. Perhaps it was erected in the first ages by the Danmonii, who had acquired a degree of art beyond the rest of the Britons, from their commercial intercourse with the eastern nations. We cannot but remark the similarity between the castle of Launceston, and that of Ecbatana, the capital of Media, as described by Herodotus. The keep of our magnificent fortress, which was built in the first ages of the world, greatly resembles the keep of Ecbatana. At Launceston we find three great and elevated circular walls, towering *over* and *behind* each other; namely, the wall of the first ward, that of the second ward, and that of the innermost ward or circular tower. Besides which, there is on one part, the outward wall of the base-court of the castle, which would appear in many directions at a distance to be a fourth wall beneath the rest. Herodotus tells us, that Dejoces compelled the Medes to come under one polity, and to build a city, surrounded with strong fortifications; and that seven strong and magnificent walls (known by the name of Ecbatana) were then built. They were, he says, of a circular form, one within another; and each gradually raised just so much above the other as the battlements are high; the situation of the ground, which rose by an easy ascent, being favourable to the design. The king's palace and treasury were built within the innermost circle of the seven which composed the city. The first and most spacious of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, and white from the foot of the battlements; the second black; the third of a purple colour; the fourth blue; the fifth of a deep orange; all being coloured with different compositions. And of the two innermost walls, one was painted on the battlements of a silver colour, and the other gilded with gold. Having thus provided for his own security, Dejoces ordered the people to fix their habitations without the walls of the city. This is very nearly a description of Launceston Castle, and the adjacent town; almost the only difference being, that the scale in one instance is larger than in the other, and that the battlements of the walls of the one were painted with divers colours, and those of the others left plain. As to the affinity of these buildings, or the derivation of the plan of Dunheved from the East, every one must be left to form his own conclusions. But when I read in 2 *Kings* ix. that on Jehu's being anointed king over Israel, at Ramoth-Gilead, the captains of the host, who were sitting in council, as soon as they heard thereof, took every man his garment, and put it under him *on the top of the stairs;* and blew with trumpets, proclaiming

'*Jehu is king;*' and when I consider the historian's account of Ecbatana, which was at no great distance from Syria, and in a country much connected with it, and reflect also on the appearance of the top of the staircase at Launceston, I am apt to conclude, that at Launceston is still to be seen nearly the same kind of architectural scenery, as was exhibited on the inauguration of Jehu at Ramoth Gilead."*

To a mere spectator, who views the hill on which Launceston Castle stands, the whole appears to have been artificially raised; but on a nearer inspection, the work of nature will appear as conspicuously as that of art. "At the north-east end of this fortification stands the keep, on a high tapered mount, which I once thought was artificial, but I am now convinced of the contrary, there being a quarry of stone almost at the very top of it, though there has been nevertheless some art used to bring it to its present form."† It is reasonable to suppose, that when it was determined to build a fortress on this natural elevation, many of the projecting crags were cut down to produce a degree of uniformity in its general shape; and that the interstices of such as were permitted to remain, were filled up with earth that was brought from the neighbouring plains and the vales below. These parts being adjusted, the foundation was formed agreeably to the wishes of the prince, and the superstructure was raised by the architect on this compound elevation, to display the dignity of its possessor, and to awe the country round.

If resemblance in architecture can be admitted as a proof of correspondent antiquity, Trematon Castle, as well as those of Launceston and Tintagel, may be said to have some claims to a British origin. But whether the claims of Trematon are well founded, is a point that will admit of some dispute.

Among the walled castles of Cornwall that have keeps, and which appear to have been erected both for residence and defence, the castle of Trematon is most entire. But whether this arises from the innate strength of the building, which has preserved it from the injuries of time, and the influence of the elements, or from the successive repairs which it has undergone in different ages, it is difficult to say. Neither can this be altogether determined by the appearance of the architecture. A prince who had resolved to preserve the mansion of his ancestors from every innovation, could easily direct, when any part of his castle wanted repair, that the original style of building should be preserved, when decayed parts gave place to new ones. This method has been adopted in more modern times, with respect to ancient buildings; and it is precisely that which many portions of

* Archæologia, Vol. VI. p. 291, cited by Mr. Polwhele, in his Historical Views of Devon, p. 51.

† Tonkin's MSS.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY



TREMATON CASTLE from the RIVER LYNER.

Westminster Abbey have already undergone, and which some of its parts are actually undergoing at the present time. But this attention to the uniformity of antiquity has not been invariably regarded, in all the alterations which the buildings of Trematon Castle have sustained.

This ancient castle, which in Doomsday is called *Trematona*, by Leland *Tremertoun*, and in the common language of the present day, *Trematon*, is situated in the parish of St. Stephen, near Saltash, in the eastern part of Cornwall, near a branch of the Lynher Creek, which flows by the foot of the hill on which it is raised. The view from its ramparts commands a most interesting prospect, including the Hamoaze, the large and flourishing town of Dock, the delightful situation of Mount Edgecumbe, and the elevated heights of Maker.

The base-court of this castle, which contains about an acre of ground, is nearly circular. This area was originally enclosed by a wall about six feet thick, and this wall was surrounded with a very deep ditch. The wall was embattled, and a considerable portion of it still remains; but some parts are mouldering to decay, and several massive fragments have already fallen into the deep ditch, which, excepting at the gateway, every where surrounds the fortress. The wall still appears to have been pierced with loop-holes in several places, probably for the discharge of arrows. Some of these loop-holes are square, like those in the walls of Tintagel and Carnbre; but some are narrow and high, something like the letter I, but without any transverse strokes at the extremities; and some of the same form cross each other at right angles in the middle. The gateway is in a good state of preservation. The entrance to it is under a square tower, supported by three strong arches, between which the grooves for the portcullises appear. But the gateway which leads into the area, and such parts of the walls as are near it, seem to be more modern than the rest of the building. This area, or base-court, was once charged with buildings, but they have fallen a prey to the ravages, either of time or invaders, so that scarcely a vestige of them now remains.

At the north-west corner of the area stands that part of the fortification which is called the keep. This stands on an artificial hill, which must have been raised with considerable labour. The hill is also surrounded with a deep ditch. This hill, which is of a conical form, is about thirty feet high towards the base-court; but on the side where the natural surface of the earth sinks into a valley, its real elevation is much more considerable.

The keep is a building of an oval form, measuring in diameter twenty-four yards by seventeen. The wall of this building, which is still standing, is about ten feet thick, and thirty feet high. Of these ten feet, two are taken up with the garreted parapet, and the other eight make the breadth of the rampart. The

entrance into this keep is from the west, or nearly so, through a gateway covered with an arch that is round, not pointed, and therefore generally thought to be the more ancient. And consequently, whatever antiquity may be ascribed to the building, the same at least, if not a greater, must be ascribed to the tumulus or hill on which it stands.

From the summit of the parapet to the plane of the area within, the height is nearly the same as if measured from without, being in both instances about thirty feet. In Dr. Borlase's days, the area within was converted into a kitchen-garden, and the man who made the garden, and shewed him the castle, remembered a chimney, and some walls, or vestiges of them, once standing, but of which at that time there was no trace to be found. Towards the top of the rampart, the holes in which some beams had once been inserted, are still visible, which proves that a floor formerly existed, and also determines its height. Not far below the first tier of holes in the wall stands a second; but they are so close together, that no sufficient space for another room could possibly remain between them. This double beaming, it has been supposed, was to strengthen the floor which had a considerable weight to support; for upon it, in all probability, in times of action, a body of soldiers assembled together, to repel the invading foe.

As there are no windows or holes to admit light from the sides of the walls, the area below the floor must either have received its light through some apertures or gratings from above, or it must have been doomed to perpetual darkness; but in either case the inhabitants must have suffered considerable inconveniences. The same apertures that would have admitted light and air, must have admitted rain to annoy them; and the horrors of perpetual darkness need no description. But these inconveniences they chose to suffer, rather than weaken the wall by making holes to admit light and air. And although we allow that a small portion of both might have been admitted from above, the rays could only glimmer on the prison walls, to render "darkness visible," and to shew the unhappy inhabitants the extent of their dreary mansion. It is on these accounts that the keeps are frequently called the dungeons of the castles to which they belong. On the northern side of this fortress was a sally port; and, if any intimations can be gathered from the peculiar irregularity of the ground, some ancient buildings once stood near it, but not a vestige of any at present remains.

If we turn from a description of Trematon Castle, to the history of its progress through past centuries, our views will be carried back to a period of very remote antiquity. It appears by Doomsday Book, according to Camden, that William Earl of Moreton and Cornwall had his castle and market, and resided here. But we must not suppose, that either this William, or his father Robert, was the

actual builder of all the castles which they possessed. The castles of Tintagel and Launceston prove the contrary; and the former furnishes evidence of the most indubitable kind, to refute this general error.

When the Conqueror subdued this country, Cornwall was under the dominion of a prince of British blood, descended from a long line of ancestors, who were sometimes called kings, sometimes dukes, and sometimes earls of Cornwall. The reigning prince at this time, has by some been called Candorus, and by Camden Cadocus. But whatever his name was, he was deposed by the Conqueror, and his lands and honours were taken from him, and given to Robert Earl of Moreton, among which was Trematon Castle; in which, without all doubt, as well as at Launceston and Tintagel, the British earls had from time immemorial, fixed their occasional residence, and held their courts. But how long it was, prior to this period, that the castle was built, or in what age or by whom the artificial hill was raised, on which the visible fortress now stands, no records are extant to give us information.

Mr. Carew, in his Survey, records an account of an ancient monument found in the church of St. Stephens, to which parish this castle belongs; and, from the circumstances connected with the inscription on it, our views are carried back to a period coeval with the Conquest, if not prior to it. "I have received information, from an averring eye witness, that about fourescore yeres since, there was digged up in the parish chancell, a leaden coffin, which being opened, shewed the proportion of a verie bigge man, but when the hands went about to ascertaine themselves, as well as their eyes, the body verified that *Omnis caro pulvis*. The partie farder told me, how a writing graved in the lead, expressed the same to bee the burial of a duke, whose heire was married to the prince. But who it should bee I cannot devise, albeit my best pleasing conjecture lighteth upon Orgerius, because his daughter was married to Edgar."*

It is well known, that Orgerius, of whom Carew thus speaks, was duke or earl of Cornwall, A. D. 959, which was more than one hundred years before the Conquest; and it is not improbable that he might have resided at Trematon Castle. But it appears from the authority of Malmsbury, that he was buried in the monastery of Tavistock; so that Mr. Carew's "best pleasing conjecture" must be unfounded. It is possible however, that this lead coffin might have contained the remains of Cadoc, son of Candorus or Cadocus, who lived and died at Trematon Castle, and left behind him Agnes, an only child, who was married to Reginald Fitz Henry, natural son of Henry I. For after this castle was given by

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 112.

the Conqueror to Robert Earl of Moreton, it appears by the Exeter Doomsday, that it was held by Reginald de Valletorta; but the inheritance came to William Earl of Cornwall, from whom it passed by attainder of treason to the crown, with all his other lands and dignities. This circumstance, as some think, caused Cadoc the son of Candorus, to be restored to the power and dominions which had been before wrested by the Conqueror from his father; and this induces a belief that it was the body of Cadoc, which was discovered in the coffin of lead, as stated by Mr. Carew.

From Reginald Fitz Henry, who married the daughter of Cadoc, the lordship of Trematon passed to Walter Dunstanvil, baron of Castlecombe in Cornwall, who married one of Fitz Henry's daughters. And here again, on the failure of male heirs, it had another transfer, as it went with a daughter to Reginald de Valletorta, (temp. Richard I.) who, as it appears from the Red Book in the Exchequer, had fifty-nine knight's fees belonging to the honour of Trematon. His son, John de Valletorta, inherited his father's honours and lands, from whom it descended to Roger, alias Reginald his son, who having only two daughters, Elgina, who was married to Pomeroy, of Bury Pomeroy in Devon, and of Tregony in Cornwall; and Joan, who was married to Sir Alexander Oakeston, knight, settled this lordship of Trematon on Sir Henry Pomeroy, his grandson by his eldest daughter Elgina. This Sir Henry, or, as is more likely, a son of his of the same name and title, did by a deed bearing date the 11th of Edward III. release to Edward the Black Prince, then duke of Cornwall, all his right, title, and claim to the honour, castle, and manor of Trematon. This was done, Mr. Hals says, in consideration of an annuity of £40 per annum, to be paid out of the Exchequer. The deed which specified this consideration, was extant when Mr. Prince wrote his Worthies of Devon, and was then in the possession of Roger Pomeroy, of Sandridge in Devon, Esq. From this period, Trematon became again, as it originally was, a part of the duchy of Cornwall, as it still continues.

Mr. Whitaker says, "The castle of Trematon was an original palace of the Cornish kings, like Restormel. It was thus given by the Conqueror to the Earl of Moreton, as Launceston and other demesnes of the crown of Cornwall, which had devolved to the Saxon earls of Cornwall, and were now transferred to the Normans. Here therefore he had a castle at the time of the Doomsday Survey. He had the castle that had belonged successively to the kings and earls before. This is plain from the Cornish name of it, which implies it to have been a castle originally, and the castle of a king." From Trematon Mr. Whitaker proceeds to notice some circumstances relative to the market at Launceston; after which he proceeds thus: "There was also another market, says Doomsday, which the earl had at this castle

at Trematon. Both were in existence originally; and, as the scite of the royal house was not altered at Trematon, the position of its market was not changed. It was originally on the scite of Saltash, and the original cause and matrix of it, fixed at a little distance from the castle, on the outside of the park, and upon the hill declining to the Tamar. It was held chiefly round a great ash-tree, it seems, and so took the name of *Villa de Esse*, or *Essa*, among the Saxons and Normans. That this is the real etymon of the town's name, and not Mr. Carew's, who translates *Villa de Essa* into 'Esse his town;' and adds, that 'such gentlemen,' or gentlemen of such a name, 'there have been of antient descent and faire revenues,' is obvious of itself. *Villa de Esse* means only the town of Esse. The town is therefore called simply Esse."

In passing over the public road which leads from Crafthole to Torpoint, the eye of the curious traveller is arrested with the appearance of this venerable structure, Trematon Castle; and he involuntarily calls before him those departed ages and manners which can return no more. From every point in which it can be seen, it appears to be sprinkled over with the hoar of deep antiquity; and, in some directions, it seems to frown with majestic grandeur, on the storms which conspire to deface its yet remaining honours. The encircling ivy, which has slowly crept to the highest battlements, and now conceals their primitive form, unites with the verdure that covers the mighty tumulus on which the fabric stands, and the foliage of the surrounding trees, to give it a considerable degree of picturesque beauty, which is heightened by the deformities which time has made on its mouldering and variegated walls. Like many other monuments of antiquity, its origin seems to be too deeply buried for discovery. And although we may conjecture that it was primitively a British building, it is impossible to conceive that it can rival in antiquity the castles of Tintagel and Carnbre. If a British building, it must be one of a comparatively modern age, when a knowledge of the arts had been acquired; and this can hardly be supposed, until the Romans had been long established in the country. On the exact period it is impossible to decide; and we must be content to remain in doubt, where decision is unattainable.

Besides the castles already named and described, there are many in Cornwall of considerable antiquity; but to what age and people their origin ought to be assigned, can hardly be ascertained. Some, that are now in a state of ruins, may probably be British; and of this character is the ancient castle called White Castle, in the parish of Sancreed. This, from its lying on the side of a hill, which deprives it of the advantages of the ground, Dr. Borlase concludes to be British, and very ancient. It was probably built before the inhabitants had learnt from

their invaders, those arts by which they might have repelled them, when they first infested the Cornish shores.

To Restormel Castle a very ancient date must be assigned, and no small degree of importance must be ascribed to it. It is situated near Lostwithiel, which, in all probability was well known to the Romans, and its castle was an habitation of the ancient British kings. But as the fortresses already described, and historically noticed, are sufficient to furnish indubitable evidence of their British origin, it will be improper to introduce others of questionable antiquity in this place, among the memorials of the ancient Britons. The remaining castles and fortifications that are still extant, or crumbling to pieces beneath the iron hand of time, will be noted hereafter, as they lie scattered over the county. Some of these are marks of Roman stations, but a far greater number are of more modern origin.

There are not many counties in England, perhaps not one, that can boast of more fortified places than Cornwall. These discover the state of commotion in which the inhabitants lived; and while silently sinking into decay, teach us, as they disappear, to be thankful to the Author of every blessing, for the domestic tranquillity which we enjoy. May no improper conduct of the present generation prevent these blessings from being transmitted unimpaired to the next, and to our most distant posterity!

As the ancient Britons of Cornwall certainly had many public buildings, and fortified places, long before the arrival of the Romans, so they had also some public roads, to facilitate their commercial intercourse with one another. Sammes informs us, that "Belyn set himself to the finishing of that great work begun by his father Dunwallo, the making and paving of four great highways through his kingdom of Leogria, now called England. The first is named Foss, and beginneth at the corner of Totness, and passeth through Devonshire and Somersetshire, and so on to Coventry, and from thence (as Randulph, a monk of Chester recordeth) through the wastes to Newark, and ended at Lincoln."*

"Att this town," (Totness) says another ancient writer, "held the most south or southernmost part of this kingdom, began the Ffosse Street, which with Watling Street, and Ikmeld Street, and Exming Street, were the four highways that traversed over England, first began by that sapient lawgiver Mulmutius, king of this realme, and finished and paved by his martial sonne Belynus, upon the credit of the Bryttysh storye 500 yeares before the incarnation of Christ."†

* Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, p. 173, cited by Mr. Polwhele, in his Historical Views of Devon, p. 52.

† Westcote's View (Portledge MS.) p. 206, cited in Historical Views of Devon, p. 52.

ACCOUNT OF THE CHIEF ROADS OF DANMONIUM BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

" Before the Romans, there were probably several ways in the southern parts of this island, which had been previously laid out, though rudely, for the public use, and adapted though indifferently, to the conveyance of its natural commodities to the ports, and to the introduction of foreign ones from them." Mr. Whitaker also argues, that " the two great roads of the Watling and Ikmeld streets, were undertaken and executed before the invasion of the Romans. Both must have been begun by the Belgæ of the south countries; and what is very extraordinary, both plainly appear to have commenced in the south."

The course of some ancient British roads in these western parts, Colonel Simcoe has attempted to describe; and in a letter to Mr. Polwhele he thus delivers his opinion:—" The mountainous region of Dartmoor (part of the Jugum Ocrinum of the ancients) separates Devonshire into two districts, each of which must have had its distinct road; while a third must have penetrated the mountains, to afford a ready conveyance for the tin which abounded in those regions. These roads, from the nature of the country, must have passed the Exe at the same ford, in their progress towards the Isle of Wight; and this ford I take to have been that above Cowley Bridge, between Pynes and the Camp, on the height of Stoke, above *Duryard*, the *ancient wood*, as its name signifies. This road, upon the same principles, may be traced over the Clyst, the Otter, and the Axe, till it leaves Devonshire, and must have been prior to Vespasian."*

From these authorities, it is plain, that the existence of some ancient British roads through Danmonium is founded upon something more than the mere novelty of opinion. But at the same time it cannot be dissembled, that the supposition is not supported by that evidence which every one would be pleased to behold. It does not appear that any vestiges of these roads have ever been discovered; so that the fact itself rests chiefly on the peculiarity of the country, the necessities arising from the trade of the inhabitants, and the supposed authority of Diodorus Siculus, that the tin of Danmonium was carried to the Isle of Wight, to be exported to a foreign market. The utmost that can be said is, that it is probable the ancient Danmonii had public roads before the arrival of the Romans, that the opinion is supported by respectable authorities, but that no vestiges of them have ever yet been discovered.

* See Mr. Polwhele's Historical Views of Devon, in which the authority of Mr. Whitaker, Colonel Simcoe's Letter, &c. are cited, p. 52.

SECTION XI.

Historical Observations on the antiquity, decline, and extinction of the Cornish Language.

If the use of language were as difficult to acquire, as a knowledge of the origin of dialects is hard to obtain, very few would be fully acquainted with the importance of either. Fortunately for mankind, the objects of our pursuit, which are most deeply interesting to all, are in general most obvious; and when formidable difficulties occur, they are chiefly connected with such speculations as necessity and expediency might dismiss, without suffering any considerable inconvenience.

The language which was once spoken in this county by our British ancestors, awakens our solicitude from motives of local attachment, and becomes particularly interesting from the singular circumstance of its being now no more. At present we behold its mighty shadow in the pages of our history, and even this is gradually disappearing. The only scattered remnants which have survived its oral existence, may be found in those provincial phrases, and local names, for which Cornwall is so peculiarly remarkable.

"In the present language of my countrymen," says Dr. Borlase, "there are many words which are neither English, nor derived from the learned languages, and therefore thought improprieties by strangers, and ridiculed as if they had no meaning; but they are indeed the remnants of their ancient language, esteemed equal in purity and age to any language in Europe. The technical names belonging to the arts of mining, husbandry, fishing, and building, are all Cornish, and much oftener used than the English terms for the same things. The names of houses and manors, promontories, lakes, rivers, mountains, towns and castles in Cornwall, especially in the western parts, are all in the ancient Cornish. Many families still retain their Cornish names."*

The Cornish tongue is generally admitted to be a dialect of that language, which, till the Saxons came in, was common to all the western parts of Britain, and more anciently to Ireland and Gaul. According to Dr. Pryce, the Chaldean, Syriac, Egyptian, Arabic, Phenician, Celtic, Gaulish, Welsh, and Cornish languages, are all derived from the Hebrew tongue; and in their descent one from the other, in travelling from the east to the west, they have branched themselves into so many dialects, from one and the same root.

"As from the Hebrews to the Phenicians, so from the Phenicians to the Greeks, came letters and arts. And accordingly from the Phenician character, the Greeks

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 413.

appear to have composed their letters, and the Latins progressively from the Greeks. So likewise our ancient and true Cornish appears to be mostly derived from the Greek and old Latin tongues, as it partakes much of their cadence and softness, with less of the guttural harshness peculiar to the Hebrew and Chaldee. This is the more easily accounted for, as the Phenicians about the time of the Trojan war, first discovered the Scilly Islands and the western shores of Cornwall; with the natives of which they traded for tin, and sold it to the Greeks. The language at that time spoken in other parts of this island, having travelled over a vast continent, was compounded and impure; and therefore we may boldly infer, that the superior purity of the ancient Cornish, is chiefly to be ascribed to its genuine introduction from the shores of Greece and Sidon."*

When the Romans came and subdued this country, the changes which they introduced, affected the language as well as the manners of the inhabitants. It does not however appear, that the Romans had any fixed design to extirpate the British language; yet its gradual decline followed, as a necessary consequence of their solicitude to diffuse and establish their own. Hence, in those parts where they had more fully established their power, the language of the people suffered most from the general innovation; so that its purity seemed to retire from the Roman presence, and to seek an asylum in those mountainous or retired regions, to which the invaders could not without much difficulty have access.

In these western territories, the original language of the natives had less to fear, than that of most others, if we make an exception in favour of Wales; and perhaps from this Roman invasion it suffered least. Hence, throughout the Cornu-British language we have, comparatively speaking, very few Latin idioms, and very few Latin words. The influence of Roman innovation may be chiefly discovered in the terminations that were imposed upon the names of places, which, having passed downwards through a series of centuries continue even to the present day.

But it was not from the influence of the Roman language, that the Cornish tongue was doomed to perish. It survived the shock which it had sustained, and secured its independence, by retiring to the Cambrian mountains; to the retreats which Danmonium afforded it; and by emigrating to the continent, and there starting up as a new dialect on the shores of Armorica. Between the Welsh, the Armorican, and the Cornish languages, even those who differ from one another respecting their relation to each other, uniformly admit that there is a strong affinity. Howel contends, that " the Welsh is the maternal tongue of this island. Nor could any of the four conquests of the island, by the Romans, Saxons, Danes,

* Dr. Pryce's Preface, p. 1.

or Normans, ever extinguish it. A dialect of the same vernacular or independent tongue is the Cornish, as also the Armorican, or the language spoken by the inhabitants of Brittany in France, whither a colony was sent over from hence in the time of the Romans."*

When the Romans abandoned their conquests in this island, and the Saxons succeeded them, the inhabitants of Britain retiring before their victorious arms, sought a refuge in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, carrying with them once more that language which was originally common to them all. This language, in process of time for want of a more frequent intercourse between the inhabitants, became differently pronounced and written, and in various degrees mixed with different languages. "Hence came those different dialects, one called Welsh, the other Cornish, and the last Armoric. The radicals are so much alike in all, that they are known and admitted by the inhabitants of either country, but their grammar has so varied, that they cannot converse. The Cornish is reckoned more pleasing in sound, because less guttural than the Welsh, and indeed than the other dialects. The Cornish, says Mr. Scawen, is not gutturally to be pronounced like the Welsh, nor mutteringly as the Armoric, nor whiningly as the Irish; ill qualities contracted by the two latter, from their servitudes and much subjection; but the Cornish is to be spoken in a manly and lively manner, like those other primitive tongues, the Celtic and Phenician.

"The most material singularities of this tongue are, that the substantive is placed generally before the adjective; the preposition comes sometimes after the case governed; the nominative, and governed case, and pronouns, are often incorporated with the verb; letters are changed in the beginning, middle, or end of a word or syllable; some omitted, some inserted, and much to the commendation of this tongue, of several words one is compounded, as in the Greek, for the sake of brevity, sound, and expression."†

It does not appear that any thing was ever printed in the Cornish language till the year 1707, when the learned Mr. Lhwyd published his Cornish Grammar. A few years before this, Mr. Lhwyd visited this county, in order to make himself acquainted with its natural history and monuments, but more particularly so with the language of Cornwall, which was rapidly on the decline. And so well did he succeed in his attempts, through the assistance which he received from some gentlemen of this county, that he was able to discover the degeneracy into which the language had fallen, and to correct the errors of the inhabitants in their

* Howel's Letters, p. 368, cited by Mr. Polwhele, in his History of Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 196.

† Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 315.

orthography, and to point them to the rules which their forefathers had established in more auspicious days. "His grammar will preserve the rudiments of this language as long as his works remain, which will be as long as any regard for etymology, and the ancient history of these kingdoms subsists. It also lays a foundation for correcting the manuscripts we have in this tongue, and by diligently examining, collating, and making proper extracts from the clearest parts of them, for perfecting a Cornu-English and an Anglo-Cornish vocabulary."*

But although nothing in the Cornish language was ever printed till the days of Mr. Lhwyd, several Cornish manuscripts have been preserved; but, excepting one, none of any considerable age. This one, according to Bishop Gibson, was written in 1036, in an old court hand on vellum. "It contains the history of the Passion of our Saviour. It always has *Chrest* for *Christ*, according to the ancient Roman way of writing *Chrestus* for *Christus*." Dr. Pryce observes, that "so inattentive were they, that many years after the discovery of the art of printing, they never adverted to the preservation of the manuscripts in their own language, so that the only manuscript extant was that found in the Cottonian library, now about 800 years old, from which time no other manuscript appears till about the fifteenth century, when we meet with one that exhibits three ordinalia, or interludes taken from Holy Writ. The originals of all these, are in the Bodleian library, as also one ordinaile of the Creation of the World, and the Deluge, by William Jordan, of Helaston, 1611. The fifth and last book is a poem entitled Mount Calvary, on the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. This manuscript, written on vellum, was given by Mr. Anstis, garter king at arms, to Mr. Lhwyd; but when, or by what author it was written, is wholly uncertain, though this copy by the hand-writing, may also be attributed to the fifteenth century."

The Cornish language, it appears, was current in a part of the South Hams, in the time of Edward I. Long after this it was common on the banks of the Tamar, and in Cornwall it was universally spoken. Gentlemen of superior rank and education, might probably at this time have had some little knowledge of the English; but they could not possibly have been ignorant of the Cornish tongue; for if this had been abandoned altogether, they could have held no intercourse with the common inhabitants. When the liturgy was appointed by authority to succeed the popish mass, it has been said, that the people of Cornwall, or at least some among them, petitioned "that it might not be enjoined on them in Cornish." Not that they were unacquainted with this tongue, but because it was more conformable to their mercantile interests to get the English language introduced.

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 316.

But this opinion is reprobated by Mr. Whitaker in the following terms of unqualified disapprobation:

"But what must have been the religious distress of the Cornish, in the long interval between the proscription of the ancient liturgy, and the establishment of the new in the English language! The English too was not desired by the Cornish, as vulgar history says, and Dr. Borlase avers; but as the case shews itself plainly to be forced upon the Cornish by the tyranny of England, at a time when the English language was yet unknown in Cornwall. This act of tyranny was at once gross barbarity to the Cornish people, and a death-blow to the Cornish language. Had the liturgy been translated into Cornish, as it was into Welsh, that language would have been equally preserved with this to the present moment. But *this Wales in a corner*, had not consequence enough in itself to secure it that proper attention of humanity and of religion, equally with the extensive principality of North and South Wales; for savage indeed are those rulers, who for the sake of a petty advantage in politics, sentence a whole generation of men to live without the benefit of public worship, as was in our days meditated equally to be done, according to the late Dr. Johnson's information personally given to me, against the Scotch of the Highlands, by low wretches, who could not lift up their souls above the suffocating vapour of politics."*

But it was not till towards the conclusion of the reign of Henry VIII. that the English language had found its way into any of the Cornish churches. Before this time the Cornish language was the established vehicle of communication. Dr. Moreman, a native of Southill, but vicar of Menheniot, was the first who taught the inhabitants of his parish the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue; and this was not done till just about the time that Henry VIII. closed his reign. From this fact one inference is obvious; which is, that if the inhabitants of Menheniot knew nothing more of the English than what was thus learnt from the vicar of the parish, the Cornish must have prevailed among them at that time, and the total extirpation of a language must be the work of more than one generation. And as the English language in its progress travelled from east to west, we may reasonably conclude, that about this time it had not penetrated far into the county, as Menheniot lies towards its eastern quarter.

Leland, who visited Cornwall about this time, and made a complete tour of the county, passes over the Cornish language in total silence; but this could not be done because it was extinct, as some have supposed, for this can be proved by

* Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. II. p. 37.

subsequent writers to be false in fact, but rather because it universally prevailed. No modern tourist would think of observing in his journal, that in the present day the English language is spoken throughout the county. That which is notorious, and universally known, requires no animadversions.

From the time the liturgy was established in the Cornish churches in the English language, the Cornish tongue rapidly declined. Although the inhabitants were immoderately attached to the dialect of their ancestors, yet they found themselves under a necessity of understanding the English, this being now the language in which their devotions were commanded to be performed. But the attention which was paid to the English, caused it to make encroachments upon their attachment to the Cornish, so that in proportion to the assiduity with which they cultivated the former, they seem to have neglected the latter. Hence Mr. Carew, who published his Survey of Cornwall in 1602, notices the almost total extirpation of the language in his days. " The principal love and knowledge of this language, liveth in Dr. Kennall the civilian, and with him lyeth buried: for the English speach doth still encroach upon it, and hath driven the same into the uttermost skirts of the shire. Most of the inhabitants can speak no word of Cornish; but few are ignorant of the English: and yet some so affect their own, as to a stranger they will not speak it: for if meeting them by chance, you inquire the way, or any such matter, your answer shall be, '*Meea nauidua cowzasawzneck;*'—I can speak no Saxonage."*

Carew's Survey was soon followed by that of Norden, by whom we are informed, that the Cornish language was chiefly confined to the western hundreds of the county, particularly to Penwith and Kirrier. " And yet (which is to be marveyled) though the husband and wife, parents and children, master and servants, do naturally communicate in their native language; yet there is none of them in a manner, but is able to converse with a stranger in the English tongue, unless it be some obscure people who seldom confer with the better sort. But it seemeth however, that in a few years the Cornish will be by little and little abandoned."† Such was the state of the Cornish language, according to Norden, about 1610, the year in which it is probable his history was compiled.

As the parish of Menheniot was the first in which the inhabitants were taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English; so, in the parish of Feock, the Cornish language was nearly last excluded from the churches. " The Cornish tongue was so long retained in this parish by the old inhabitants thereof, till about the year 1640, that Mr. William Jackman, then vicar thereof, chaplain of Pendennis Castle at the siege thereof by the parliament army, was

* Carew's Survey, p. 56.

† Norden's Survey, p. 26.

forced for divers years to administer the sacrament to the communicants in the Cornish tongue, because the aged people did not well understand the English, as he himself often told me."*

But although the Cornish language appears to have been excluded from all our Cornish churches except those of Feock and Landewednack, so early as the year 1640, yet it was not driven from common conversation until a much later period. So late as 1650, the Cornish language was currently spoken in the parishes of Paul and St. Just; the fish-women and market-women in the former, and the tinners in the latter, for the most part conversing in their old vernacular tongue.

In 1662, Cornwall was visited by Mr. Ray, who paid particular attention to the language spoken by the inhabitants, as may be gathered from the collections of phrases and proverbial expressions, which he has noted in his work, respecting several places in England. According to Mr. Ray, whose Itineraries were published by Mr. Scott, F. A. S. "Mr. Dicken Gwyn was considered as the only person who could then write in the Cornish language; and who lived in one of the most western parishes called St. Just, where there were few but what could speak English; while few of the children could speak Cornish, so that the language would soon be lost."† In another place Mr. Ray furthermore observes, that Mr. Dicken Gwyn, whom he had mentioned as the only person who could write Cornish, was no grammarian; and that another man, whose name was Pendarvis, was upon the whole better skilled in the language than Mr. Gwyn. But whether, by this superior skill, he understood that Pendarvis knew it with grammatical accuracy, but through some impeding cause was unable to write it, or that he could speak and converse in it with more fluency than Mr. Gwyn, is rather uncertain.

About the year 1678, Mr. Scawen has recorded in his manuscripts, that some time in that year "the Rev. F. Robinson, rector of Landewednack, preached a sermon to his parishioners, in the Cornish language only." It is therefore but a fair presumption that he was able to write it; since it is difficult to conceive an impediment which should prevent the one, and yet not affect the other. And consequently, in point of fact, the opinion of Mr. Ray respecting Mr. Gwyn, must have been erroneous; though we may fairly admit, that no one besides Mr. Gwyn, capable of writing the Cornish language, had come to the notice either of Mr. Ray, or to those from whom he received his information. From this period the Cornish language appears to have been driven from the Cornish churches entirely; or if not wholly banished, we have no further record of its being retained or used

* Hals's Parochial History, p. 133.

† Ray's Itinerary, p. 281.

on any occasion in the service of public worship. And so rapid was its declension throughout the county from this period, in all the ordinary concerns of life, that Mr. Lhwyd, in a letter to Mr. Rowland, dated March 10, 1701, observes, that the Cornish language was then only retained in five or six villages towards the Land's End.*.

In every stage through which we pursue the Cornish language, we thus perceive that its limits become more and more circumscribed. From "five or six villages towards the Land's End," in which the Cornish tongue was spoken in 1701, we must now descend to individuals, and from them trace it to its grave.

In 1746, Captain Barrington, afterwards Admiral Barrington, took with him a seaman from Mount's Bay, who understood the Cornish so well, as to be able to converse with some French sailors on the coast of Bretagne. And it is very natural to suppose that many others equally capable of conversing in this language, still continued in the county. Yet to such a remnant was the number capable of communicating their thoughts to each other in this language, reduced, that in

* See Lhwyd's Letters, printed by Dr. Pryce, in his Archæologia, and by Mr. Polwhele, in his History of Cornwall, Vol. IV. p. 8, &c.——Mr. Lhwyd's letters were addressed to Mr. Tonkin, who has recorded the following anecdote respecting his learned correspondent:—"Mr. Lhwyd came into the country at a time when all the people were under a sort of a panic, and in terrible apprehension of thieves and housebreakers; and travelling with his three companions, with knapsacks on their shoulders, on foot, for the better searching for simples, viewing and taking draught of every thing remarkable, and for that reason prying into every hole and corner, raised a strange jealousy in people already so much alarmed; though this alarm, as it appeared afterwards, was without the least foundation, and at last discovered to be the contrivance of some designing neighbours, to get money for their assistance in this pretended danger. He was with me at Lambrigan, August 27th, 1700. And Sir Richard Vyvyan being then out of the county, to whom I intended to have recommended him, and who had likewise by my means some acquaintance with him at Oxford, I gave him a letter to the late Mr. Chancellor Pennick, then residing at St. Hillary, whereof he was vicar, and a very worthy gentleman. At Helston, as Mr. Lhwyd was poring up and down, and making many inquiries about gentlemen's seats, &c. he (with his companions) was taken up for a thief, and carried before a justice of the peace, who, on opening my letter, was very much ashamed at it, and treated him very handsomely. This the bearer, Mr. Jones, gave me a full account of, though I had heard it before from others."

But Mr. Lhwyd was not the only gentleman who has suffered some inconveniences from the vigilance and loyalty of the Cornish. Dr. Randolph, when on a visit to the Rev. Mr. Hoblyn, of Nanswhydden, was apprehended as a spy, being detected in the very act of drawing plans, and of exploring the country. Mr. Salisbury was apprehended on his way to Goonhilly, in search of the *Erica vaga*, and carried before a magistrate at Helston. And Captain Bligh, who surveyed the harbour of Helford under the direction of government, was insulted by some bargemen of Helford, and taken before Mr. Polwhele to be examined, under a suspicion of holding a correspondence with the enemy.

1758, Dr. Borlase thought it had "altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation." This opinion however, appears to be rather premature. It might indeed be true, that the language was no longer spoken in common conversation from choice, but that several persons were then alive who could hold a conversation in Cornish on common topics, is plain from accounts of a subsequent date, to which we shall refer.

When the Cornish language was thus reduced to its last glimmerings, and by many thought to be totally extinguished, the Hon. Daines Barrington, brother of Admiral Barrington, whose name has been already introduced, travelled into Cornwall, to discover if possible some remains of this venerable dialect, then just about to depart for ever. This tour was undertaken in 1768, and the result was communicated as follows, to John Lloyd, Esq. F. S. A. in a letter dated March 31, 1773. "I myself made a very complete tour of Cornwall in 1768; and recollecting what I had heard from my brother, I mentioned to several persons of that county, that I did not think it impossible I might meet with some remains of the language, who however considered it as entirely lost.

"I set out from Penzance however, with the landlord of the principal inn for my guide, towards Sennan, or the most western point; and when I approached the village, I said that there must probably be some remains of the language in those parts, if any where, as the village was in the road to no place whatever; and the only alehouse announced itself to be the last in England. My guide however told me that I should be disappointed; but that if I would ride about ten miles about in my return to Penzance, he would conduct me to a village called Mousehole, on the western side of Mount's Bay, where there was an old woman called Dolly Pentreath, who could speak Cornish fluently. While we were travelling together towards Mousehole, I inquired how he knew that this woman spoke Cornish; when he informed me, that he frequently went from Penzance to Mousehole to buy fish, which were sold by her; and that when he did not offer her a price that was satisfactory, she grumbled to some other old women in an unknown tongue, which he concluded therefore to be Cornish.

"When we reached Mousehole, I desired to be introduced as a person who had laid a wager that there was not one who could converse in Cornish; upon which Dolly Pentreath spoke in an angry tone for two or three minutes, and in a language which sounded very like Welsh. The hut in which she lived was in a very narrow lane, opposite to two rather better houses, at the doors of which two other women stood, who were advanced in years, and who I observed were laughing at what Dolly said to me. Upon this I asked them whether she had not been abusing me; to

which they answered, 'Very heartily; and because I had supposed she could not speak Cornish.' I then said, that they must be able to talk the language; to which they answered, that they could not speak it readily, but that they understood it, being only ten or twelve years younger than Dolly Pentreath. I continued nine or ten days in Cornwall after this, but found that my friends whom I had left to the eastward, continued as incredulous almost as they were before, about these last remains of the Cornish language; because, among other reasons, Dr. Borlase had supposed in his natural history of the county, that it had entirely ceased to be spoken. It was also urged, that as he lived within four or five miles of the old woman at Mousehole, he consequently must have heard of so singular a thing as her continuing to use the vernacular tongue.

"I had scarcely said or thought any thing more about this matter, till last summer, having mentioned it to some Cornish people, I found that they could not credit that any person had existed within these few years, who could speak their native language: and therefore, though I imagined there was but a small chance of Dolly Pentreath continuing to live, yet I wrote to the president then in Devonshire, to desire that he would make some inquiry with regard to her; and he was so obliging as to procure me information from a gentleman whose house was within three miles of Mousehole, a considerable part of whose letter I shall subjoin.

'Dolly Pentreath is short of stature, and bends very much with old age, being in her eighty-seventh year; so lusty however as to walk hither, to Castle Horneck, about three miles, in bad weather, in the morning and back again. She is somewhat deaf, but her intellects seemingly not impaired; has a memory so good, that she remembers perfectly well, that about four or five years ago, at Mousehole, where she lives, she was sent for by a gentleman, who being a stranger, had a curiosity to hear the Cornish language, which she was famed for retaining and speaking fluently; and that the innkeeper where the gentleman came from, attended him. [This gentleman was myself; however I did not presume to send for her, but waited upon her.] She does indeed talk Cornish as readily as others do English, being bred up from a child to know no other language; nor could she (if we may believe her) talk a word of English before she was past twenty years of age; as, her father being a fisherman, she was sent with fish to Penzance at twelve years old, and sold them in the Cornish language, which the inhabitants in general, even the gentry, did then well understand. She is positive however, that there is neither in Mousehole, nor in any other part of the county, any other person who knows any thing of it, or at least can converse in it. She is poor, and maintained partly by the parish, and partly by fortune-telling and gabbling Cornish.'

"I have thus," continues Mr. Barrington, "thought it right to lay before the Society (the Society of Antiquaries) this account of the last sparks of the Cornish tongue; and cannot but think that a linguist, who understands Welsh, might still pick up a more complete vocabulary of the Cornish than any we are yet possessed of; especially as the two neighbours of this old woman, whom I have had occasion to mention, are not now above seventy-seven or seventy-eight years of age, and were healthy when I saw them; so that the whole does not depend upon the life of this Cornish sybil, as she is willing to insinuate. If it is said that I have stated that these neighbours could not speak the language, this should be understood that they cannot so readily converse in it as she does, because I have mentioned that they comprehended her abuse upon me, which implies a certain knowledge of the Cornish tongue. Thus the most learned men of this country cannot speak Latin fluently, for want of practice; yet it would be very easy to form a Latin vocabulary from them. It is also to be wished, that a linguist would go into the Isle of Man, and report to the Society in what state that expiring language may be at present. As for the Welsh, I do not see the least probability of its being lost in the more mountainous parts, for as there are no valuable mines in several of the parishes thus situated, I do not conceive that it is possible to introduce the English. The present inhabitants, therefore, and their descendants, will continue to speak their native language in these districts; for the Welsh cannot settle in England, because they cannot speak the tongue; nor will English servants for husbandry live with the Welsh, because they cannot understand their masters.——I am, dear Sir, your most faithful and humble servant, DAINES BARRINGTON."

From the preceding account, given so much in detail by Mr. Barrington, and published under the sanction of a national institution, it has generally been believed, that Dolly Pentreath and the Cornish language, expired together. From this opinion, there are few who live out of Cornwall, who do not hesitate to dissent. But we shall shortly find, that the requiem sung by Mr. Barrington, was rather premature. We will examine the fact when we return from the funeral of this venerable old woman.

It appears from the letter which has just been inserted, that in the year 1773, Dolly Pentreath was in her eighty-seventh year; and it appears from an epitaph on her grave, that she died at the advanced age of 102; so that she must have lived fifteen years after Mr. Barrington's letter was dated, and consequently must have died in 1788. She was buried in the church-yard of the parish of Paul, in which parish Mousehole, the place of her residence, is situated. Her epitaph is both in Cornish and English, in both of which languages, as it is a literary curiosity, it is here inserted:

CORNISH AND ENGLISH EPITAPH ON DOLLY PENTREATH.

CORNISH.

Coth Doll Pentreath cans ha Dean;
Marow ha kledyz ed Paul plêa:—
Na ed an Egloz, gan pobel brâs,
Bes ed Egloz-hay coth Dolly es.

ENGLISH.

Old Doll Pentreath, one hundred ag'd and two;
Deceas'd, and buried in Paul parish too:—
Not in the church, with people great and high,
But in the church-yard doth old Dolly lie!

On a perusal of this epitaph, it is natural to inquire, by whom was it written, and by whom was it translated? These questions look with a formidable aspect on those opinions which assert, that "Mr. Dicken Gwyn was the only person who could write Cornish," and that "Dolly Pentreath was the last who could speak it;" since it is impossible that it could be written or translated by either of them, both being dead. The grave of Dolly Pentreath, therefore, furnishes decisive evidence, that the Cornish language must have survived the inhabitant, with whom it has been thought to be interred.

Mr. Polwhele, confining his observations to the Cornish epitaph, says, "The author of these verses, of which I have given a literal translation, is a Mr. Tomson, a native of Truro, and by profession an engineer." The epitaph in question was communicated to Mr. Polwhele by a Mr. Collins, to whom we are indebted for the versified translation that has been given.

That Dolly Pentreath was not the only person living who understood Cornish about the time that he mentioned, Mr. Barrington, upon more mature inquiry, appears to be fully sensible; for on the 3d of July, 1776, he presented a letter to the Society written both in Cornish and English by William Bodener, a fisherman of Mousehole. This fisherman says, that "he was then sixty-five years of age, and that there were not more than four or five persons in Mousehole who could talk Cornish." In 1777, Mr. Barrington again informed the Society, that he had discovered another inhabitant of Cornwall, who could speak the Cornish language. This person was John Nancarrow, of Marazion, who was then not more than forty-five years of age. He says that "in his youth he had learnt the language from the country people, and could then hold a conversation in it; and that another, a native of Truro, was at that time also acquainted with the Cornish language, and like himself was able to converse in it." His name however is not

mentioned; but it is conjectured, that this inhabitant of Truro was Mr. Tomson, to whom the world is indebted for Dolly Pentreath's epitaph.

From the natural convergence of all the preceding circumstances, it would seem that we had now pursued the Cornish language through all the avenues of its last retreat, and that we had also seen it breathe its last. But it once more starts before us, and affords us some gleams of light, which direct us to the extremity of the county. Dr. Pryce, in his preface to his Archæologia, published in 1790, speaks of a man then living at Mousehole, who understood and could speak the Cornish tongue. Of this man he does not give the name; so that it is difficult to say whether he means Bodener, who died in 1794, or some other person. His words tend to establish the existence of the Cornish language in Mousehole, so late as 1790, and also to prove that "the low French and the Cornish seem almost one and the same dialect." "A very old man, now living at Mousehole, who I believe is at this time the only person capable of holding half an hour's conversation on common subjects in the Cornish tongue, tells me, that above three score years ago, being at Morlaix on board of a smuggling cutter, and the only time he ever was there, he was ordered on shore with another young man to buy some greens, and not knowing a word of French, as he thought, he was much surprised to find that he understood a great part of the conversation of some boys at play in the street; and upon further inquiry, he found that he could make known all his wants in Cornish, and be better understood than he could at home when he used that dialect. I am well satisfied of the fact, as he is quite an illiterate man, and could have neither the temptation nor the ingenuity to invent a story so useless to himself." From this statement two facts are clear; first, that the Cornish language was nearly the same as that spoken at Morlaix in 1730, and secondly, that the Cornish language was understood in Mousehole so late as 1790. If this man be the same as Bodener, the statement of Dr. Pryce confirms the account of Mr. Barrington; and if he be another person, we learn that the Cornish language was not so near extinct as some have imagined.

But it was not only in Mousehole that its glimmerings appeared in 1790; they were perceived in the western extremity; though they no longer displayed the language in its accustomed brilliancy. The shadows were gathering round it, so that it could only be seen through a dense and hazy atmosphere.

"As for the vulgar Cornish now spoken," says Dr. Pryce, in his Preface, "it is so confined to the extremest corner of the county, and those ancient persons who still pretend to jabber it, are even there so few; the speech itself is so corrupted; and the people too for the most part so illiterate; that I cannot but wonder at my patience, and assume some merit to myself, for my singular industry, in collecting

the words which I have accumulated from oral intelligence; especially as hardly any of the persons whom I have consulted, could give a tolerable account of the orthography, much less of the etymology or derivation of those words which they use; for they often join, or rather run two or three words together, making but one word of them all; though their pronunciation is generally correct: as for instance, ***Merastadu***, which they pronounce in one breath, as if it were a single word; whereas it is a contraction of four; ***Meor 'ras tha Dew;*** Many thank to God; anciently written ***Maur gras tha Deu.*** And ***Merastawhy***, many thanks to you; a contraction of ***Maur ras tha why.***"

In the month of August, 1779, Mr. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, paid a visit to the Land's End; and while noting every thing that antiquity had made venerable, or use had rendered interesting, turned his attention to the last fading sparks of the Cornish language, now perhaps extinguished for ever.

"Mr. Barrington," says this venerable antiquarian, "let me here observe, in 1773, pretendedly sung the death-song of the Cornish language, and committed it to the grave with Dolly Pentreath, the fisher-woman of Mousehole. But in this he appears to have been as much mistaken, as Dr. Borlase was before him; when the Doctor, a native and a resident, an antiquary and a linguist, so early as 1758, declared it to have altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation. At that very time, as Mr. Barrington has observed, to the disgrace of his attention, an old woman was living 'within four miles of him,' and talking the language fluently. Nor can we convict Mr. Barrington of similar inattention. He was merely a stranger, and a visitant in the country. But the language ***survived its last speaker.*** In 1790, William Pryce, M. D. of Redruth, Cornwall, published his 'Archæologia Cornu-Britannica; or an Essay to preserve the Cornish language.' In the preface to this publication, he gives us such information as shewed the language to have not expired with Mr. Barrington's fisher-woman, to have been still continuing in existence, and to have had its last struggle for life, if it is even yet dead, at or about this very prominence of the Land's End."

Immediately after the preceding observations, Mr. Whitaker subjoins the passage which has just been inserted from Dr. Pryce's preface, placing the Doctor's words in the most conspicuous light, and interspersing them with illustrative animadversions of his own; and having done this, he proceeds as follows:—"This evidence is complete. The Cornish was still spoken when the voice of Dolly was choked in the grave. She was not, indeed, the solitary speaker of a language lost to all other tongues, the single representative of the purely Cornish nation, the mournful outliver of all her kindred and speech. Numbers talked it at the very time. Nor did they talk it, we find, with any of that viciousness of pronunciation,

which has changed the Latin into Italian, and the Saxon into English. They gave a justly Cornish tone to the truly Cornish words that they used. They only spoke some short words, that must have occurred frequently in conversation, and that were used uniformly as a whole sentence, with a rapidity which made them sound like one word. We do the same in *prythee*, for *I pray thee*, even leaving out the principal word in speaking. The speakers of Cornwall were more exact, we see, pronouncing every word with fidelity. So accurately was the Cornish then spoken by many, at 'the extremest corner of the county.' But what renders the accuracy more surprising, these *many* were in general 'illiterate' persons; so, like the illiterate among ourselves, unable 'to give a tolerable account of the orthography,' and sure, therefore, to be ten-fold more unable, as even our very scholars generally are, to account for 'the etymology or derivation of those words which they use.' I even heard in my visit to the west, of two persons still alive that could speak the Cornish language. On my offer of English money for Cornish words, to the men at the Land's End, they referred me to an old man living about three miles off towards the south, at St. Levan, (I think) a second chapelry with St. Sennan, in the parish of St. Buryan; and intimated, that I might there have as many words as I would choose to purchase."

The Cornish language, we have already seen, was reduced to its last gasp in 1799, if even its existence could be then ascertained. Since that period it seems silently and insensibly to have wholly disappeared, so that all further inquiries after it must be made in vain. In some parts of Cornwall the phraseology of the inhabitants still retains a tincture of this venerable dialect; and in most places we have some words of Cornish extraction, now naturalized among us, and expressing their original ideas, without being incorporated in the English language; and, from being generally familiar, without betraying the source from whence they were derived. But the language itself is gone, and gone for ever; and, like the voice that proclaimed its last retreat, is either silent in the repositories of death, or lives only in the surviving memorials of its former fame.

CHAP. V.

Cornwall first visited by Foreigners, who were Phenicians.

SECTION I.

Historical Observations on the Phenicians.

IT is universally admitted, that the Phenicians descended from one of the Canaanitish nations, which, according to the declarations of God, escaped the Israelitish sword.* Although the Sidonians or Phenicians did not fall by the sword of Israel, they were not permitted to inherit the territories of their ancestors, without much interruption from their invaders; and they were finally driven from their paternal seat, to establish themselves in a different part of the earth.

According to the popular voice of history, the Phenician Hercules is supposed to have vanquished Antæus, king of the western parts of Africa, more than 300 years before the expedition of the Argonauts, which was more than a generation before the Trojan war. If therefore this account be true, they must have been conversant with the west of Africa long before the days of Joshua; and in all probability must have turned their attention to maritime affairs, at a very early period of the world. This opinion is sanctioned by the authority of Bochart, and is by no means improbable in itself.

But in what light soever these early emigrations may be viewed, it is generally understood, that at the time of Joshua's invasion of their land, many among them retired into Africa and other places. Procopius says, that at Tingis (now Tangier) in Africa, are found two columns of white marble, set up near the great fountain, on which was engraven in Phenician characters, the following inscription:—"*We are the people who took our flight from before the robber Joshua, the son of Nave.*" The learned Bochart gives credit to this account; and Eusebius confirms the fact, by declaring that some Canaanites fled from the children of Israel, and inhabited Tripoli in Africa.

* See Judges iii. 1, 3.

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PHENICIANS.

Herodotus asserts, that the Phenicians first after their expulsion, fixed their habitations on the Red Sea, and that from thence they came and settled on the shores of the Mediterranean, between Syria and Egypt. But this account may be easily reconciled with the records of Moses, which say, that the inhabitants who peopled Egypt, came from Ham, and the neighbouring countries. Bochart has shewn with incredible labour and industry, that they had sent out colonies into almost all the isles of the Mediterranean, in which their footsteps may be traced, and in which some memorials of their language may be still discovered. But the most important of all their colonies was that which they established at Carthage, the nurse of Hannibal, and the rival of ancient Rome.

To the Phenicians have been ascribed many curious arts and important inventions, particularly the art of writing, and that of making glass. In the art of ship-building they excelled all the nations upon earth; and correspondent with it was their knowledge of navigation, their acquaintance with astronomy, and their adventurous voyages on the open seas. The Tyrian dyes have been celebrated in all ages and countries; so that even in the present day the name of Tyre is supposed to give an additional lustre to the beauty of purple. In short, their talents were so famous among the neighbouring nations, for every thing that was rare, curious, or important, that it became proverbial to call any thing that merited particular attention and respect, "a truly Phenician discovery." With commerce and architecture they were so intimately acquainted, that to the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon may be attributed in no small degree the origin of that commercial spirit, which has diffused itself throughout the world.

Among the maritime exploits of the Phenicians, Strabo asserts, that besides being intimately acquainted with the Mediterranean shores, they ventured to pass beyond the Pillars of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, very shortly after the Trojan war; but to what extent they carried their voyages at that time, history does not explicitly inform us.

It is asserted on the authority of Herodotus and others, that about 600 years before the commencement of the Christian era, Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, the same who slew Josiah king of Judah, ordered some Phenician sailors, whom he had engaged in his service, to set out from the Red Sea, to explore, if possible, all the southern coast of Africa, and to return through the Atlantic by the Pillars of Hercules to the Mediterranean. Of this extraordinary voyage the Dean of Norwich gives the following account:—

"He (Pharaoh Necho or Nechus) made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but, after he had consumed 120,000 men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better

success in another undertaking; for, having gotten some of the expertest of the Phenician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea, through the Straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa; who, having sailed round it, came home the third year through the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Sea; which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about 2100 years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portugueze, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, A. D. 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies, by which these Phenicians came from thence. Since that it hath been the common passage thither, from all these western parts of the world."*

It is probable, that in consequence of this astonishing voyage, when they found the Atlantic Ocean not so turbulent, dangerous, and unnavigable, as their forefathers had taught them to believe, they began to explore the northern coasts.

It is well known, that the Phenicians at a very early period had established a colony at Gades, (now Cadiz) without the Straits of Gibraltar, in their delightful and celebrated Bœotia; and it has been supposed that this colony was established so early as their settlement at Tingis, or Tangier, which will carry us back to the days of Joshua. And consequently, if this be admitted, it will follow that they could not be considered as total strangers to the Atlantic Ocean until the days of Pharaoh Necho, in whose reign the above perilous voyage was undertaken and accómplished. This voyage however might have inspired them with new vigour, and have given them new resolutions to explore the coast on the northern, as well as on the southern side of Gibraltar.

But besides the voyage that was undertaken at the command of Necho, there is an account of another, that was fitted out from Carthage, on purpose to explore the shores of the Atlantic. But the records of this undertaking are handed down with much uncertainty, as to the period of the expedition. It is said that Hamilco was sent forth from Carthage to make a voyage to the north, at the same time that Hanno, a Carthaginian general, was dispatched the contrary way, to explore the southern coasts. But at what time these two leaders lived, whether a little before the second Punic war, as their names seem to intimate, or much more anciently, in the time of Darius Nothus, is very undetermined, as Camden thinks. If we suppose these voyages to have been undertaken after the voyage from the Red Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar was accomplished, we are at a loss to know why they should want to have the African shores examined, since the voyagers must have already kept them in view throughout the whole of their passage from the Cape of

* Prideaux' Connexion of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 49.

Good Hope. It therefore seems probable, that these voyages of coasting discovery must have been undertaken at a very early period.

That the Phenicians had been very near the Straits of Gibraltar soon after the Trojan war, the authority of Strabo induces us to believe. And surely it is not unreasonable to presume, that the same adventurous spirit which led them to fix their colonies at Gades, would lead them to examine the adjacent coasts of the continent, towards those northern latitudes in which Great Britain lies. The Phenicians in these voyages to the north, coasted along the shores of Spain and Gaul, which without doubt was the most ancient mode of navigation. And as they affected no empire but that of the sea, and sought to enlarge no other dominion, so they seem to have aimed at nothing so much as to the peaceable enjoyment of their trade, the extension of their commerce, and the advantages of tranquil intercourse. Hence, in what countries soever they effected a landing and established a trade, they contrived to plant colonies, or to establish what would now be termed factories, that they might through these means, keep up a regular correspondence with every country, and thus engross the whole world of commerce to themselves.

From their settlements and correspondents, they always knew how to procure whatever was useful to themselves, or advantageous to others. The three great branches of trade, exportation, importation, and transportation, were all their own. By land they traded with Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and India, and divers other countries; and by sea they carried their commercial pursuits not only throughout the Mediterranean, but even from the coasts of Gaul to the arctic circle, and from thence to such southern regions as they deemed it expedient to visit. In consequence of this extensive intercourse, their country became the great and general warehouse, in which every thing was deposited that could administer to the necessities, or add to the luxury of mankind.

That the wealth of such a nation must be almost immense, may be easily conceived. It was so great as to attract the notice of the prophet, who, when speaking of Tyre, one of her cities, says—"The harvest of the river is her revenue, and she is a mart of nations." And in another place he adds—"Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth?"—*Isaiah* xxiii. 3, 8.

Their language was at least a dialect of the Hebrew: it was that of the ancient Canaanites. Their letters or characters were either the same with, or very like to the Samaritan characters.

"How great soever they were for the sciences, and for improvements and discoveries in point of learning, it is far from being improbable, that they excelled

much more in labours of the hand, than in those of the head. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the exceedingly fine linen they wove, were the product of their own country, and their own inventions. And for their extraordinary skill in the working of metals, in hewing of timber and stone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was solid, and great, and ornamental, in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large share they had in the erecting and decorating of the temple at Jerusalem under king Hiram; than which nothing can more redound to their honour, or insinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings must have been. Their fame was such for their just taste, fine design, and ingenious invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing, whether in apparel, vessels, or toys, was distinguished by way of excellence, with the epithet *Sidonian.*" *

SECTION II.

The Phenicians visit the Scilly Islands and Cornwall, at a very early period, for Tin.

We have already, in the preceding section, taken a transient survey of the antiquity, the wealth, the skill, and the enterprizing genius of the Phenicians. We have noticed them as the most expert navigators in the world, and as having accomplished a voyage which De Gama was immortalized for repeating, more than 2000 years afterward, though favoured with the mariner's compass, and all the improvements in science and navigation, which the world could either boast or bestow. We have also seen these adventurous seamen leave the Mediterranean shores, proceed beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and explore those northern regions which were before unknown. It was in one of these adventurous expeditions that they ventured so far into the British Channel, as to have a glimpse either of the Scilly Islands, or our southern shores. The former however, appears to be the more probable, from the name, which in the language of antiquity, it seems to have imparted to all the territories that produced tin.

Prior to this period, the Phenicians had visited the islands and the shores of the Mediterranean, and had planted colonies wherever they found it advantageous to establish a settlement. From these they again emigrated to others; new colonies sprang up from the old ones; subdivisions again took place; so that in many instances, through the lapse of ages and the multiplicity of their movements, the route of their descent is difficult to trace.

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. II. p. 347.

ASTONISHING RICHES OF THE TYRIANS DESCRIBED BY THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

The Phenicians who first visited our western shores, were a tribe of this description. Mr. Whitaker says, "They were indeed Phenicians in their origin; but they were no more Phenicians in reality, than the English of America are Germans or Gauls at present. They were Phenicians transplanted to Carthage in Africa, and again transplanted to Cadiz in Spain. From their settlement at the latter, inheriting all the nautical genius of their Tyrian ancestors, and improving it in adventures upon the once dreaded Atlantic before them; with a spirit of enterprise which reflects high honour upon them, they found their way to the Sylley Isles, at the nearest end of our own Britain. They there discovered, in their curious inquisition into the products of the countries which they visited, a metal not unknown to the nations on the Mediterranean, those central tribes of the globe, but very rare among them, and yet of infinite value to them all."

At this time no tin had been discovered in Germany, and none was then imported from India; and the probability is, that no ideas were entertained of its existing in either country. "It was discovered only in Portugal, and the adjoining parts of Spain to the north. There the Syrians of Carthage previously found it; and the Tyrians of Cadiz therefore ranged the seas for more of it. The mines of Spain and Portugal appear from the very celebrity of the Sylley mines in all ages of antiquity, to have been as unproductive in themselves, as they must have been prior in working; and are known to have been quite exhausted for ages."

That tin was well known to many nations in the early ages of the world, long before the discovery of the Scilly Islands, no one who believes either sacred or profane history, can entertain a moment's doubt. And indeed, without allowing this, we cannot conceive how the Phenician traders on their arrival at the Islands, and discovery of tin, should be able to comprehend its use, to ascertain its value, or know how and where to find a market for so strange a commodity. Yet not one of these obstacles appears. The establishment of trade seems immediately to have succeeded the discovery of the metal, which plainly intimates that its use and value were known on the continent long before.

"We thus," continues Mr. Whitaker, "find tin expressly specified among the metals with which the Tyrians traded, in that large and ample description of its commerce, which Ezekiel has given concerning its coming destruction; and which furnishes a more circumstantial account of it than all antiquity besides exhibits. I shall select only a few touches of the picture:—'Now thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus; and say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty, thy borders are in the midst

of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty; fine linen, with broidered work from Egypt, *was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail;* blue and purple from the isles of Elisha, was that which covered thee; the inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners; thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots; *all the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee to occupy thy merchandise;* Tarshish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches, with silver, iron, TIN, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."—*Ezekiel* xxvii. 2, 4, 7, 9, 12.

But these notices of tin do by no means refer us to the primitive discovery of this metal. It had been long known to the world. "We find it specified among the metals of the east, in the days of Isaiah, or more than 700 years before the Christian era; God then speaking of it as the customary alloy of finer metals, in figuratively promising the Jews to free them from their corruptions by his kind punishments, and so saying, "I will turn my hand upon thee, and purge away thy dross, and take away all thy TIN."—*Isaiah* i. 25.

But the metal was familiar to Greece more than four centuries before; Homer maintaining it as one of the metals used in the composition of Achilles' shield. Yet the first mention of tin in human history is still earlier; even fourteen centuries and a half before our era; Moses himself thus noting it as one of the metals familiar among the Jews:—'the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the TIN and the lead.'—*Numbers* xxxi. 22. These notices are certainly anterior in some instances, if not in all, to the exportation of tin from Sylley; and the world must therefore have been supplied with the metal through the traders of Carthage, from the mines of Portugal and Spain.

"Eager, probably, to rival their brethren in a commerce that furnished all the world with tin from a few mines, the Cadizians very fortunately discovered the Sylley Islands, all replenished with this metal. This was as beneficial a discovery to such a maritime and commercial commonwealth, as the discovery of the West Indies has since been to the monarchy of Spain; and, what is very surprising, centered equally with that in the port of Cadiz."

Having thus made the important discovery, the next step was to secure it from the knowledge of others that they might engross the trade wholly to themselves. "They therefore took the one precaution, which the weakness of their marine, as calculated only for trade, and the habits of their minds, all bent like the Dutch since, upon the lucre of it, permitted them to take. They brought such quantities of tin into the market, from some distant isles in the Atlantic, as gained those isles among the Grecians the general appellation of the Tin Islands; but they concealed from all the world the exact position of the isles. Pliny, plainly reciting

some account much older than himself, in a curious but unnoticed passage, observes—'The tin was called *cassiteron* by the Greeks, and fabulously narrated to be sought in islands of the Atlantic Sea, and to be brought to the seekers in wicker boats, sewed round with leather.' We thus catch the very idea that was first floating in writings, concerning the visits of the Cadizians to Sylley, and concerning the conveyance of the tin from the shores to the ships in boats of British fabric. All this was believed to be fabulous at the time, because of the strangeness of it. But the isles were known to be in the Atlantic. Yet where in the Atlantic was not known. This ocean, now the great medium of passage betwixt Europe, India, and America—now, therefore, the most frequented sea in the whole globe, was then a blank, a vacuum, a desert generally to the whole. Nor was concealment all the means used, by this Dutch kind of republican merchants, for keeping to themselves the whole trade in British tin. More effectually to preclude all rivals in it, with a truly Dutch spirit, they falsified geography itself, by giving such lying accounts of their position as imposed upon the world for three or four ages. Even to the days of Pliny, the isles were believed to lie opposite to the coast of Celtiberia, in Spain."

At what period the Phenicians first visited the Scilly Islands, it would certainly be gratifying to know; but it is almost in vain to inquire, since scarcely any two historians or antiquarians agree in their opinions respecting it. Mr. Whitaker intimates it as his opinion, that no trade was established in the Scilly Islands with any foreign nation, till about 500 years before Christ. Dr. Borlase fixes the period with confidence at 600 years; but considers it as not improbable that it may have been much earlier. Davies in his Celtic researches, refers us to a passage cited by Bochart, which reduces the period still nearer to the commencement of the Christian era. In this passage we are told, that "Hamilco, a Carthaginian general, the first of his name, had been sent, about the time of Darius Nothus, 420 years before Christ, by the senate of Carthage to discover the western shores and parts of Europe: that he successfully accomplished the voyage, and wrote a journal of it, which Festus Avienus, the author quoted, had seen; that in this journal the islands of Britain are mentioned by the name *Œstrymnides*." Different from all these, Mr. Polwhele, supported by the authority of Richard of Cirencester, carries back our views to 1000 years before Christ made his appearance in the flesh; the period in which Mr. Whitaker supposes these islands to have been first peopled from the continent.

It is however admitted by all, that the exact time when the Phenicians came, is involved in much uncertainty. Nor will any recurrence to authority remove the perplexity in which the fact itself is entangled. If we place the discovery of these

islands no higher than 600 years before Christ, and that the Phenicians had visited our shores at that time, if not long before, will hardly admit of any dispute, we shall find that they had the address to conceal a knowledge of their real situation from all the rival nations, no less than three hundred years. This will appear with the most indubitable evidence, when we proceed to consider the time in which the Greeks became their rivals and partners in trade.

The articles of traffic which the Phenicians imported into the Scilly Islands, and consequently into the western parts of Cornwall, consisted chiefly of salt, articles of brass, and pottery ware. In return for these they received the skins of beasts, both tame and wild, together with lead and tin; the last of which was to them an article of primary importance. We must not however, suppose that lead and skins were articles of indifference with them. All metals were sure to find a market, and it is not improbable that their skins included the wool of the British sheep, which could not but be of great value in the Phenician manufactures.

But before we can suppose this trade to have been thus reciprocally established, some time must have elapsed, and many voyages made, with comparatively small advantage on each side. It was not the work of a single voyage, to impart a mutual communication of their wants, and the various means of supplying them; to establish some medium of barter, to find suitable harbours, to fix the periodical return of the vessels, and to ensure a cargo on each arrival, with the least possible delay. The Phenician traders, in the meanwhile, must have found it necessary to consult with their partners in commerce at home, on the nature and extent of those foreign markets which would be open to their new merchandise, that the influx and consumption of their imports might preserve an equilibrium. But time and experience, which rarely fail to bring things to their proper level, finally instructed them how to surmount temporary inconveniences, and led the adventurers to establish a lucrative trade on a basis which excluded all rivals and competitors.

The advantages however, which the Phenicians derived from the lead and skins which they carried from this country, were only of a secondary nature. Their principal inducement for keeping up an intercourse with Britain, was the tin which the Scilly Islands afforded, and which they afterwards found was to be procured in still greater quantities on the coast of Cornwall. Of this trade Diodorus Siculus furnishes us with the following account:—"These Britons who live near the promontory Belerium, (the Land's End) live in a very hospitable and polite manner, which is owing to their intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare with much dexterity the tin which their country produceth. For though this metal is very precious, yet when it is first dug out of the mine, it is mixed

with earth, from which they separate it by melting and refining. When it is refined, they cast it into ingots, in the shape of cubes or dies, and then carry it into an adjacent island which is called Ictis. For when it is low water, the space between that island and the continent of Britain becomes dry land; and they carry great quantities of tin into it in their carts and waggons. Here the merchants buy it, and transport it to the coasts of Gaul; from whence they convey it overland on horses in about thirty days, to the mouth of the Rhone."

This metal, Dr. Borlase observes, on the authority of Pliny, was not only sent up the Mediterranean, but was exported as far as India itself, which purchased it with her diamonds and precious stones. Such an extensive trade required proportionable supplies; and, as we read of no tin mines worth notice, east of the Danmonii, all the Phenician trade for this metal must have been confined to that country now called by the two names of Devonshire and Cornwall, and the small islands adjacent to Cornwall, now the Scilly Islands. Among these, the islands were at first most productive, and therefore most famous in history; and from the tin they yielded they were called Cassiterides. Bochart intimates, that they were first so named by the Grecians from the Greek word *kassiteros*, which signifies tin; but Dr. Borlase thinks that it is more probable they received this name from the Phenicians themselves, because the islands were called Cassiterides long before the Grecians either traded to them, or even knew where they lay. This is founded upon an observation of Herodotus, who lived about 440 years before Christ, in which he declares, when speaking of the Cassiterides, from whence the tin came, that he knew not where these islands lay.

" Now," says Dr. Borlase, " with great deference to Bochart's judgment, let it be observed, that it is highly improbable the Greeks should give a name to islands they knew not where to find, and consequently had no communication with, but through the Phenicians. Solinus calls them *Insulæ Silurum*, or *Insula Silura*, of which the present name Scilly may seem to retain enough to justify him; but it is much to be suspected, whether the ancient geographers knew the real situation of the Silures, and whether the Scilly Islands were not mistaken for islands adjacent, and belonging to the true country of the Silures, or South Wales. However, if there be any truth in what Tacitus relates, ' that the Silures were opposite to Spain,' and if some of their inhabitants were like the Spaniards, it is not near so surprising, as that the inhabitants of South Wales should be so. The Phenician colony at Gades might probably send over some of their inhabitants to islands which afforded them so great a profit, in order the better to superintend and engross so profitable a commerce. Hence their descendants might retain, even to

the time of Tacitus, the swarthy complexion and curled hair of the people they were sprung from. Here we find a resemblance which has history to support it, and no solecism in geography to weaken or reject it."

From what nation the Scilly Islands derive their ancient name Cassiterides, we have very little interest in knowing. It is certain that they were considered as the principal source of tin; and unless Cornwall was connected with them in this general name, which is very probable, the changes which their surfaces must have undergone must be more considerable than many may be willing to allow.

SECTION III.

Observations on the probable manner in which the original Britons procured their Tin, and prepared it for a foreign market.

If we reflect on the various accounts in which we are told that the Phenician navigators first visited the Cornish shores, and compare these statements with the probable period in which these islands first received their inhabitants, we cannot but conclude, that the time during which they lay concealed from the rest of mankind, is involved in much uncertainty. From these uncertainties arises another doubt, respecting the age in which the ancient Britons began to turn their attention to the metallic substances of the earth. But as of this period we know nothing, so we are totally ignorant of the motives which led them to explore the bowels of the earth, and also of the uses to which they applied the metals they discovered, before the arrival of the Phenicians, and it will be a waste of time to urge inquiries about either.

Lucretius, whose highest ambition seems to consist in a total exclusion of a primary agent from all the works of nature, ascribes the first discovery of metals to the burning down of woods; the heat of the flames penetrating the earth, and causing the metals, which were dispersed in its veins, to flow into one body. Cadmus the Phenician, is by some said to have been the first who discovered gold; and others contend that it was first found by Thoas, in the mountains of Pangæus, in Thrace. But to such wild and fabulous opinions there is hardly any end.

It is however attested, on the credit of Aristotle, that some shepherds in Spain having set fire to certain woods, and heated the surface of the earth, the silver that was near began to melt; and the same author adds, that some short time afterward, an earthquake happening, disclosed a vast profusion of silver. This fact is attested by Strabo and Athenæus, who say that the mines of Andalusia were discovered by

this accident. Cinyra, it is said, was the first who found out copper mines in Cyprus, and the discovery of iron mines Hesiod ascribes to those in Crete, who were called Dactyli Idæi. And by some it has been said, that Mel, or Melec Carthus, the Phenician Hercules, who was the greatest navigator in the world, was the first who brought tin from the Cassiterides, or British Isles*, while others have as confidently ascribed this honour of first carrying tin from the Scilly Islands to Midacritus.†

That mines of considerable value have been occasionally discovered by mere accident, both in Europe and America, is too well attested to admit of a moment's doubt. Abbé Raynal says, that one of the richest mines in South America was discovered by an Indian, who on attempting to ascend a precipice, laid hold on a tuft of grass or weed to assist himself in his ascent; which giving way, disclosed beneath its roots a bed of silver ore, which arrested his attention by its singular appearance. Sometimes veins of ore have been discovered in the sides of cliffs which have been exposed to the action of the sea; and at other times, torrents of water which have issued from hills and mountains, have laid open in their descent such beds of ore as have enriched the neighbourhood. Sometimes a river in its passage, has fretted into gullies the soil over which it has run, and lodged in its bed a quantity of broken ore, which, on the subsidence of the torrent, has been found; and on other occasions, quarries, which have been laid open to raise stones for buildings, and even the wearing away of public roads, have led to the valuable discovery. It must be from causes analogous to these, that we must suppose the early inhabitants of these islands to have derived their first knowledge of those metals which have rendered this county and its appendages so conspicuous in the page of history.

To a people who had made such advancements in useful knowledge, as to find a habitation necessary to shelter them from the inclemencies of the seasons, the advantages to be derived from stone and timber must be exceedingly obvious. Loose stones that were scattered over the surface of the soil would naturally excite their first attention, and these could hardly fail to lead to others that were partly exposed, and yet partly buried. The removal of these must naturally lead to the discovery of others lying beneath the surface, and finally point out the native quarries in which the solid rock appeared. To procure fragments from these, where scattered stones were scarce, would naturally call forth their mental and muscular energies; and every one must perceive, that between the quarry and the

* Tin Trade of the Ancients, by Sir C. Hawkins, p. 23.

† Pryce's Mineralogy, p. 112.

mine the transition is at once obvious and easy. It seems plain, therefore, that the early inhabitants of these western parts might be easily led through imperceptible gradations, to search the bowels of the earth for metals, from such discoveries as mere accident might enable them to make.

But although it is certain that the ancient inhabitants of these western territories did draw tin from their mines, and although it is easy to conceive that they might have been induced to explore them from the causes that have been mentioned, it is still more probable that they were led to the dark recesses of metals by another process.

As the laws of nature act with general uniformity in every age, our present observations may lead us to mark the manner of their operations, and then analogy will be to us an unerring guide. In a country that is impregnated with tin, some has generally been found in the low grounds, in which it had been deposited by the floods and rains that brought it from the hills, and thus gathered it together in the rapidity of their descent. Some again has been found pulverized among the sands of the sea, having been originally washed either from the adjacent rocks, or separated from some veins (completely covered with water) by this restless agent. In Cornwall, tin has frequently been discovered under similar circumstances and in similar situations; and the same degress of ponderosity and colour which excite attention now, could not have been without their influence in those early periods of our history.

"Tin is also found among the slime and sands of rivers, (as in some creeks of Falmouth Harbour several lords of the soil have lately experienced to their advantage) washed down probably from the hills, and resting in such sheltered situations, that the sea has not power to carry it off. This was probably the first situation in which tin was discovered; for tin in the Chaldee signifies slime, mud, or dirt; and when the Phenicians came here, and saw this metal in its slimy bed, they called it the *mud* by way of eminence; and thence has the name Tin, (in Cornu-British Stean, in Latin Stannum) proceeded, and is still continued."*

As the tin ore on its discovery, must have been instantly found to be much heavier than any of the surrounding strata, those persons who first turned their attention towards it, would almost instinctively be led to examine the ground beneath the surface on which it appeared. And on finding a continuance of the ore until they discovered it resting on the solid rock, they would easily proceed to trace it through those vales in which the floods and torrents passed, even though no indications of tin should always guide them in their researches. It is this

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 164.

distribution of tin as deposited in vallies, that constitutes what is generally called *a stream work*. In these streams, as well as in loose and broken ground, to which other denominations may be properly given, we may reasonably suppose that the ancient Britons discovered a considerable portion of their tin. But besides a stream of tin ground thus distributed through the valley, a stream of water is always necessary to separate the ore from the surrounding rubbish, and it is probably from the stream of water constantly assisting the labourers in their work, as well as from the tin that is distributed through the vallies which they search, and which frequently lies at the bottom of the broken ground, that these stream works receive their denomination.

Another method of discovering tin, which was probably known to the original Britons, is that of finding it in shode pits. Dr. Pryce in his Mineralogy, defines shoding to be "the method of finding veins of tin, by digging small pits in order to trace out the lode of tin, by the scattering loose stones and fragments that were dispersed from them by the retiring waters of the Deluge." Our British ancestors on finding a few stones on the surface of the earth impregnated with tin, would easily be induced to hope, that by sinking some pits near the spot, more might be discovered; and in cases where success crowned their efforts, their views would as naturally be directed to the hills from the declivities of which these stones had probably been separated, by some violent concussion of nature. And if, on a minute examination of the texture and distinguishing properties of the stones found in the shode pits, they were led to compare them with the strata of the rocks on the adjacent hills, and on a comparison they were led to discover a similitude, the natural conclusion would be, that the stones found in the shode pits, were originally broken from this permanent bed. Hence the inference is obvious, that if the stones discovered were impregnated with tin, some lodes must exist in the hills from whence they were torn, containing this metal in much greater abundance. Here then we have a fair foundation laid for mining, without asking the aid of any other science than that which common sense and popular observation would supply. We may therefore learn from the whole, that, how much soever the modes of procuring tin in the present day may differ from one another, either in principle or practice, there is a natural connexion between them all; and that observation is the primitive foundation even of mining researches. The discovery of tin lodged in the bed of a river, leads to streaming; streaming leads to shoding, and shoding leads to the lode which is lodged in the bowels of the earth.

That the ancient Britons had acquired some knowledge in the art of mining, whatever tin they might have raised from their streams and shode pits, before the Romans discovered the Scilly Islands, may be gathered from the authority both of

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. These authors inform us, that after many efforts of the Romans to discover the Cassiterides, Publius Crassus was successful; where he found that "the natives had mines which were not very deep." These mines he narrowly inspected, and conceiving with all the sagacity of a Roman, that they might be worked to a more considerable depth, instructed them how to turn them to a greater advantage. It appears also, that he instructed them in the nature of commerce, and enlarged their views of geography, and knowledge of navigation; but whether the information which he imparted, arose from a desire to enlighten the natives in commerce and navigation, or only to tear from the Phenicians and Greeks a lucrative trade, of which they had held the exclusive possession for several centuries, these historians have not informed us.

Strabo says, that "After the Romans had discovered a passage to these islands, Publius Crassus having sailed thither, and seen them work their mines, which were not very deep, and that the people loved peace, and at their leisure navigation also, instructed them to carry on this trade to better advantage than they had done before: though the sea they had to cross was wider than betwixt it and Britain." By this passage, says Dr. Borlase, if I understand him rightly, he intimates, "that before that time the Phenicians and Greeks had engrossed the sole benefit of buying and exporting their tin, and that Publius Crassus seeing their mines shallow, taught them how to pursue the ore to a greater depth; and finding the inhabitants peaceably disposed with regard to their neighbours, and therefore the fitter for commerce, and very apt at navigation, and therefore able themselves to carry the product of their country to market, encouraged them to enter upon this gainful trade, and depend no longer on foreign merchants and shipping, although it was somewhat farther for them to sail to the ports of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, than to the coasts of Britain, which had till then been their longest voyage."*

The arrival of Publius Crassus introduced an important era in the commercial and maritime knowledge of the natives. This may be gathered from the events which followed, when the advice of Crassus was adopted, as will appear hereafter; but this is an event which must not be anticipated in this necessary digression, which was only introduced to prove that tin was drawn from the mines, either of Scilly or Cornwall, perhaps from both, before the Romans had imprinted their footsteps on the sands of our Cornish shores.

The manner in which the ancient Britons procured their tin from mines, assuredly before the time of the Romans, and probably before the Phenicians visited these coasts, was not by sinking perpendicular shafts or pits through the

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 74.

solid earth upon the lode, for this seems to have been introduced by Crassus, and, with continued improvements has been practised from that period even to the present day. The method adopted by them rather appears to have been that of laying open the ground from the surface of the higher lands, whenever they discovered a vein of ore, and thus pursuing it through this aperture to an indefinite length and depth, as the vein which they pursued directed, or as its riches, the solidity of the adjacent rocks, and their abilities to persevere justified their proceeding, or commanded them to desist. Of this mode of mining, which appears to be the earliest that was ever practised in these islands, many vestiges still remain visible. These fissures or ravines, which are still discoverable, are almost universally denominated *koffens*, *coffens*, or *goffens*. "There are several such in the parish of St. Just in Cornwall, where they are called koffens, which shew that the more ancient way of mining was to search for metals in the same way as we at present raise stones out of our quarries, which, as the metals bear no proportion to the strata of stone in which they lie, must have been very tedious and expensive."*

In several other places in Cornwall, besides St. Just, these ancient gullies are to be found; which without all doubt are the koffens in which the ancient Britons procured their tin. These koffens carry with them all the evidence that can be expected of their having been produced by artificial violence. On a hill near a place called Vounder, in the parish of St. Blazey, one of these koffens appear; but respecting the occasion of its being made, no memorials remain in the traditions of the neighbourhood. Towards the summit of the hill occasioned by the rising of the ground, it is very deep, though not very wide, in any part. In general the sides of this defile are overgrown with bushes and brambles; and with trees that appear to be aged, and stunted in their growth, so that the bottom is not easily discernible, and the projecting rocks are partly concealed from observation. But so far as these rocks are discoverable, they appear to be exceedingly hard, and consequently the formation of this koffen must have been a work of considerable labour, especially with such tools as we may presume they were enabled to invent and procure.

With the nature of their most ancient tools we have but little acquaintance. Those which have reached the notice of the present generation, are generally understood to be of a much later date, and to have been used exclusively in the stream works, or in preparing for a foreign market, or for use, such tin as had been otherwise procured from the koffens. Carew, speaking of the ancient

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 43.

stream works, and of the opinions entertained by the Cornish tinners respecting them, observes as follows:—"They maintain these works to have been very ancient, and first wrought by the Jews, with pick-axes of holm, box, and hartshorn; they prove this by the name of those places yet enduring; to wit, *Attall Saracen*, in English, the Jews' Offcast: and by those tools daily found among the rubble of such works. And it may well be, that as acorns made good bread before Ceres taught the use of corn; and sharp stones served the Indians for knives until the Spaniards brought them iron; so in the infancy of knowledge, these poor instruments, for want of better did supply a turn."

That these feeble tools might have been used in breaking up such strata as were dislodged from the solid earth by the Deluge, we can in some measure conceive, although the supposition is attended with some considerable difficulties. But of this fact, since the introduction of iron among us, and since the manner in which the ancient tools were used is lost, we can hardly consider ourselves competent to judge. And consequently, we are still less able to discover the methods which the ancient Britons made use of to split their rocks, and to excavate the koffens, which still remain as memorials of their strength, ingenuity, and perseverance.

The tin stuff being thus procured, it was first exposed to a running stream, placed under proper management, in such a manner that the earth and sand, with which the ore was mixed in its natural state, might be carried away with the action of the water; so that nothing but pure tin, or tin approaching towards purity, might be left behind. This, whenever they found it necessary, they again took up, and caused the smaller parts to pass through a kind of basket work, by which the coarse was separated from the fine, in a manner that in its effects strongly resembled those produced by our modern searces or sieves, which are still used for similar purposes. The pebbles and small fragments of rock, in which the ore was blended with the strata, they contrived to pulverize, by a simple machine, which corresponded with the tools that supplied their necessities on other occasions. Of this simple machine Mr. Troutbeck gives the following description, from the remains of one still visible in one of the Scilly Islands:—

"About a quarter of a mile west south west of the Blockhouse, upon the top of a hill, is a natural rock, about nine inches above the surface of the ground, with a round hole in its centre eight inches in diameter, supposed for an upright post to work round in; and at the distance of two feet from this hole in the centre, is a gutter cut round in the rock, out of the solid stone, fourteen inches wide, and nearly a foot deep, wherein a round stone, four feet in diameter, and nine inches thick, did go round upon its edge, like a tanner's bark-mill, which is worked by a horse; the round stone has a round hole through its centre, about eight inches in

diameter. This is supposed to have been a mill for pulverizing the tin ore in ancient times, and worked either by men or a horse, before stamping-mills were known of the present construction. Besides, there are no streams of water in Scilly sufficient to work such engines, so the tin ore must have been pulverized some other way in Scilly, than that which is practised now in Cornwall, where they have streams of water to work the stamping-mills."* The materials thus pulverized, and again committed to the water to undergo the same operation that has been already described, must have enabled the workmen to extract the ore, to bring it to a state of purity, and to prepare it for another process that should transform the ore into metal, and complete it for a foreign market.

The manner in which the ancient Britons caused their ores to pass through the fire, we might probably have known with exactness, if a valuable work of Polybius, which is mentioned by Strabo, had not been lost. In this book, Polybius is said to have given in detail, the manner in which the natives prepared their tin for the furnace, and probably to have described the fiery process by which it was ultimately finished. But unfortunately this work of Polybius has fallen a victim to time or accident, and is now irrecoverably gone. The principal authority that remains respecting the preparation of the tin by fire, is Diodorus Siculus; and he rather states the fact than defines the manner. He only tells us in general terms, that "the tinners of these regions manufacture their tin by working the grounds which produce it, with great art. For though the land is rocky, it hath soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tinners find the treasure, extract, melt, and purify it, then shaping it by moulds into a kind of cubical figure."

Of the particular quality of this ancient tin, which the Phenician traders carried to the continent, no accurate judgment can be formed, since none can be said to have reached the present age, in its pure and unmixed state. The most ancient pieces of this metal seem to be those mentioned by Dr. Borlase, in his Natural History, which were found in St. Austell Moor, but in what year he does not say. Neither does he inform us whether they were preserved as curiosities in any cabinet, or thrown into the general mass of the same metal. His words are as follow:—

"In one of the workings here, were lately found, about eight feet under the surface, two slabs, or small blocks of melted tin, of about twenty-eight pounds weight each, of a shape very different from that which for many years it has obtained in Cornwall; and as they have no stamp on them, probably as old as when the Jews had engrossed the tin manufacture, in the time of king John.

* Troutbeck's Survey of the Scilly Islands, pp. 133, 134.

They have semicircular handles or loops to them, as if to sling and carry them more conveniently on horseback. They are much corroded by the sharp waters in which they have lain, a kind of rust or scurf-like incrustation enclosing the tin. Probably there were some Jewish melting-houses near the place, and when these houses were plundered and destroyed, some of the blocks remained in the rubbish, and by the floods which this valley is subject to, washed downwards, and covered where they were found.

" In the stream-works in St. Stephens in Branwell, they also find now and then some small lumps of melted tin, two inches square and under. What I have seen of this, cuts with difficulty, and is more harsh and gritty than the common melted tin; owing to this, perhaps, that the ancient melters had not then discovered how to flux their tin into the purity and toughness of the present age. These nodules I look upon also as fragments of melted tin, scattered from the Jewish melting-houses."

Dr. Pryce, who in describing the visits of the Phenician merchants, blends together the Scilly Islands and the western parts of Cornwall, argues, that " We are strongly induced to believe, that the mineral ore of tin was anciently procured within the four western hundreds, and there smelted into white tin, by charcoal fires; as the want of a proper bitumen in those days, and the entire demolition of all the woods near the tin mines, very plainly evince."

From this collection of facts, circumstances, and authorities, we may reasonably infer, that the natives of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles soon discovered the art of bringing their ore into a state of fusion, and when brought into this state, it was not difficult for them to purify it from its natural dross. And having once discovered the possibility of its fusion, however rude their first attempts might have been, it was easy for them to make improvements, and to carry their manufacture to the utmost height that the constant demand, the state of the market, and the chemical knowledge of mankind required. In all these respects conjecture is demonstrated by fact. Cornwall and the Scilly Islands began, many centuries before Christ, to supply the world with tin; and the fame of its metals has dignified its name in the pages of ancient history. From that period to the present, through a long series of centuries, its fame has remained undiminished. Its unrivalled pre-eminence still continues. The revolutions of its civil government have not been able to suppress the enterprising genius of its sons, any more than the demands of the world for its treasures for nearly thirty centuries have been able to exhaust its mines.

SECTION IV.

Probable Sources from which the Ancient Britons procured their Tin. Many Vestiges of ancient Tin Works still visible in the Scilly Islands.

It is a question which has long been agitated and variously decided, whether the ancient Britons, when visited by the Phenicians, drew the principal part of their tin from the mines of Cornwall, or from those of the Scilly Islands. The islands to which the name Cassiterides was chiefly applied, make the principal, if not the only appearance in history, of yielding those metals for which they have been rendered so famous. And if our views were alone directed to the pages of historians, and our judgments formed by their language, we should not hesitate to declare that these alone produced the tin which was exported to foreign parts. But when from the language of historians we turn to an examination of the islands, when we measure their extent, and reflect on the scanty memorials of ancient tin-works which are now visible, and compare these with the vast quantities of tin with which the continent was supplied, we begin to doubt how far the Scilly Islands are exclusively entitled to those honours which they have been accustomed to claim. To increase these doubts, the proximity of Cornwall, the appearance of its western shores, the vestiges of many ancient tin-works still visible, and the uncertainty to what extent of territory the term Cassiterides was applied, have all conspired; and the result is, that the question remains undecided.

It is argued by Dr. Pryce, that "The vestigia of any tin-lodes, mines, or workings, in the islands of Scilly, are insufficient to convince us that they only gave this beautiful metal to the world. The remains of any such workings are scarcely discernible; for there is but one place that exhibits even an imperfect appearance of a mine; and so necessary an appendage to a mine, as an adit to unwater the workings, is not to be seen in all the islands. If, in those days the metal was produced from stream or shode stones only, we must undoubtedly have discovered in latter times, those lodes or veins from whence they were dismembered by the Deluge. They must have been wrought for tin since the earlier ages, and some remains of such lodes would now be visible on the sea coasts or cliffs, if many such had ever been: we are therefore strongly induced to believe, that the mineral ore of tin was anciently procured within the four western hundreds of Cornwall. Besides, unless we make great allowances indeed for the encroachments of the ocean since those early ages, the islands of Scilly are merely in their present state a cluster of barren rocks, the principal of them measuring but three

miles long and wide. Whence should all this tin arise? Likewise the state of population then, could not admit of emigrations from the insular continent for digging, raising and smelting a metal, which the mother island produced in such vast profusion from her own bowels."*

The preceding paragraph contains in miniature the substance of those arguments which are urged against the exclusive claims of Scilly, to those extensive mines which supplied the Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans, and through them the whole world with tin. That Dr. Pryce's arguments in favour of Cornwall are conclusive, few can doubt; but it will not follow, when the mines of Cornwall are permitted to claim a share in the ancient trade, that the sources of the Scilly Islands were so diminutive and contemptible as he has represented them. Neither does it appear that the vestiges of the ancient workings are so meagre and solitary as Dr. Pryce would induce us to believe.

According to Dr. Borlase, there is on Dolphin Downs, a large opening made in the ground, and dug about the depth of a common stone-quarry, and in the same shape; and from the similarity in appearance which this bears to several in Cornwall, he concludes it to be a koffen, in which the ancients sought for tin. "A little further we found a row of shallow tin-pits, none appearing to be more than four fathoms deep, most of them no deeper than what tinners call *costean shafts*, which are only six or eight feet perpendicular; to the west end of these pits there is the mouth of the drain or adit. This course of tin bears east and west, as our lodes or tin-veins do in Cornwall."† It appears from this statement of Dr. Borlase, that a drain or adit was to be found to unwater the workings, although Dr. Pryce was not so fortunate as to notice it. And it furthermore appears, from the perpendicular shafts which were discovered, although "none were more than four or five fathoms deep," that the natives of these islands had improved by the advice of Publius Crassus, and given to their mining genius that direction which it still continues to follow.

But this is not the only evidence which Dr. Borlase bears in favour of the mines and metals of the Scilly Islands. "In the cliffs of Cornwall you cannot walk on the sea shore without perceiving a number of veins of one sort or other, in the clay, rubble, or rock, wherever you pass; but here it is generally one continued rock, and the interstices so close that scarce a knife can get between. I saw one vein at Trescaw; it might be about two feet wide, on a cliff near a place called the Gunwell; there was a very narrow one on the same island under Oliver's Battery; the former has been worked for tin, and has several shafts and barrows

* Pryce's Mineralogy, p. iv.

† Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 45.

on the course of it, the only ones in all Scilly; the other we could perceive no metal in. I saw two veins about two inches wide, running through the rocks on the back of the pier at St. Mary's. A gentleman with me thought he found one vein in Porthmellyn Cove; and these are all we could discover, though our attention that way seldom left us."*

Besides the tin-mines, or remains of them, which Dr. Borlase discovered, he candidly acknowledges that "there may be tin-veins in those cliffs which we did not visit, although the inhabitants, upon inquiry, could not recollect that they contained any thing of the kind." The presumption that tin-veins might be found in other cliffs, is strongly sanctioned by the name *Guêl Hill*, in the island of Brehar, as the name *Guêl* or *Huel* signifies in Cornish a working for tin." Of one instance he received positive information, and many more may probably exist, of which no intimation is given. "I have been lately informed, that under one of the cliffs of Annet, there is a lode in which there is the appearance of tin, and that it looks as if it had been worked."†

It appears from the testimony of Dr. Borlase, that one mine, one adit, and several lodes, are still visible in the Scilly Islands; and although he had not an opportunity of discovering more, because he did not fully explore the islands, he has made ample room for the possibility of their existence in many other parts, and thrown out the hint to excite the attention of others. These hints have been adopted and followed since the days of Dr. Borlase, with so much success, that instead of finding only a solitary tin-work, and this almost of doubtful character, we have an accumulation of facts, which prove the ancient workings to have been far more extensive, than till of late years we have been taught to believe, or than prejudice even in the present day seems willing to allow.

"Dr. Borlase," says Mr. Whitaker, "was a mere visitor to the isles, and consequently could not be expected to collect full information upon the point. But we have another writer, (Mr. Troutbeck) a resident upon the isles for years, no antiquary indeed, no scholar, but, what is better for our present purpose, an observer of what he saw, and a recorder of what he heard. This author has noted many mines still existing in remains upon the isles, of which Dr. Borlase knew nothing. In St. Mary's, he tells us, 'at a little distance from the entrance of the garrison, on the outside of the lines, is an old tin-pit, wherein some miners were lately employed; but as they could not raise a sufficient quantity to defray the expence, they were discharged.' In the very same island, 'on the shore of Toll's Porth, close by a breast-work, are two old tin-pits, partly filled up, one of which is

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 72. † Ibid. p. 73.

now about six feet deep, and near four feet square.' In St. Martin's isle, 'a little to the west of Burnt Hill, is Culver Hole, supposed to have been an old tin-work.' In White Island, 'on the east side, a cavern goes in under ground so far, that no person now living ever saw the farther end of it. I heard a custom-house officer say, that he went in so far in a direct line, in search of run goods, that he could not see light from the entrance, and that he was afraid to go further in, lest he should meet with water or some other danger; it is supposed to have been an old tin-work; its direction is from east to west.' In Tresco island, 'on the north side of Tregarthen Hill, is an old tin-work, close to which is a subterraneous cavern called Piper's Hole,' which in all probability was another, if not a branch of the same. 'This cavern goes in about sixty fathoms under the hill, from the sea shore. In the middle of this cavern is a pool of fresh water, about twenty fathoms over, and three fathoms deep. This cavern is from ten to twenty feet wide, and about the like in height.' This cavern, Mr. Whitaker supposes to have been an ancient koffen, now filled with water. 'On the north-west side of Tregarthen Hill is the head of a pond, which is supposed to have been for washing tin ore in ancient times."

But these are not the only vestiges of ancient tin-works which the Scilly Islands produce. The same author has noticed several others, which carry with them a species of evidence of the most decisive nature; and when taken in connexion with the instances already given, compel us to wonder why Dr. Pryce could so hastily assert that "the remains of such workings are scarcely discernible, and that an adit to unwater the mine is not to be seen in all the islands."

"On the most northern extremity of Tresco Island, is a cavern under ground, about twelve feet in height to the roof, and about three feet wide, and which runs under ground about seventy feet. Near this is another cavern about twenty feet high, which goes under ground about sixty fathoms, and about ten feet wide; these caverns are supposed to be old tin-works. And at the east side of the entrance of New Grimsby Harbour is a cavern, that goes east north east, about twenty fathoms under ground, supposed to be an old tin-work."

These instances, Mr. Whitaker thinks, serve happily to point out to us another cavern, that has all the appearance of a tin-work, yet has never been supposed one; this is a large subterraneous cavern in the island of St. Mary's, which, like that already mentioned in Tresco, is also called Piper's Hole. "Going in at the orifice, this cavern is about a man's height, and of as much space in its breadth; but farther in it grows narrower and lower. Strange stories have been related of this place; of men going in so far that they never returned; and of dogs that have

entered here and gone under ground so far as the island of Tresco, where, at another orifice of the same name, upwards of four miles distant, they have come out again with most of their hair off." "The remains of another tin-work appear at Tresco, about a furlong north of the old castle."

Mr. Troutbeck gives other instances of vestiges of long deserted tin-works, all uniting from their appearance and situation, to inform us that they are very ancient. And little doubt can remain, that they carry back our views to those distant ages when the Cassiterides received their celebrity from foreign nations, for the ample supplies of tin which they afforded. But numerous as the remains of the ancient tin-works are in the Scilly Islands, even to the present day, and admitting every cavern which Mr. Troutbeck has mentioned, and to which he has alluded, to belong to the ancient mines, yet we can hardly suppose it credible, that these could have been sufficient to yield all the tin which the Phenicians, and afterwards their partners, rivals, and successors, the Greeks and Romans, must have carried from our shores. To account for this quantity, we must have recourse to the mines of Cornwall, and look beneath the waves which now surround the Scilly Islands, for lands which once repelled the restless ocean, but are now buried for ever in the deep.

That tin was sought for in the county of Cornwall, at a very early period, no doubt can be entertained. The ancient tools which have been discovered, and already noticed in the preceding section, appear as convincing evidences in favour of this fact. Mr. Whitaker says, "It was certainly sought by mining at a period just like this, when the Britons had not yet learned the use of the mining instruments from the Romans." The Romans on their arrival, assisted the natives to procure tin, and Leland informs us, that some memorials of this warlike nation, spear-heads, axes, and swords, have been discovered in the western parts.

As the tin-works of Cornwall were at first only auxiliaries to those of Scilly, there can be little doubt that "these works naturally began at the points nearest to Sylley, and advanced eastward. They had then proceeded, under the Romans, as far as the Mount; proceeded afterwards, but still under the Romans probably, to the eastward of the county; and concluded their march at last, yet probably under the Romans still, by visiting the west of Devonshire. The tin mines of Cornwall were assuredly worked with more vigour, as they would certainly be worked with more wisdom by the Romans, than they ever were before the present century."*

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, p. 66.

Consonant to this probable hypothesis of Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Polwhele states it as a fact, that "there are the clearest vestiges of ancient tin-works in various parts of Danmonium. To say nothing of Cornwall, there are numberless stream works on Dartmoor, and in its vicinities, which have lain forsaken for ages. In the parishes of Manaton, Kingsteignton, and Teigngrace, are many old tin-works of this kind, which the inhabitants attributed to that period when wolves and winged serpents frequented the hills and vallies. The Bovey-heath-field hath been worked in the same manner. And indeed all the vallies from the Heath-field to Dartmoor, bear the traces of shoding and streaming, which I doubt not was either British or Phenician. A Phenician coin was found at Teignmouth a few years since."*

From these mines, both of Devon and Cornwall, we cannot but suppose that a considerable quantity of tin was drawn by the Romans, as soon as they had obtained a firm establishment among our British ancestors. And even prior to their time, no doubt can be entertained, that the stream-works and shode-pits were rendered highly productive, although we can hardly avoid concluding, that the islands of Scilly continued primarily to afford the largest and most permanent supply. But since the vestiges of these ancient tin-works, though numerous throughout the islands, can hardly be conceived sufficient to furnish the quantities that were exported, and that immortalized their name in the annals of antiquity, we must seek in the submersion of some adjacent lands, the solution of a difficulty which is otherwise insuperable.

But it is not merely to give solution to a difficulty, nor to support an hypothesis, that we have recourse to the subsidence of the land in the vicinity of the Scilly Islands. The direct evidence in favour of this phenomenon, is both striking and awful. It is recorded in the pages both of our ancient and modern histories; and if the declarations of eye-witnesses may be deemed credible, it furnishes the most indubitable marks of certainty, by causing its mournful relics to make an appeal to the testimony of our senses. This fact may serve to inform us, why the surviving memorials of the Phenicians are so scanty. As they were traders, it was natural for them to form establishments near the shores which their ships frequented, and in the vicinity of those mines from which they drew their chief supplies of tin. And consequently, if these lands which were formerly on the margin of the waves have actually disappeared, the memorials of Phenician art which they once supported, must have sunk into one common grave; and have left the islands, and

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 110.

even the shores of Cornwall in the vicinity of Mount's Bay, as destitute of remains, as the present islands of Scilly are devoid of proof, that they ever furnished a sufficient quantity of tin to render their name famous in the records of antiquity. But that such a subsidence of the land, or encroachment of the sea, as has buried a considerable portion of territory has taken place, will appear evident from the following section.

SECTION V.

That a Submersion of Land has taken place in the Scilly Islands, which has probably buried many ancient Tin-works, and many Phenician remains.

It is not to be doubted that many antiquities of a very ancient date still remain on the Scilly Islands. But all these antiquities are of the rudest Druid times; and if they indicate customs that have been borrowed from the oriental traders, they must have been borrowed from their most ancient and simple rites. "I was not without hopes," says Dr. Borlase, "of finding old towns, old castles, perhaps inscriptions, and works of grandeur; but there is nothing of this kind; the inhabitants are all new comers; not one old habitation, nor any remains of Phenician or Grecian art in the ports, castles, towns, temples or sepulchres. We are not to think however, but that Scilly was really inhabited, and as frequently resorted to anciently, as the old historians relate. All the islands, by the remains of hedges, walls, and houses, contiguous to each other, and a number of sepulchral barrows, shew that they have been fully cultivated and inhabited.

"That these islands were inhabited by the Britons, is past all doubt, not only from their neighbourhood to Britain, but from the Druid monuments, the several rude pillars, circles of stones erect, kistvaens without number, rock basons and tolmens, all monuments common in Cornwall and Wales, equal evidences of the antiquity, religion and original of the old inhabitants; they have also many British names at present for their little islands, tenements, karns, and creeks, and more doubtless have been forgotten or jostled out by modern ones.

"How came these inhabitants then, it may be asked, to vanish so, as that the present have no pretensions to any affinity, or connexion of any kind, either in blood, language, or customs? How came they to disappear, and leave so few traces of trade, plenty, and arts, and no posterity that we can hear of, behind them?

"Two causes of the extinction of the old inhabitants, their habitations, and works of peace, war, and religion, occur to me; the gradual advances of the sea,

and the sudden submersion of the land. The sea is perpetually preying upon these little islands, and leaves nothing where it can reach, but the skeleton, the bared rock."*

From the same author we learn, that there are many hedges, or the remains of them, in the island of Samson, descending from the hill, and running many feet under the level of the sea towards Trescaw. The flats or low grounds which lie between Trescaw, Samson, and Brehar, are dry at low water when it is spring tide, "so that men pass from one to another, over banks of sand, where hedges and ruins are frequently discovered upon the shifting of the sands, upon which at full sea there are ten or twelve feet of water. These are certain evidences that the islands just mentioned, were once one continued tract of land, divided into fields, and cultivated even in those low parts, which are now overrun with the sea and sand."†

That many islands which are now detached, were once united together by lands which have disappeared, is clearly attested by the voice of ancient history. "The islands of Cassiterides," says Strabo, "are *ten* in number, close to one another; one of them is desert and unpeopled, the rest are inhabited." But see how the sea has multiplied these islands; there are now reckoned more than *an hundred and forty!* into so many fragments are they divided.

"The continual advances which the sea makes upon the land at present, are plain to all people of observation; and within these last thirty years have been considerable. I was shewn a passage which the sea has made within these seven years, through the sand-bank that fences the Abbey Pond, by which breach upon the first high tide and violent storm at east, or east south east, one may venture to prophesy, that this still, and now beautiful pool of fresh water, will become a branch of the sea, and consequently exposed to all the rage of tide and storm. What we see happening every day, may assure us of what has happened in former times; and from the banks of sand, and the low lands giving way to the sea, and the breaches becoming still more open and irremediable, it appears that there has been a gradual declension and diminution of the solids, and as gradually a progressive ascendancy of the fluids for many ages."‡

The ruins and hedges which are now frequently discoverable on the shifting of the sands, in the friths between the islands, and which at high water have the summits buried full ten feet, can hardly be supposed to have been originally less than six feet above high water level. If this were not the case, we can hardly conceive how the lands which these hedges enclosed could be sufficiently dry to

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 87. † Ibid. p. 63. ‡ Ibid. p. 89.

become arable, and to afford pasture; and without this the hedges could be of no service. But if we admit that these hedges were once six feet above, and now actually find them to be ten feet below high water mark, we perceive no less than sixteen feet difference between their ancient and their present level. The areas which they enclosed must have suffered in the same proportion.

Nor are these phenomena to be found in single and solitary instances only. Evidences tending either directly or indirectly to authenticate the mournful catastrophe, arise from various quarters. On the isle of Annet, there are large stones with rock basons on them, which are now covered with every tide. These basons, whether we view them as the production of nature or art, must once have occupied a more elevated situation. The rain descending from heaven could never have fretted out the excavations in these rocks, in the places where they are; and art would have chosen another station to display its powers.

In the island of St. Mary's, there is, Dr. Borlase observes, "a straight-lined ridge like a causeway running across Old Town Creek, which is now never seen above water." This, Mr. Whitaker says, is on the "southern shore of St. Mary's." And Mr. Troutbeck informs us, that "In the middle of Crow Sound, on the north of the same island, a fine regular pavement of large flat stones is seen, about eight feet under low water at spring tides." On comparing these two statements together, Mr. Whitaker asks, "Are these one and the same, or are they different as to their positions? Either way, the Romans appear to have carried their roads with their conquests, over the isles, as well as the continent of Cornwall."

That there were tin-mines in these islands some hundreds of years before Christ, through the produce of which the continent derived a considerable portion of its supply of tin, cannot for a moment be doubted. But these mines must have disappeared; for those of which the vestiges still remain, are by no means sufficient to account for the quantity which these islands must have furnished. "What then is become of these lands, houses, and mines?"

"To account for these alterations, the gradual advances and slow depredations of the sea will not suffice; we must therefore either allow that these lands, since they were cultivated and built upon, have sunk so much lower than they were before, or also we must allow, that since these lands were fenced in and cultivated, and the houses built and other works raised, which are now under water, the whole ocean has been raised as to its surface sixteen feet and more in perpendicular height; which latter supposition will appear to the learned without doubt much the harder of the two. I conclude therefore, that these islands have undergone some great catastrophe; and besides the apparent diminution of their islets by sea and tempest, must have suffered greatly by a subsidence of the land, (the common

consequence of earthquakes) attended by a sudden inundation in those parts where the above-mentioned ruins, fences, mines, and other things of which we have no vestiges now remaining, formerly stood. This inundation probably destroyed many of the ancient inhabitants, and so terrified those who survived, and had wherewithal to support themselves elsewhere, that they forsook these islands; by which means the people who were the aborigines, and corresponded so long with the Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans, were reduced to the last gasp. The few poor remains of the desolation might soon lose sight of their ancient prosperity and eminence, by their necessary attention to food and raiment; no easy acquisitions, when their low lands, ports and towns were overwhelmed by the sea."*

How far the Scilly Islands extended themselves before this terrible inundation, or in what direction the land spread its ample shores, we have no means of determining with accuracy. The ranges of rocks and shoals which lie around the present existing islands, may serve to give us some direction; and from these we learn, that the land extended to the vicinity of Cornwall; but we have little or no reason to believe that these lands were ever in contact with one another. That these Scilly Islands were always separated from Cornwall by the sea, is plain from a passage of Strabo, cited in the beginning of this section. But their present number, when compared with their number then, informs us, that some astonishing revolution must have taken place since the days of Strabo, to transform ten islands into one hundred and forty.

Mr. Whitaker however, in adverting to this disastrous event, considers the Scilly Islands in one collective view, and speaks of them as primarily constituting only one isle. And under this idea he proceeds to give in detail, the probable extent of territory which was comprehended under this denomination; and from hence infers the probable amount of that loss, which these western lands have sustained. But his statement shall appear in his own language.

" This isle ranged then all under the eye from the high grounds of the Land's End, much lower than these grounds, extending from that prominence on the east, to the rock on the south-west, about thirty miles in length. ' There is,' cries Mr. Troutbeck, settling what none of our maps, none of our charts, none of our histories settles, ' a very bad range of rocks, that lies between Scilly and the Land's End, about three leagues east north east from St. Martin's Head,' which head, as the author says in another place, ' bears due east, about ten leagues distant' from the Land's End, and so seven leagues west of the Land's End themselves, ' called the Seven Stones, very dangerous to shipping coming from

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 91.

abroad, as well as for coasting vessels.' Accordingly we find His Majesty's sloop the Lizard, was lost upon the Seven Stones in February 1747, and all her crew drowned. Others have been equally lost.' But, as the author adds, in direct conformity to what we have heard from Dr. Musgrave before, 'this place is good for fishing, and is frequented by the Scilly fishermen in summer.' And just nine furlongs from the Land's End, a little south of the west, is another range of rocks, that is denominated the Longships, that extends in a line obliquely abreast of the Land's End, that in 1786 had a Swedish ship striking upon them, that have assuredly had many others before or since, but have very lately been crowned with a lighthouse upon the largest of them, a tall round big rock in the middle of them.

"The isle then appears to have been divided from Cornwall, by a channel somewhat more than one mile wide, and stretching from the Land's End to the Longships, but narrowed more than a third of this breadth, by a shoal on the east of the Longships, that is called Kettle Bottom, from its form, and has only one fathom of water upon its northern end, with two fathoms on its southern. Such is, such was, the Frith of Solinus; narrow indeed, and therefore turbulent, yet deep enough at present to afford a free passage to any vessel that draws not more than twelve fathoms. But the isle was terminated on the south-west by lofty hills, terminated on the north-west by hills not so lofty, yet tall; one in the middle particularly tall, and having a plain extended between both.

"In this plain, and about two-thirds of the distance from that end of it, appears to have been a town, denominated by the natives of the Land's End, those best repositories of such a tradition concerning such an object, the *City of Lions;* a *Lugdunum*, or *Lyons*, probably, in Silura, as in Gaul, so named from its position on a knoll by the water, and thus giving the popular title of *Lyonois* in Gaul, of *Lionesse* in Silura, to the region itself. The long plain of the isle was overflowed at once; and nothing remained rising above the surface of the sea, except the mountains to the south-west, or the hills to the north-east. These still reared their heads over the deluge around them; those in the shape of isles, but these in the form of rocks. And the sea, which is said to be forty fathoms in depth at the Longships, is only twenty at the very side of this drowned isle, and not more than eight over the plain of the isle itself. Even so, the sea must have risen at this very extraordinary revolution in the world of waters, not less than ten or twelve fathoms in perpendicular height; as we must allow the land an altitude before of two or four, to resist the violence, and to check the overflow of the common tides of the Atlantic.

"But what is a very remarkable coincidence in fact, though it has never been remarked before, the half moon of Mount's Bay was first formed at the very period when the plain of Silura was covered with the ocean. A tradition prevailed in the parish of Paul, during the days of Camden, that there the ocean broke in with a violent course, into Mount's Bay, 'and drowned the lands in it.' Worcestre also has united with Leland before, to assure us, that the Mount once stood five or six miles from the sea. The bay was consequently all dry land before, a plain of five or six miles, running down to the margin of the sea, there guarded probably by a ridge of land from it, but opening at the western end to the violent pressure of the waves, so suffering the admitted ocean to exert its violence, particularly upon the western side of the plain, and thus making Gwavas Lake the deepest part of the bay at present. This lake was evidently an house and estate in the parish of Paul before, as we find one house in Sithney denominated Gwavas, as we find another near it denominated Trewavas, and as we find a rock on the shore of this lake, denominated Carn Gwavas at present; because the lake extends along the shore of Paul only, from Newlyn to Mousehole; and the sea still pays what the land once paid, tythes to the parish of Paul.

"Worcestre accordingly assures us himself, with a comprehensiveness which is very useful on the subject, that 'there was as well wood-land, as meadow-land, and tillage-land, between the said Mount and the isles of Syllye, and *a hundred and forty parish churches were buried in the water betwixt this Mount and Syllye.*' The whole extent of Mount's Bay, thus appears to have been before, like the length of Silura, a plain formed into one or more parishes, decorated with one or more parish churches, and laid out in meadows, corn-fields, or woods. The parish churches between the Mount and Sylley, could be only those of Sylley, and those of the Mount; the firm ground at the Land's End being incapable of yielding to the ocean, and leaving only the two extremities of the line to answer for the whole. Even thus the number of parish churches lost, is so astonishingly great, as to baffle the power of evidence, to preclude the possibility of conviction. I therefore take upon me to reduce the number from one hundred and forty to forty; to suppose a mistake, very easy to be committed in numerical figures, to cut off what any dash of the pen might casually have created, the first figure, and so bring the enormous amount of the whole within the compass of credibility.

"Yet however inclined we may be to deduct from the amount, in order to reconcile the general fact to our reason, we must see enough of evidence, and feel enough of conviction, to acknowledge the fact in history, and to view the bay scooped out of the land by that grand inundation, which burst in upon the body of the isle. Thus the bay becomes as remarkable now, as the isle has ever been,

for the irruption of the sea into the shore, for the subversion of churches by the violence of the usurping waves, and for the interment of churches, villages, or towns, in the very deeps of the dry land. Only the principal scene of desolation must have been within the isle. An extent of thirty miles is there buried, while a range of five or six only is buried here. The inundation at Mount's Bay, therefore, is only a miniature copy of that at Sylley. Yet it is a faithful, a lively, a luminous copy. And, as our evidence for the copy is much stronger than for the original, the lesser throws a light upon the greater, illustrates the desolation of this, by reflection from that; even unites with this to exhibit the desolation in all its full scope of horribleness. Such was the grand blow given to the island! But it has received an uninterrupted succession of blows since. The continued ravages of the sea are equally apparent here as at the Mount; but are more distinctly traceable here than there."*

On combining together all the preceding circumstances which have thus passed in review before us, we may plainly discover why these islands were so famous in the records of antiquity for the tin which they afforded. Among the memorials which have survived the catastrophes of time, we still find koffens, adits, shallow tin-pits, an ancient buddle-pool, or place to wash tin, and the remains of an old mill, which served to pulverize their ore, many ages before stamping-mills were invented. These are decisive proofs that the tin trade was originally carried on in these islands, and that the ore underwent its various processes, from the state in which it was taken from the mine, until it was prepared for a foreign market. And no doubt can remain, that a far greater number of these memorials would appear, through which we might probably be able to trace through all its stages, from ore to ingots, the tin which was procured, if the islands had escaped these disasters, by which it appears they have severely suffered.

But even if the remaining relics of these ancient workings were much less than they are, we ought not to discredit the testimony of history, because the evidences of our senses are not correspondent. We admit from the attestations of history, the existence of many places of which no vestiges can now be traced. The situation of ancient Nineveh is at present but scarcely known, and the accounts respecting that of Babylon are conflicting and various; and it is universally admitted, that no memorials can be traced of the extent, magnificence, architecture, or securities of either. Hence, if no vestige of any ancient tin-works had survived the ravages of time in the Scilly Islands, this want of sensible evidence could furnish no proof whatever against their primitive existence. The convulsions

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, pp. 66—68.

which these islands have evidently undergone, are sufficient to swallow up every objection which ingenuity can possibly raise against the fact, and ultimately we should be led to conclude, that the mines flourished in those parts, upon which, in process of time, the sea broke in, and by which the whole was finally ingulphed.

The period in which this great disaster happened, Mr. Whitaker places in the tenth century. The same author is of opinion, that when Athelstan made his descent upon the isle, this was in all its magnitude of size, and all its multiplicity of mines. He found hermits, he found monks upon it assuredly; and combined the latter, as the former were not combinable, into a society or college, at a place that was then a part, and only a part, of the general island denominated Trescaw, from the forest of elder trees which flourished around it. This forest, it appears from Leland, must have been like Trescaw, even in his days, of some considerable extent, since it sheltered "wild bores swyne."

Leland, in adverting to the magnitude of Trescaw, asserts, that in his days it was "the biggest of the islettes, in cumpace a 6 miles or more;" while "St. Mary Isle is a 5 mile or more in cumpace." In another place Leland speaks of "the biggest isle (cawled St. Nicholas Isle) of the Scylleys." He adds, "Ther be yn that paroch, about a LX householders;" yet this island now contains only forty families, and is little more than half as large as St. Mary's, which is three miles long, and two broad. So much has Trescaw lost of its extent, from the days of Leland to the present time, a period of little more than two centuries and half.

"But let us catch another circumstance in the state of this island, that has never hitherto been appropriated to it, yet forms a striking feature in the discrimination of its present aspect from the past. In the year 1200, king John 'gives, grants, and confirms to the abbey of Scilly the tythe of three acres of *assart*, or cleared land, *in the forest of Guffaer*, and commands his sheriffs and bailiffs, that they do not suffer the canons of Scilly to be impleaded for any tenement they may hold, except before him or his steward in Normandy.' Where then was this forest, part of which had lately been *assarted*, or cleared for cultivation, and the tythes of which would not have been due without a special grant, as rising from the soil of a royal forest? As no one isle is specified in the grant, how shall we confine it to any one? From this very circumstance. Had the forest been in an isle, different from that of the abbey, the isle would have been specified expressly. Being both in the same isle, this isle is not expressed either for the abbey or for the forest. The forest then was in Trescaw, and was, we may be assured, from the very appellation of the isle, a forest of elder trees. But now the elder trees are all rooted up, the forest is vanished, and the 'wild bores swyne,' to which it once afforded protection, are wholly extinct. Such changes have been made in a single

isle, by the continual inroads of the sea upon it. And such or similar must have been the changes that the sea has made in the others."*

Whether this encroachment of the water upon the land, has been occasioned by a preponderance of the Atlantic upon these western shores, or by a real subsidence of the land in those places over which the sea at present throws its waves, it is difficult to determine. Mr. Whitaker supposes that it was occasioned by the elevation of the water, rather than by any subsidence of the land. But this theory has been controverted with so much success, that its validity is rendered more than doubtful.

If this inundation was occasioned by the violent swelling, and pressure of the Atlantic upon our western coasts, through which the vast tract of country lying between the Longships and the present islands was buried, the water must have risen in due proportion on all the other parts of our shores. This might be accounted for, upon a supposition that the present cliffs were sufficiently towering, before this inundation, to admit the inflated waters to flow around their base. But the rocky shores which almost every where appear at the foot of these cliffs, and which at low water are left dry for a considerable extent, while the drowned territory remains perpetually ingulphed, forbid us to entertain such a supposition.

In many places the ocean has evidently made encroachments on the land, by undermining the cliffs, and carrying away the falling precipices and rubbish, and thus preparing the way for a new attack. In other places, where the beach has been loose and broken, the sand and pebbles have always been the sport of storms; but nothing can be inferred from hence, that the ocean has actually risen in its bed, and that the waves which now move on its surface, cover with every tide those crags, which, prior to the inundation, they were never permitted to reach.

The permanent cliffs at the Land's End never appear to have undergone any considerable changes, either internally or relatively; and the waves that beat around their foundations, seem to occupy the same station that was assigned them when the waters subsided in the days of Noah. The changes therefore which have taken place in the lands that are buried, must rather have arisen from the subsidence of them, than from the elevation of the waters, of which, no marks whatever in the immovable cliffs are visible.

By what cause this subsidence was occasioned, it is in vain to inquire. In many places subterraneous fires have been at work for ages, before their effects have become conspicuously visible; and they disappear as suddenly sometimes, as their appearance was unexpected. The same powerful agent is still at work; and may

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, p. 77.

burst upon the astonished world in an unsuspected moment. Either this, or the gradual undermining of invisible waters, slowly operating from the days of Noah until the catastrophe took place, might have occasioned it. Omnipotence can never want means to carry its designs into execution.

The reflections of a celebrated writer on the destruction of Port Royal, Jamaica, are not altogether inapplicable on the present occasion; and with these we shall end this section.—"To this hour the ruins of that devoted town, though buried for upwards of a century beneath the waves, are visible in clear weather from the boats which sail over them, presenting an awful monument or memorial of the anger of Omnipotence.

'Dread end of human strength, and human skill,
Riches and triumph, and domain, and pomp,
And ease and luxury!' DYER.

What has thus frequently happened, will probably happen again; and the insolence of wealth, and the confidence of power, may learn a lesson of humility from the contemplation."*

SECTION VI.

The Situation of the Island mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, from which the Phenicians exported their Tin, very uncertain.—The claims of the Isle of Wight, Black Rock, St. Nicholas Island, and St. Michael's Mount, examined.—The real Island probably sunk at the extremity of Mount's Bay.

If that grand catastrophe which has been noticed in the preceding section, through which the mines, the towns, and the memorials, of the ancient inhabitants of Scilly, and probably of their early visitors the Phenicians, have been swept away, had not taken place, we might with more probability have hoped to find the ports which these traders frequented, and from which they exported our tin, than we can hope to discover at present. It is not improbable, that these early traders would endeavour to conduct their ships to such harbours and ports as were nearest to the mines in which the tin was raised; and it is rather unreasonable to suppose, that an extent of territory, not less than thirty miles, stretching from the Land's End to the westward, should not have a single harbour in which a Phenician vessel might ride with safety, to complete her cargo, even if we allow that the vast excavation which now constitutes Mount's Bay, presented no inlet in any part of

* Bryant Edwards's History of the West Indies, Vol. I. p. 235.

its outward frontier, when the sea was repelled by the undiminished land. At the same time, no doubt can be entertained, that the Phenician traders visited several of those harbours which still exist, and in which they have left some faint memorials of their names. But it does not appear that any decisive evidence which they have transmitted to us, will compel us to determine that the tin which they shipped for a foreign market was actually put on board their vessels at any particular rock, which is now visible, or at any particular port to which the characteristic descriptions of the ancients will now apply.

The principal, and almost only guide which we have to direct us to the port from which the tin was shipped, is a short passage in Diodorus Siculus, which, from its being rather vague and indefinite, has given rise to nearly half as many theories, opinions, and conjectures, as the passage itself contains words. And what has tended to multiply these conjectures and opinions is, the formidable difficulties to which all preceding ones have been liable, and to which, in its turn, each succeeding one has been exposed. From these circumstances it may perhaps be inferred, that error in conjecture and theory has been the cause of these difficulties, and that they will continue to attend us, so long as we look for this mercantile port, either where it never existed, or where it can no longer be found.

The short description which Diodorus Siculus gives of the tin trade, and the transient reference which he makes to the port of shipping which he connects with it, is given by Dr. Borlase in the following words:—"These men (meaning the tinners) manufacture their tin, by working the grounds which produce it, with great art. For though the land is rocky, it has soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tinners find the treasure, extract, melt, and purify it, then shaping it (by moulds) into a kind of cubical figure, they carry it off to a certain island lying near the British shore, which they call Ictis; (or port;) for it must be observed, that the islands which lie betwixt the continent and Britain, have this singularity; that when the tide is full, they are real islands; but when the sea retires, they are but so many peninsulæ. From this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it to Gaul; and finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Erydanus, meaning the Rhone."*

On perusal of the preceding description, it is natural for the inquisitive reader to ask—Where was this Ictis situated, to which the Cornish carried their melted tin in carts, and there sold it to the merchants? The generally prevailing opinion is, that this Ictis means the Isle of Wight in Hampshire, and as such it has been

* Diodorus Siculus, cited by Dr. Borlase, in his Natural History of Cornwall, p. 176.

generally understood. But against this, many formidable objections lie. The Isle of Wight is little less than 200 miles from the mines of Cornwall, and much more from some parts of the Scilly Islands. And as in those early days, when the Phenicians exported our tin, the country was nearly a forest, and no roads, adapted for wains or carts loaded with tin, can be supposed to have been cut through the woods, and no bridges were built across those rivers over which they must of necessity pass, we must commit an outrage on probability, to suppose that the Cornish Britons carried their tin from this extremity of the island, to that distant port, which has scarcely one distinguishing excellency to recommend it.

In addition to this, as the country was peopled by many distinct and independent tribes, it can scarcely be imagined, that one tribe would permit the inroads of another, to carry on a gainful trade with foreigners through their territories, which must be thus constantly exposed to their inspection. And finally, as the Scilly Islands in all probability were never joined to the continent of Cornwall, the tin that was produced in these, if finally shipped at the Isle of Wight, must have been first put on board boats to be carried to Cornwall, then disembarked, and put into carts or wains, then carried through the whole length of Cornwall and the intermediate counties, to reach the port of its exportation. All these are repellent circumstances; and in their united effect they present to our minds obstacles not less formidable to credibility, than they must physically have presented to the ancient natives of Cornwall, when they carried their tin in carts from Cornwall to Hampshire, over hills, and through forests, without roads, and over rivers that were destitute of bridges.

To an inquisitive reader, who should press the question respecting its situation, Dr. Borlase candidly confesses that he can give no satisfactory information. He says, "By the Ictis here, it is plain the historian could not mean the Ictis or Vectis of the ancients; at present the Isle of Wight; for he is speaking of the Britons in Cornwall, and by the words, it should seem those of the most western parts." It is those who live at the extreme end of Britain, called Belerium, or the Land's End, that Diodorus describes as the people who find, dress, melt, carry, and sell their tin; neither does the whole passage contain even the most distant allusion to any other people, manners, customs, or place, except in the single term Ictis, which seems to imply the Isle of Wight, but which most likely means some other port, since the distance, the state of the country, and the difficulties, not to say impossibility, of carrying the tin of Cornwall and Scilly in carts to Hampshire, to be thence exported, is hardly credible.

"It would be absurd to think that these inhabitants should carry in carts their tin near 200 miles, for so far distant is the Isle of Wight from them, when they

had at least as good ports and harbours on their own shores, as they could meet with there; besides these inhabitants are said in the same paragraph to have been more than ordinarily civilized by conversing with strangers and merchants. Those merchants then must have been very conversant in Cornwall, there trafficked for tin, that is there bought, and thence exported their tin, or they could have no business there. Their residence would have been in some of the ports of Hampshire, and Cornwall could scarcely have felt the influence of their manners, much less have been improved and civilized by them at that distance.

"We are furthermore informed by Diodorus, that 'the Cornish, after their tin was melted, carried it at low water over to the Ictis in carts.' This will by no means suit the situation of the Isle of Wight, which is at least two miles distant from the main land, and never, as far as we can learn, has been alternately an island and a peninsula, as the tide is in or out. The Ictis, therefore, mentioned here, must be somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name for any peninsula or creek, (*ik* being a common Cornish word, denoting a cove, creek, or port of traffic) or the name of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its isthmus name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alteration on the sea shore of this county."*

In his observations on the ancient and present state of the Scilly Islands, the same author again adverts to the same subject, and endeavours to ascertain the probable situation of the ancient Ictis, which, in the preceding paragraphs he has left in a state of uncertainty:—"There was no such island as Ictis, on the western coasts of Cornwall, in the time of Diodorus Siculus; neither is there at present any one with the properties he mentions, unless it be St. Michael's Mount, and the separation between that and the continent must have been made long since that time. By the first therefore (namely, the passage already quoted) Diodorus Siculus can mean nothing but the Land's End, by the geographers called Belerium. But by the second, (a passage that instantly follows) he means one of the Scilly Isles, (confounding the tin trade of those western parts of Cornwall with that carried on in Scilly) to which they conveyed their tin, before exportation from the smaller islands; for thus Diodorus goes on: 'There is one thing peculiar to these islands (meaning that there was no such thing in the Mediterranean, where the sea stands nearly of one height) which lie between Britain and Europe; for at full sea they appear to be islands, but at low water, for a long way they look like so many peninsulas.' This is a description which exactly answers the appearance of

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 177.

the Scilly Islands, which were at that time successively islands and peninsulas, and lie between Europe and Britain, as the old authors all agree, but through the inaccuracy in geography, were not able to point out the situation of these islands more distinctly.

"The Ictis of Diodorus Siculus, is probably the same island which Pliny calls 'Mictis, about six days' sail from Britain, said to be fertile in tin.' Here I must observe, that the distance thus laid down by Pliny is no objection to Mictis being one of the Scilly Islands; for when the ancients reckoned this place 'six days' sail,' they did not mean from the nearest part of Britain to Scilly, but from the place most known and frequented by the Romans and Gauls, which was that part of Britain nearest to and in sight of Gaul, from which to the Scilly Islands was indeed six days' usual sail in the early times of navigation. Therefore I am apt to think, that by Mictis here, Pliny meant the largest of the Scilly Isles, as I do not at all doubt that Diodorus Siculus also did, in the passage mentioned above."*

Thus far we have seen the observations of Dr. Borlase respecting the Ictis of Diodorus, and the Mictis of Pliny, both of which he supposes to mean the same place in reality, but that Diodorus, by confounding the trade of Scilly with that of Cornwall, gave them distinct situations, although they ought to be identified, and fixed at the Land's End. To some of the objections to which this theory is liable, we shall have recourse hereafter, when we come to examine the pretensions of opposite claimants.

In his formidable objections against the Isle of Wight, Dr. Pryce readily concurs with Dr. Borlase; but instead of following him to the Land's End, or visiting the Scilly Islands, he coincides with Mr. Hals; and either casts anchor in Falmouth Harbour, or takes his stand on Black Rock, from which he supposes the tin of Cornwall was anciently shipped. "It has been hitherto an object of inquiry, from whence our tin was shipped in the time of the Phenicians. Some say from the Cassiterides, or Scilly Islands; others from Bolerium, or the Land's End; others say, from St. Michael's Mount; and others from Ostium Kenionis, Valubia, or Falmouth. The ignorance of true geography and navigation in the times of Timæus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and all the ancient historians and geographers, was so great, and their descriptions so obscure and contradictory, that it may ever remain a matter of conjecture and controversy, whence our tin was exported for Phenicia or Rome, by the records they have left behind them. It seems probable, that they included the promontory of Bolerium among the Cassiterides, and denominated all the south-western coast of Cornwall as part of

* Borlase on the Scilly Islands, p. 76.

them; which being the first land discovered by the navigators of those days, gave one general appellation to the whole. Without partiality to any particular opinion, we must own that the harbour of Falmouth seems to us the most commodious, both for natives and foreigners, to have carried on the business for exportation of this grand monopoly, which supplied all the Mediterranean markets. And we are not singular in this thought, but are plausibly supported by a learned collator of our own country, in whose MSS. we find an ingenious etymology, and topographical agreement in relation to the matter before us." This learned collator to whom Dr. Pryce alludes, is Mr. Hals; and his MSS. relate to Falmouth Harbour, from which the following observations are taken:—

"This harbour of Falmouth has been famous over Europe and Asia, ever since this island was first known, though but darkly distinguished by the Greeks and Romans, under several appellations; for instance, by one (in Greek) signifying *the mouth of the Danmonii Island*. For in former days, neither Greeks nor Romans knew whether this province of the Danmonii was an island of itself, or part of the insular continent of Britain, till the time of the Roman emperor Domitian; when Julius Agricola circumnavigated the whole island with his fleet of ships. Besides, it was the custom of the Jews and Greeks to call remote and strange lands islands, and the natives islanders: to which purpose we read *Isaiah* lxvi. 19, 'Tubal, Javan, and the isles afar off;' which were the continent of Greece and Spain. Also in *Genesis* x. 5, and in several other places, by the name of the isles is meant the islands, and in general all the provinces of Europe. And it is observable, that when the prophet Isaiah foretels the calling of the Gentiles, he makes particular mention of the islands, as in chapters xli. xlii. xlix. li. lx. which many interpreters have looked upon as a plain intimation that the Christian religion should take deepest root in those parts of the world which were separated from the Jews by the sea, and peopled by the posterity of Japhet, who settled themselves in the islands of the Gentiles. So that *the islands* in the prophetical style, seem particularly to denote the western part of the world, the west being often called *the sea* in Scripture.

"Strabo calls this mouth of the Vale River, Ostium Kenionis; and more properly Valuba, or Valubia; that is, the wall, defence, point or promontory, of the said vale, now St. Anthony's Point; or Val-Ubii, from the colony of the Ubii, a people of Belgie that planted themselves on the Vale river before Cæsar's days. Further, Diodorus Siculus informs us, that all tin was fetched out of Britain, as it is in some authors, after the Greek version, from *Nesos Ih ta, ki Oc ta*, which seems to say in British, the first, the good lake, cove or haven island; and the second, what we now call *Bud ok*, a bay of Oak Island. And indeed, the memory

of such *Ike* seems to be yet preserved in the names of *Car-ike* Road, the chief part of Falmouth Harbour, from whence to this day the major part of our tin is still exported; and *Arwinike* and *Budike* lands, by which the said harbour is bounded.

" Now this word *Ike*, I am informed, is derived from the same Japhetical origin as the Greek *(eko) venio*, to come, arrive at, or enter into a place; and therefore, as aforesaid, in Cornish British, it means not only a haven of the sea for traffic, but a place where a river of water hath its current into the sea, and whence the Latins perhaps had their *Ictus*, to signify the course of a river. And from this etymology we may the better understand the words of Diodorus Siculus.

" The island which he calls *Ictim*, or *Icta*, adjoining with Britain, is certainly that which is now called Black Rock Island, in Car-ike Road aforesaid, which as he said, was then an island at flood sea, though at low water passable from the main land. This was then a true description of this place; though since, by reason of the raging flux and reflux of the sea, the said lands and rocks are so much washed away, that it is not now passable to the said Black Rock on foot at low water, from Arwinike lands contiguous. There is also a Cornish manuscript of the Creation of the World, a play, brought into Oxford in 1450, and which is still extant in the Bodleian Library there, which will at the same time serve to evince, that the now Black Rock of Falmouth was in old time the island, the Icta of Diodorus Siculus, from which tin was transported into Gaul. Leland the elder, in his Itinerary, tells us, that this river was encompassed with the loftiest trees that the kingdom afforded in the time of Henry VII. and was therefore by the Britons called *Cassi-tir*, and *Cassi-ter;* that is to say, *wood land.* From which place and haven, the Greeks fetching tin, called it and the island, so often mentioned in their language, *Cassiteros.* In further praise of which famous port, may the reader accept the following lines:—

' In the calm south Valubia's harbour stands,
Where Vale with sea doth join its purer hands;
'Twixt which, to ships commodious port is shewn,
That makes the riches of the world its own.
Ike-ta, and Vale, the Britons' chiefest pride,
Glory of them and all the world beside,
In sending round the treasures of its tide.
Greeks and Phenicians here of old have been;
Fetching from thence furs, hides, pure corn, and tin,
Before great Cesar fought Cassibelyn."

Such is the theory of Dr. Pryce, and such are the modes of argument which he and Mr. Hals have adopted, to place the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus in the harbour of Falmouth, and to make the Black Rock there to be the identical spot to which the natives at low water carried their tin in carts or wains. The only thing in which Dr. Pryce and Mr. Hals seem to concur with Dr. Borlase, is, that the Ictis of Diodorus cannot be the Isle of Wight in Hampshire; but in all other respects their views are carried to distinct objects, and consequently their reasonings have but little or no resemblance. Their arguments are now before the reader, who must endeavour to estimate their force, and regulate his judgment accordingly.

It is however necessary to observe, that against these theories Mr. Whitaker has stated the following objections:—"But as to the crowning effort made by Borlase and Pryce in conjunction, for diverting Diodorus's account of the tin conveyed to his Ictis, or to the Isle of Wight; it is so full of folly as reflects infinite disgrace on the judgments that could make it. 'By this,' avers Dr. Borlase, 'Diodorus means one of the Scilly Isles to which they conveyed their tin before exportation, from the other smaller islands.' But Diodorus expressly tells us, that the tin was carried to his Ictis in *wains*. This single circumstance oversets the whole argument. I need not appeal to the course of the navigation for this tin, from the mouth of the Seine to the coast of Britain opposite, when there were two courses more to the west, from the Loire, and from the Garonne; in order to prove the Ictis to be, what its name tells us it was, the Isle of Wight. And as to the fancy which Pryce has borrowed from Hals, of the Ictis being a name still preserved in that of '*Car-ike* road, the chief part of Falmouth Harbour, and *Arwin-ike* and *Bud-ike* lands,' it is such a ringing of changes upon the name, as is fit only for a cell in St. Luke's Hospital. I shall only add therefore, that at this period, when the tin became such a valuable article of commerce, was carried by so many different channels of conveyance into France, and one of these a conveyance by land through the whole length of Cornwall; the tin of Cornwall probably came first to be sought."

To establish the Isle of Wight as the great commercial port, from which the tin of Cornwall was exported to the continent, and to counteract, at least in part, the force of those objections which Dr. Borlase had started, Mr. Whitaker in another work proceeds as follows:—"The Greeks of Marseilles first followed the course of the Phenician voyagers, and some time before the days of Polybius, and about 200 years before Christ, began to share with them in the trade of tin. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Massilian increased. And in the reign of Augustus the whole current of the British traffic had been diverted into this

new channel. At that period the trade of the island was very considerable. Two roads were laid across it, and reached from Sandwich to Caernarvon on one side, and from Dorsetshire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the shores was carried along with them into the interior parts of the country. The great staple of tin was no longer settled in a distant corner of the island. It was removed from Scilly, and fixed in the Isle of Wight, a central part of the coast, lying equally between the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangements of trade. Thither the tin was brought by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants resorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by vessels that coasted tediously along the shores of Spain and Gaul. The tin was now transported over the neighbouring channel, unshipped on the opposite coast, and sent upon horses across the land, or by boats along the rivers, to Marseilles and Narbonne. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants that resorted to the Isle of Wight with their vessels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and transmitted it across the continent afterwards. This isle, which is now separated from the remainder of Hampshire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth, about the point of Hurst Castle, was then a part of the greater island, disjoined from it only by the tide, and united to it at the ebb. And, during the recess of the waters, the Britons constantly passed over the low isthmus of land with their cart-loads of tin. This was also the case with many other places on the southern shore of Britain, which appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninsulas at the ebb."

That these statements of Mr. Whitaker are fair, unequivocal, and ingenious, no person who examines his observations with attention, can reasonably doubt. But unequivocal and ingenious as they are, they only meet in part those objections which have been raised by Dr. Borlase and others, against the theory which Mr. Whitaker defends. The supposition that the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus was in one of the Scilly Islands, is certainly untenable in every point of view. For although we admit that these islands originally extended even to the Longships, no one can suppose that the passage which lay, and which still lies between these rocks and the Land's End, which Mr. Whitaker denominates the Frith of Solinus, was ever fordable at low water. And on the same principle it will follow, so long as we allow that the Scilly Islands were detached from the land of Cornwall, that the tin both of Cornwall and Scilly, could never be carried in carts to any one common port, wheresoever it might have been situated. This objection is as formidable against the tin of Scilly being carried in carts or wains from the place where it was raised to the Isle of Wight, as against any other situation whatever. Neither can any thing overcome its force, unless we suppose the Ictis of Diodorus to be so

situated, as to form at low water a connective link between the land of Cornwall and Scilly, and in this case the separation no longer exists. It therefore appears to be exceedingly plain, that the passage of Diodorus respecting the shipping of tin at a certain island called Ictis, to which place the metal was brought in carts, can only be literally true in a comparative degree, but can never be understood as equally applying to the tin of Cornwall and the Scilly Islands.

Against the distance which these carts must have travelled from Cornwall to Hampshire, the hills they must have scaled, the forests they must have penetrated, and the rivers they must have forded without bridges, Mr. Whitaker has advanced nothing. He seems equally silent as to the supposition, and even the certainty, that ports equally eligible with what the Isle of Wight could furnish, might be found much nearer to the mines in which the tin was raised. These are objections we could wish to see answered, if the Isle of Wight were really that port to which the Phenician traders resorted, to purchase the metal of Cornwall and Scilly, and transport it to the continent.

It does not however, by any means appear, from what has been quoted, that Mr. Whitaker was actually contending for the primitive exportation of tin by the Phenician traders; and consequently he has left the port which they first frequented still unexplored. He only tells us, that "in the reign of Augustus, the whole current of the British traffic had been gradually diverted into this channel; that the great staple of tin was no longer settled in a distant corner of the island; but that it was removed from Scilly, and fixed in the Isle of Wight, a central part of the coast," &c. These expressions carry with them something more than a simple indication, that before the days of Augustus the current of the British traffic flowed in a different channel, from which it was afterwards diverted. And from the staple commodity of tin being no longer settled in a distant corner of the island, but that it was removed from Scilly to the Isle of Wight, and this too in the days of Augustus, we learn as plainly as words can inform us, that prior to this time, the tin trade had been confined to this corner of the island, and had not been removed from Scilly and Cornwall. And as a natural consequence, the tin during this antecedent period, must have found its way on board of the Phenician ships, from some other and more approximate port.

That it must have been the shipping of the tin that was removed to the Isle of Wight in the days of Augustus, to which Mr. Whitaker alludes, is plain, not only from the import and tendency of all his expressions, but from the moral impossibility of its being any thing else. It will hardly be supposed that Mr. Whitaker meant to intimate, that the mines, either of Scilly or Cornwall, were removed to the coasts of Hampshire. And it is not much less absurd to conceive,

that the rude materials were carried to this distant place to undergo the necessary purification. The shipping of the tin can be that only which was removed from Scilly and Cornwall, and gradually diverted into this new channel. The removal of the tin in carts to the port from which it was to be exported, was so intimately connected with the exportation of the metal, that both must stand or fall together; and the period in which they occur, either in the former or the latter, establishes a fact which is decisive with regard to both.

If it should finally appear, as Mr. Whitaker contends, that the whole passage of Diodorus Siculus actually applies to the Isle of Wight in Hampshire, and to that alone, it will then follow, when we connect with this passage Mr. Whitaker's observations already quoted, that the Ictis of this ancient historian carries back our views no further than to the days of Augustus. And consequently, if his observations respecting the port whence the tin of our ancestors was exported, have no prior application, the ports frequented by the Phenicians remain as much unknown as they would have remained, if Diodorus had never written. If the period alluded to by this author, were prior to the days of Augustus, the changes which took place in the tin trade and ports of shipping, in the time of Augustus, can never determine the Ictis of which he wrote, to be the Isle of Wight in Hampshire; and if that period be either in the days of Augustus or since, Diodorus leaves the ports of Britain visited by the ancient Phenicians wholly undetermined.

That the Isle of Wight in Hampshire, could not have been the port from which the Phenicians, before Britain was known to Cesar, originally exported their tin, whether it be the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus or not, seems decisively evident, from the objections of Dr. Borlase, the import of Mr. Whitaker's reasonings, and a long train of collateral circumstances. This conclusion is too evident to be doubted, whatever the Isle of Wight might have been in the days of Augustus Cesar.

But although Dr. Borlase seems to have been successful in his arguments to exclude the ports of Hampshire from the early Cornish commerce, he does not appear to have been equally fortunate in attempting to substitute either the Land's End, or one of the Scilly Islands in its stead. He adheres indeed to the description given by Diodorus, of the British isle called Ictis, but positively declares that "there was no such island as Ictis on the western coasts of Cornwall in the time of Diodorus; neither is there at present any one with the properties he mentions, unless it be St. Michael's Mount; and the separation between that and the continent must have been made long since that time." And yet he allows, that "the Ictis here mentioned, must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name for any peninsula or creek, or the name

THE BLACK ROCK AT FALMOUTH BY SOME SUPPOSED TO BE THE ANCIENT ICTIS.

of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its isthmus, and name, and perhaps wholly disappeared by means of some great alteration on the sea shore of this county." It is under these circumstances that Dr. Borlase supposes Diodorus to place his Ictis either at the Land's End, or among the islands of Scilly.

Mr. Whitaker, when describing the relative situation of the Isle of Wight to the coast of Hampshire, informs us, that during the recess of the tide, a passage was open between the island and the main land. He then adds, "This was also the case with many other places on the southerly shore of Britain, which appeared as islands only on the tide of flood, and became peninsulas at the ebb." Of this fact Dr. Borlase acknowledges the possibility, and even probability, in the passage last quoted from his Natural History, although he asserts that no such place did exist, either at the time of Diodorus, or since his days. And yet both the promontory of the Land's End, and one of the Scilly Islands, are made to suit the purpose of both, without answering the description of either.

The opinion respecting Black Rock in Falmouth Harbour is more plausible, as being the celebrated spot from which the Phenicians took their tin on board, than that which would conduct us to Hampshire, or send us to the islands of Scilly. This opinion seems to have been first started by Mr. Hals, and to have been adopted and supported by Dr. Pryce, as stated in a preceding page. And if nothing but merely its relative situation to the mines of Cornwall and ancient Scilly, remained for consideration, this rock would have a decided claim to preference. For being situated in one of the finest harbours in England, and in the vicinity of all the mines in the western mining district, it might bid defiance to every rival, with as much confidence as the ships which lie at anchor within it, may rest secure from the consequences of storms. But unfortunately, the dimensions of this rock are too small to permit us to suppose that this could have been the grand emporium of the Phenician trade. In addition to this, the Black Rock itself, when it is high water, is as constantly covered with waves, as the uneven ridge which leads towards it; and a pole is erected on its highest point, to warn mariners to avoid the fatal spot. Besides this, the Black Rock has but a little more elevation than the rocks which connect it with the main land; so that the same tide which will overflow the isthmus, will ingulph the promontory.

Nor will these difficulties be removed, by our supposing that since the days of Diodorus, the Black Rock is sunk deeper into the surrounding waters. The promontory and its isthmus are only parts of one solid range of rocks; so that they must have been originally elevated, or subsequently depressed together. The

elevation of the Black Rock, which would, during high water, have enabled it to lift its head above the waves, would have preserved the isthmus from inundation, and have rendered the description given by Diodorus totally inapplicable.

If the Black Rock, from its being in an inconsiderable degree elevated above its isthmus, may be supposed to have escaped submersion, so as to make it appear insulated while the isthmus was overflowed, we must conclude, that the tin deposited on its surface for exportation, must have been buried beneath the waves. For as some parts of the isthmus are nearly on a level with the highest parts of this rock, the water which would overflow the former, would leave only a small part of the latter uncovered. This part therefore, being too diminutive to contain the tin, which from the nature and extent of the ancient trade, must occasionally have been deposited in this emporium, must sometimes cause a considerable quantity of metal to be covered at high water. And consequently, as at times their cubes of tin might be dislodged by storms, it is a risk which we can hardly suppose that either the foreign or the domestic trader would be willing to run. All these circumstances united, militate strongly against the Black Rock being the Ictis of Diodorus, although the geographical situation of the harbour, and its proximity to the mines, conspire to plead powerfully in its behalf.

Dissatisfied with all the preceding theories, Mr. Polwhele has thrown out some hints which lead our views to another place. He candidly admits, that to raise objections against the theories of others is easy, but to form a new theory is very difficult. "Perhaps," he observes, "in the present case, no conjecture can be thrown out, that may boldly claim universal attention. It is not therefore, with an air of triumph that I propose my own opinions. With the view of exciting antiquarians to this inquiry, I have only to intimate, that I have often looked upon the island of St. Nicholas, as the Ictis of Diodorus. In this light St. Nicholas seems to be entitled to a moment's consideration. It is situated in Plymouth Sound; 'the first promontory on the west side of which,' says Carew, 'is Rame Head. From thence, trending Penlee Point, you discover Kingsand, and Causam Bay. In the mouth of the harbour lieth St. Nicholas Island; in fashion losengy, in quantity about three acres, strongly fortified, carefully guarded, and subject to the commander of Plymouth Fort. From this island a range of rocks reacheth over to the south-west shore, discovered at the low water of spring tides, and leaving only a narrow entrance in the midst, called the Yate, for ships to pass thorow, whereto they are directed by certaine markes at land.'

"From the correspondence of this description with that of Diodorus Siculus—from the appellation of Ictis—from the scite of St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Tamar—from its central position in regard to Devon and Cornwall—from the

actual conventions of the Devonshire and Cornish miners in its vicinity—from the ancient mines both to the east and west of it, particularly the tin-works of Dartmoor—from its situation in reference to Gaul—and from the Grecian factory at Rame Head, near which it lies, as connected with the Greeks of Marseilles, I confess, I have a strong suspicion that this little isle might have been the identical Ictis." All these distinct propositions, Mr. Polwhele endeavours to illustrate, by adverting either to historical notices, to authentic documents, or existing facts; nor can it be denied, that in many of his appeals he has been highly successful.

No reasonable doubt can be entertained, that the western parts of Devonshire contain many vestiges of very ancient tin-works; and, according to the natural geography of the country, the harbour of Plymouth, particularly some part of the Hamoaze, seems to be the most likely place for the produce of its mines to be shipped; especially for such tin as was procured on Dartmoor, and on the banks of the Tamar. But the tin-works of Devonshire are not the only ones which have a claim upon our attention. The great body of ore was undoubtedly raised, when the Phenician trade was first established in the Scilly Islands and western parts of Cornwall. And according to Mr. Whitaker's views, it is reasonable to suppose, that this trade moved onwards from the western extremity, by slow and progressive marches, to the borders of Devonshire, in which also many mines were opened.

Under all these considerations, we cannot but conclude, that the tin trade was established in the western, long before it was in the eastern district; consequently, the Phenicians, who first exported tin from this country, can never be supposed in their first adventures, to have cast their anchors off the island of St. Nicholas, in the vicinity of which no tin was at that time to be found, there to wait the arrival of carts and wains from the neighbourhood of the Land's End. As the western parts were first explored by these adventurous sailors, those parts would be first examined by them; and as these lay in the mining territory, we can hardly conceive an inducement that could have led them to the harbour of Plymouth in these early periods of their enterprizes. A port in the vicinity of their trade, which they had been accustomed to frequent, would not hastily be forsaken for another more distant, unless some reasons existed more powerful and influential, than we on the present occasion can possibly imagine.

Mr. Polwhele says, "We are informed from records, that 'all the old mines on Dartmoor, are on its western side towards the Tamar.' This is a curious circumstance. And there is no doubt, but the traces of old tin works are chiefly on the west side of the forest. Here are strong marks both of shode and stream works. The boldest vestiges, also, of our ancient Cornish mines are very near the Tamar. It is natural therefore, to conjecture, that the greater abundance of tin on

the banks of the Tamar, would give a proportionate consequence to the adventurers of the neighbourhood; and that the weight of interest thus irresistibly acquired, would render their own district the principal seat of commerce."

It is easy to perceive, that a preponderance in trade will rarely fail to have a considerable influence on the seat of commerce. But although this be admitted, and we even allow, that the quantity of tin raised on the banks of the Tamar might have attracted the trading vessels to the harbour of Plymouth, yet it will by no means follow, that this was the ancient port frequented by the Phenicians. The banks of the Tamar may have the *boldest*, without having the *primary* vestiges of ancient tin-works. Nay, the very supposition that these vestiges near the Tamar are more bold than any others, carries with it an evidence that they have suffered less from the ravages of time, that their prominent features still remain almost uninjured; and consequently that they are of a more modern date than those which in the west of Cornwall are fading on the sight, and leaving but few discriminating characteristics, by which the koffens of art can be distinguished from the chasms of nature.

Nor will the island of St. Nicholas correspond in some striking peculiarities, with the description given by Diodorus Siculus, of his Ictis; for to this island the tin was carried in carts or wains. The tin on the contrary, which was raised on the banks of the Tamar, must have found its way to this island in the osier boats covered with hides, down this fine navigable river, which even reaches into the heart of this mining district. This is a fact which Mr. Polwhele allows, even while he connects with it another circumstance that brings the carts to his island.

"Whilst the colonists of the north of Devon conveyed their tin to the banks of the Tamar, whence it might have been shipped off, and brought down the river to this island, and whilst the inhabitants of Dartmoor, and all the country bordering upon the Tamar, freighted their vessels in the same manner, and unloaded them also, at St. Nicholas; the Cornish, even from the Land's End, (as Diodorus intimates) were driving their waggons towards the same common depositary, to which they might easily pass at low water."

It is somewhat singular, that, of these boats continually passing and repassing on the Tamar, and bringing with them constant supplies of tin, Diodorus speaks not a single word. And this singularity will increase almost to astonishment, when we reflect, that "the greater abundance of tin on the banks of the Tamar, gave so much consequence to the adventurers of this neighbourhood, as to cause their weight of interest to render their own district the principal seat of commerce." Of all these circumstances Diodorus takes no kind of notice; but on the contrary,

according to this theory, we must suppose that he introduces a few straggling carts, bringing their tin from the most remote part of the county, and carrying it over an isthmus, which no evidence appears to prove was ever fordable even at low water, and then makes the carts and the isthmus the principal guides to direct us to the island! It appears however, in reality, that instead of thus introducing us to an Ictis which lies at the mouth of the Hamoaze, Diodorus speaks of the Britons "who live at the western extremity of the island called Belerium or Bolerium, who find, dress, melt, carry and sell their tin." All these circumstances combined, together with the water by which St. Nicholas is constantly surrounded, conspire together to prevent us from setting our feet upon its shores; nor can the carts of Diodorus ensure to us a safe conveyance.

It is but fair however to state, that Mr. Polwhele by no means introduces his theory as an established fact. He perceived with all others the difficulties with which every other theory was encumbered, and therefore had an undoubted right to introduce another, which he thought more conformable to the description given by Diodorus. This plan he has adopted; and many circumstances plead strongly in his favour, although there are several obstacles which appear too formidable to be overcome. But his appropriate apology shall appear in his own words:—

"On the whole, I think these concurring circumstances give a plausible air at least, to my hypothesis; and I have stated my ideas merely as theoretical. At all events, I conceive my readers will agree with me in opinion, that St. Nicholas hath as fair a claim to the commercial pre-eminence of Ictis, as either the Isle of Wight, or one of the Scilly Isles, or the Black Rock at Falmouth."

Sir Christopher Hawkins, after assigning his reasons for dissenting from the opinion of Mr. Polwhele, proceeds to call our attention to St. Michael's Mount; and asserts, on the authority of Camden, that the Isle of Wight was called by the Romans *Vecta*, *Victis*, and *Vectesis*, which, by omitting of the terminations, was pronounced as the British word *Wict*, which signifies a little island: that *Wict* or *Wight* being the name of an island adjacent to one part of Britain, may apply to the Cornish Mount, as the name of St. Michael was not applied to it, until after the introduction of Christianity, about the beginning of the fifth century. That as this Mount is still situated in the hundred of Penwith or Pen*wict*, which signifies high or head land, it may be said still in no small degree to retain its original name, *wict* signifying an island. That above all, as it is situated in the western part of the mining district, in which Dr. Borlase says it must be sought, and as it answers with much exactness the description given by Diodorus of his ancient Ictis, being alternately an island and a part of the continent, it has a

strong claim upon our attention, and rises superior in its internal evidence to the pretensions of the Scilly Islands, Land's End, Isle of Wight, St. Nicholas Island, or the Black Rock in Falmouth Harbour.

To obviate an objection that might be urged against this theory, from the ancient Cornish name of this Mount, which describes it as being situated in a wood, the author thus proceeds:—"Camden says, St. Michael's Mount was called *Careg Cowse in Clowse*. Carew says it was called *Cara Cowz in Clowze*, which they both interpret *The hoary or grey Rock in the Wood*. Dr. Borlase makes it *Karreg Luz en Kuz;* which may more properly be interpreted *The hoary or grey Rock in the Wood;* for *kuz* or *côs*, in Dr. Borlase's Vocabulary, signifies *a wood;* whereas Mr. Tonkin, in speaking of Clowance, says, '*Clowance* signifies *the valley of moorstones;* and not, as I have mistakingly before said, *the woody valley;* for *clowse* is never used to signify *wood*, as *Clow-ance*, or *Clow-nance*, means *the valley of moorstones*.

"Camden and Carew wrote when the ancient British language was understood and spoken in Cornwall; Mr. Tonkin wrote after it had ceased to be a living language; but when it was better understood than in the time of Dr. Borlase.

"By the three first authorities, the British name of the Mount may be interpreted *the grey stone, or grey stone building on the rock:* but if Dr. Borlase be correct, it is *the grey or hoary Rock;* and by interpreting it in a general sense, as most British names are to be understood, it will be *the grey Rock in or near the wood;* for if the bottom of the bay was, as it is said to have been, originally covered with wood, the Mount would appear as surrounded with wood; for we cannot suppose the descriptive name of the Mount in the common language of the country, would have misrepresented its peculiar appearance; and we know that for above a thousand years it has appeared as it does at the present time."

But there is another difficulty far more formidable than the name which this theory has to encounter: and this arises from the submersion of the adjacent lands. For if it shall appear, that in the days of Diodorus, this Mount was actually encircled with land, which excluded the water from that area which now constitutes Mount's Bay, no coincidence which may at present appear between the situation of the Mount and his description of it, can furnish the hypothesis with the least support. Of this fact the noble author was well aware; for which reason he introduces the circumstance in the following manner:—

"It is however, necessary in this place, to advert to an assertion which has been made, that St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, formed a part of the continent of Britain, after the period when Diodorus wrote. It is said, "That from tradition, the Mount was, in former ages, a part of the insular continent of Britain, and was

disjoined from it by an inundation, or encroachment of the sea, some earthquake, or terrestial concussion. And in proof of so great an event having happened, it is stated, that ' trees have been found buried in the sea sand near the Mount.'

" Before we can believe that the island had been separated from the continent, positive evidence of the time, and of the particular manner in which such an event happened, ought to have been adduced; for we cannot give credit to so extraordinary and supernatural an event, on the mere assertion of a monkish writer, or from a circumstance of so trifling a nature as above described."*

Such are the general outlines of the theory that St. Michael's Mount was the Ictis of Diodorus; and if the present condition of the Mount, which seems perfectly to correspond with the description given by him, and its geographical situation, were alone to guide us in our decisions, no doubt could be entertained, that this was the island alluded to. There seems to be only one objection against this hypothesis; and this arises from the submersion of the adjacent ground. Sir Christopher Hawkins thinks that the evidence adduced is too feeble to support so momentous a fact; but tradition, testimony, authority, and fact, unite together their respective forces; and form such an accumulation of proof, as it is not easy to resist. Of this melancholy fact we have already taken notice; and all that appears necessary at present is, to produce evidence, to shew that the belief of this fact rests on something more substantial than the mere assertion of a monkish writer; and with this evidence Mr. Whitaker furnishes us in several instances:—

" The sea has been sensibly encroaching upon the land here for ages. We see its ravages apparent in the period past, and we feel its violence at present. Yet let us step back into former times, and there examine whether the sea was so troublesome a neighbour then. ' In the bay betwyxt the Mont and Pensants,' as Leland tells us, ' be found nere the lowe water marke, rootes of trees yn dyvers places, as a token of the grownde wasted.' ' There hath bene,' as he adds in another place, ' much land devoured of the sea betwixt Pensants and Mousehole.'

" On the east of Marazion, many yards in the breadth of the cliff have been washed away within twenty-four years past, about half a mile in length; the soil of the cliff being of a very soft quality, and the spring tides pushing up with considerable force against it. About seventy or eighty years ago, a spring tide was driven by a dreadful hurricane with such a violence upon the town itself, as to beat down a whole row of houses within it, and to carry them, with their very foundations, into the sea. And, in the confirmation of the endowment to the vicar of St. Hilary, A. D. 1313, the dead of Marazion are for the first time allowed,

* Observations on the Tin Trade of the Ancients, by Sir C. Hawkins, Bart. pp. 61, 74.

from the danger of passing with them to St. Michael's Mount, to be buried at St. Hilary."

A shaft was lately sunk in the beach between Newlyn and Penzance, when whole trees were found at a good depth under the ground. About half way between Chyandour and Marazion, about 300 yards below high water mark, were seen, a few years ago, by Mr. Giddy, an eminent surgeon of Penzance, and since seen by one of his sons, upon an extraordinary recession of the tide, several stumps of trees in their native soil, with the roots shooting out from them, and with their stems apparently cut off. These trees had been felled, in apprehension of the coming encroachment; while the whole trees had been either surprised or neglected. On the western side of Penzance, and in a line with the brook parting Gulval from Ludgvan, a range of rocks projects about half a mile beyond the beach, to the east of which stumps of trees have been seen by the late Dr. Borlase; and to the west by my obliging and useful informant, Mr. Giddy.

"Nor have these ravages of the ocean ceased at present. Betwixt Newlyn and Penzance, on the Penzance side of the brook parting Maddern from Paul parish, were some fields within memory, that are now covered with the sea. There were also at Penzance, five or six houses upon the beach, west of the pier, which within memory have been undermined and demolished by the sea. Gulval too has a manor within it called Lanseley, half of which is now buried in the ocean.

"But we can happily confirm the circumstance, by an evidence which has not an atom of conjecture in its composition. 'The space of ground upon St. Michael's Mount,' we are informed by Worcestre himself, and from the same legend assuredly, 'is two hundred cubits, surrounded on all sides by the ocean,' at flood tide, 'the place aforesaid was *originally enclosed with a very thick wood, distant from the ocean six miles, affording the finest shelter for wild beasts.*' The fact, however astonishing, is placed beyond all reach of doubt, by the concurrent evidences of the name, the charter, and two authors; each varying sufficiently from each, to shew it is not one evidence multiplied into many by a mere echo; yet all combining into one general testimony, about the distance of the Mount from the sea originally. And a tradition comes in as an intermediate link in this strong chain of evidence, to mark the progress of the sea's subsequent encroachments about their half way point; an opinion still prevailing very livelily among the inhabitants of Penzance, that 'persons could once walk directly from the Mount to Newlyn,' so crossing the body of the bay on foot in a line obliquely from north-east to south-west.

"Yet the general fact is one of those events in the annals of Cornwall, which seem too miraculous for the sober faith of historians, and are therefore thrown

aside by the sceptical inquirer, as the fictions of fabulous, or the fooleries of dubious history. But the evidence here adduced from Worcestre, from Solinus and Strabo (to whom also he appeals) prove it to be historically true; and tradition comes in with a powerful voice, lisping perhaps a little at times, yet still powerful in general, to corroborate the verdict of history."*

We have seen in the evidence adduced by Mr. Whitaker, that he makes his appeal to Dr. Borlase, in confirmation of his opinion; that either through the preponderance of the ocean, or the subsidence of the earth, considerable quantities of land have disappeared in the vicinity of St. Michael's Mount.†

If we now pause, and look back on the various authorities, arguments, and facts laid down in the preceding pages, and these are only a specimen of what might be collected, we must conclude that the evidences in favour of the catastrophe appear in a very serious light. And although no records have transmitted to us its specific details the memorials of this misfortune, their silence can no more sanction incredulity, than the testimony of a monkish writer in behalf of the fact, can fairly be urged as a reason why we should disbelieve it.

It must however be admitted, if all these evidences, and others of the same kind which may be adduced, are on the whole thought insufficient to establish the fact, that no other place seems to have so fair a claim to be the Ictis as this celebrated Mount. But the evidence which induces us to believe that the disaster did happen, is too commanding to admit of the supposition. Whether the description given by Diodorus, of the island to which the tin was carried, and of the manner of carrying it, was intended to apply to the tin trade before the Romans had an interest in it, the observations made by Mr. Whitaker, and inserted in a former page, have rendered exceedingly doubtful. But even admitting that his short description was designed to take such a comprehensive survey of the trade as should include the places from which the tin was exported during the time of the Phenicians, as it appears that the port was rather described than nominated, the name can afford us but little specific direction.

Dr. Pryce, in his Cornish Vocabulary observes, that *ick* is the termination of the names of many places. "I take it to signify either a creek, rivulet or brook; as *Trevorick*, in Gorran, *the town on the brook*, &c." In this opinion there is a perfect agreement between him and Dr. Borlase, the latter asserting that "*Ik* or *Ick* is a common termination of creeks in Cornwall; as *Pordinik*, *Pradnik*,

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, pp. 14, 19.

† For further proofs of this catastrophe having happened, see pp. 16, 17, of this Volume; and Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 222.

Portyssik," &c. But to the termination of the names of creeks, the local names which we hear every day, inform us, that *ick* or *ict* is not confined. *Trevarick*, *Tregorick*, *Fernizick*, *Polmazick*, are all inland places, to which the sea never could have had access; so that it can only be in its primary and restricted meaning that *ick* can be applied exclusively to creeks or inlets of the sea.

But still it may be asked, Where shall we find the port on the western shores of Cornwall, that will at once correspond with the description given by Diodorus Siculus, and yet at the same time present no formidable obstacle to forbid our belief that this was actually the place at which the Phenicians shipped their tin? This is a question which perhaps it is totally impossible at present for any one to answer in the affirmative. In researches of this nature, the hand that cannot erect a hovel, may easily demolish a palace. It is very probable, that the port which Diodorus has described, no longer exists.

That this may have been the case, Dr. Borlase has hinted in the following words: "The Ictis therefore here mentioned, must lie somewhere near the coast of Cornwall, and must either have been a general name for any peninsula or creek, or the name of some particular peninsula and common emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its isthmus, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alterations on the sea shore of this county."

There is no place that can at present be found, from the coasts of Hampshire to the utmost extremity of the Scilly Islands, that will any way correspond with the description given by Diodorus, that is not attended with insuperable difficulties. St. Michael's Mount appears from its geographical situation, local peculiarities, and proximity to the mines, to come much nearer than any other place. But the evidence which assures us, that in the days of Diodorus it was surrounded with land, is too strong to be resisted; and therefore we cannot cast anchor beneath its shadow.

Driven from this once inland territory, we hasten in the same direction towards those ancient shores, which formerly received the surge of the ocean, to seek the desired port. But here we discover nothing but an extended sheet of water, spreading over those lands which once encircled the Mount, and now flowing round its base. It is somewhere on this ancient line of shore, lying off the Mount, and which once extended across the exterior extremity of the present Mount's Bay, that the Phenicians probably once found an island, and in which we may now contemplate its grave.

We are ready however to allow, that this supposition can present no higher claim to credit, than that to which probable conjectures are entitled. It has no internal evidence to support it, nor is it reasonable to expect any, when every vestige of it

has been rendered invisible for many ages. We are directed to this spot, by the evidence which assures us that Mount's Bay was once dry land, and from its proximity to the mines, and its being in the situation which Diodorus describes. Against its probability we do not at present discover any objection of a formidable nature that can be raised. But if hereafter any should appear, the conjecture can only be classed with those ports in which many conjectures have been wrecked, and be abandoned as clogged with insuperable difficulties. In the mean while, so long as the evidence of a tract of land sunk in Mount's Bay remains unimpeached, so long must the conjecture of a harbour on its extremity remain probable. But if this evidence should appear fallacious and visionary, if the water has invariably flowed up to St. Michael's Mount, the conjecture of a sunken island must disappear, and the Cornish Mount, as its principal rival, remain to exemplify the description of Diodorus, and to supply its place.

SECTION VII.

Few Memorials of the ancient Phenicians in the county of Cornwall.

It has generally been considered as a striking feature in the Phenician character, that, next to their enterprising genius in traversing unknown seas, and exploring unknown countries, was their habitual practice of planting colonies, wherever they had found means to establish a permanent trade. It was this principle that caused them to be scattered on the shores of the Mediterranean; that carried them to Tarshish, which they denominated Gades, and which, with a trifling variation, retains its original name, being still called Cadiz throughout the civilized world. And when on passing the pillars of Hercules, they extended their navigation, both on the African and European coasts, they contrived to leave behind them some memorials, through which their footsteps might be traced by posterity.

Among these maritime exploits, the Phenicians, having found our islands at a very early period, and established in them a lucrative traffic, of which they held the exclusive possession for ages, may naturally be supposed to have been actuated by their common principles. Dr. Borlase says, "A continual commerce for some hundreds of years, must have occasioned some of the Phenician nation to settle here, and this settlement must have produced a mixture of the two languages; as those that settled must also probably have erected some of their own national deities, the human mind not being able to rest in any climate without some religion. Accordingly, many words in the present British, are evidently of Tyrian derivation; and many rude obelisks are still, notwithstanding the pillaging of

modern builders, to be seen in Cornwall, and some in the islands, which in all probability were the symbols of the Phenician deities; it being the notorious infatuation of the Canaanitish nations to pay divine honours to such rude stones.

"Again, if some places, where the Phenicians were most conversant, retain names of Phenician original, we are to attribute this, either to the Hebrew, that general source of all languages, or to the commerce of the Phenicians with the first and native inhabitants, and are by no means to suppose them the first planters of our isle: their business being to improve upon the natural products already known by the natives, to import trifles, as we know they did into Britain, and carry back the most precious commodities to their own markets; not to plant desolate islands with such useful merchants and sailors as their citizens consisted of."

From the length of that period, during which the Phenicians traded to these islands, we might naturally expect to find some traces of their customs, or perhaps some vestiges of their buildings, scattered over those parts which we may presume to think they frequented. But so little are we acquainted with those customs that were purely British, and so scanty are the Phenician records which have reached us, that we have scarcely any means of clearly distinguishing the one from the other. And as it was their general practice to erect their buildings near the sea, the changes which since their days have taken place in the Scilly Islands and on the Cornish shores, will furnish a sufficient reason why they have disappeared, and even why no vestiges of them remain. The improvements which have been made in agriculture, and the hedges, walls, and buildings, which have been erected in repeated succession since that distant period, must have committed depredations on such trifles as the ravages of the sea had spared, so that in the final result we see scarcely one stone left upon another, that has not been thrown down.

In the name of Britain we have already found reason to behold a Phenician derivation; and that of Cornwall, it is not unlikely, may be traced to the same original.* It has been thought, that the Phenician language, before it became corrupted with that of the nations to which these mercantile navigators traded, bore a very strong resemblance to that spoken in Devonshire and Cornwall. Nor is the supposition of an unreasonable complexion. Both nations sprung at an early period from the general source of population; and their respective tongues if they differed, differed only as dialects of one original language, of which the radical principles were the same. But the Phenicians, from their commercial intercourse with other nations, before their discovery of Britain, had incorporated in their dialect many foreign idioms and phrases, and in this adulterated state

* See pp. 4, 5, of this Volume.

introduced it into Danmonium; thus causing the primitive language of this territory to deviate from its original simplicity.

There are some who insinuate that the ancient Cornish tongue was originally introduced by the Phenicians. This idea is countenanced by Dr. Pryce, in his introductory dissertation on the Cornish language; but what language was spoken by the natives prior to that period, he does not say. It seems more reasonable to admit with Scawen, as cited by Dr. Borlase, that the Cornish tongue resembled the Phenician; that the Phenicians, on their arrival and frequent intercourse with the natives, introduced many of their own peculiar phrases and idioms; and that "this intermixture of the Punic, is the reason that the idiom of a poem written in Cornish, and called The Passion, is not easily understood by the Welsh."*

"It is to the Phenician age that most of our antiquaries recur, in settling the etymology of British words. But the names of our rivers were certainly prior to the Phenician names, which they preserve to the present hour. But as the aboriginal Britons and the Phenicians had one common origin, it is difficult to discriminate between the language of the one and the other. From the Phenicians are deduced also the names of our towns, by many who reject the idea of a Phenician colony. Sammes and others derive *Caerisk*, and other names of Exeter, from the Phenician. Hartavia, or Hertland, doubtless comes from the Phenician Hercules. In trade, the Phenicians were the first to give names. Observing our tin in its native bed, they called it *stean*, or *mud*. And it is asserted, that the British manner of fighting, the names of their war-chariot, and of their weapons of war, were all of Phenician origin."†

Among the single rude pillars which have already been noticed, among the remains of the ancient British, several have been thought to owe their origin to the Phenicians. The same may be said with respect to some of the rock idols which still remain, both in Cornwall and in the Scilly Islands. And this opinion is deduced from the resemblance which these pillars and rock idols bear to those monuments of superstition, which in their more permanent settlements they have left behind them. The ancient Britons, no doubt, soon joined them in their idolatrous practices; their monuments and objects of worship were therefore gradually blended together; and the surviving relics have scarcely any decisive marks of discrimination left.

There can be little doubt that the Start Point derived its name from *Astarte*, which was worshipped by the Phenicians; *Meneog* or *Meneage*, we have already seen, is of Phenician origin; and some have thought that *Hamoaze* has been

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 314.

† Historical Views of Devon, p. 186.

handed down from the same source. Mr. Polwhele thinks, that " not many ages probably elapsed, from the establishment of the Danmonii, in the south of Devon, before the Phenicians, not content with trading voyages, fixed a colony on the north side of the Jugum Ocrinum, a country as yet uninhabited, and to which they might have been directed by the southern colonists. And their first town, perhaps, near Hartland or Hertland Point, was the town of Hercules, their god of navigation; while the promontory itself was called *Herculis Promontorium;* and Lundy, at no great distance, *Heraclea*, or the island of Hercules."*

Sammes, whose work is frequently cited by Mr. Polwhele, makes some mention of the remains of an ancient fortification, that in his days existed in the vicinity of the Loo Pool, near Helston, which he supposes to be Phenician. Of this ancient fortress no vestige at present remains; but in connexion with Meneage this author introduces it in the following manner:

" And although Meneog is now destitute of all metals, as long ago exhausted, yet that there were such mines in it, hear the same author. It hath great store of mettal mines, very full of grass and herbs, bringing forth more plentifully all those things which serve for pasturage of beasts, and nourishment of man. I will only mention one thing in this peninsula, which seems to me to preserve exactly its Phenician name; and that is a fortification of stones only, without any cement or mortar, lying as upon the lake Leopole, a fortification after the manner of the Britons, as Tacitus describes them, *rudes et informes saxorum compages*, which was the way of the eastern nations, as the Scriptures themselves inform us. This rude heap of stones the inhabitants call to this day *Erth*, without giving any reason for so ancient a rampier, and of so great a compass as it is, so that none can induce me to believe, but that it took its name from the lake on which it lies; for the Phenicians called all lakes *Arith;* so that this military fence, called as I have said, *Erth*, I believe from thence received its name.

" There are many places in these two counties, Cornwall and Devonshire, which retain exact footsteps of the Phenicians, that cannot be found any where else; which I shall omit, as nothing is easier than to find similitudes, especially where perhaps they will not be allowed of. The truth of Phenician traffics in these parts does not depend upon such conjectures, but evidenced by authentic histories; so that I will not mention *Godolcan*, a hill famous for plenty of the mines of tynn, as Mr. Camden witnesseth, which plenty of that mettal is included in the very word

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 16. These names, as we shall see a few pages hence, Mr. Whitaker attributes to the Greeks.

itself. Only let me here observe, that in the west and south parts of England, even where the British language prevails not, we find many places begin with *Pen;* namely, such as are of a high situation; which, without dispute, is an argument that *Pen*, a hill, in the British language, came from the Phenician *Pinnah*, signifying the same thing; because we find it used most in those parts of England the Phenicians frequented most: nay, through all this island, we shall scarce meet with any northward; when on the west and south coasts, we cannot go six or eight miles, but we find them. To this may be added, that infinite number of towns beginning with *Tre*, of which those very same parts can have no other account given, if they proceed not from the Phenician *Tira;* and by contraction, *Tra* signifying a castle, so that the name might have been primarily applied to forts built by them to secure their trade."*

Scanty as these remains of the Phenicians are, and even in many instances dubious in their nature, they are nearly as much as we have any just reason to expect, although they may not correspond with our wishes. And when we reflect on the ages which have elapsed, on the changes which have taken place in the world, and on that natural tendency to decay, which is inseparable from all the works of art, we have but little reason to expect that the surviving vestiges would retain many distinguishing characteristics. On this scarcity of Phenician remains, and the doubtfulness of those which we sometimes denominated such, the following observations of Dr. Borlase appear to be both rational and appropriate:

"As the records of the Phenician history are very few, and scarce any thing more than a few fragments preserved in the Greek and Roman writers, and as the ages in which they flourished here are very remote, it is not to be expected that a great many monuments of their erecting should be now extant. If they built any cities, the common custom of the Tyrians, as the shores of Spain and Africa testify, or settled colonies, or erected temples, as is not unlikely, yet the desolations of age and war, as well as sea, near which they always built, may well be supposed to have obliterated every thing of this kind, unless the names of those things, sometimes less subject to ruin than the things themselves, may chance to have escaped. But some few monuments, as I said before, there are, which from their great simplicity may be well judged as ancient as the Phenician times, and from the Phenicians being used to have such in their own country, as appears from ancient authors, may be very rationally supposed of Phenician original."†

* Sammes, pp. 59, 60, cited by Mr. Polwhele, in his Historical Views of Devon, p. 172.

† Borlase's Antiquities, p. 32.

Whether the Phenician traders established any colonies, either in the Scilly Islands, or in the western parts of Cornwall, seems to be rather uncertain. Each side of the supposition has had its advocates and opposers; and, like all other dubious questions of a similar nature, it is left undecided. Reasoning from analogy, we should be led to conclude in the affirmative, since it was the prevailing custom of the Phenicians in all other parts. And as their trade in these islands was exclusively their own for many ages, and was lucrative and extensive, we can hardly suppose, that in this instance they would deviate from their prevailing national customs. But when on the contrary we appeal to fact, and of those buildings which accompany the establishment of a colony, find scarcely a single memorial, we reflect on our former conclusion with hesitation, and begin to suspect that we have been more precipitate in our decision than the dictates of sober judgment will allow.

On the whole, we cannot but think that it is highly probable, that the Phenicians actually established some colonies in these western parts; and perhaps they might have had some towns suited to the magnitude of them. But while we admit this on the ground of analogy, we must suppose that these towns or villages being erected on the margins of the land, must have suffered in the common catastrophe of the disappearing shores. In these views, analogy and fact will no longer be hostile to each other.

Mr. Whitaker, speaking of a town now sunk for ever in the remorseless deep, says—"The fish now form their beds in the houses certainly, in a town probably, of the old inhabitants, that is said by an eminent antiquary of Cornwall, to have been denominated the *City of Lions*."* In this city of Lions the Phenicians might in all probability have had some buildings; if so, they must have been immerged in the ocean, and have perished with the other habitations in one common grave.

The Phenician town which Mr. Polwhele has supposed to have stood near Hartland Point, seems rather to have been erected in his pages, on the presumed similitude of a name, than on any historical notices, vestiges, or traditions. The name, it must be confessed is imposing; but in other respects we can scarcely conceive what could induce them to fix a colony in such a situation. To facilitate the tin trade, we can hardly suppose that it ever was adapted; and as trade was their primary object, we can only suppose that this colony was designed to collect furs from the natives. This being admitted, the habitations of factors may be

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, p. 19.

considered rather as temporary sheds, than permanent habitations, built probably with materials that could not endure the ravages of time for so long a period, as from when they left it to the present time.

It therefore finally appears, that of the buildings of the Phenicians the remains are very dubious; and the rock idols leave us rather in uncertainty, whether they were British or Phenician. The only permanent remains that can unequivocally be denominated such, must be sought in the names which many places still continue to bear. In these several appear visible; but all besides appear to be either covered with the ocean, or overwhelmed with the gathering billows of time.

CHAP. VI.

Cornwall visited by the Greeks.

SECTION I.

Circumstances connected with the Grecian Expedition to the Cornish shores.

THE Phenicians having been so fortunate in their maritime enterprises, as to discover the Scilly Islands, and to establish with the natives an advantageous commerce, immediately found that their interest in this trade depended upon their concealment of the mines, and of the territories in which they were situated, from all the rival nations. To concealment and trade their views were therefore directed; and in both, for a long period, they were alike successful. Dr. Henry asserts that "the Phenicians enjoyed a profitable and exclusive trade to these islands, for about three hundred years." But this fact seems to be involved in much uncertainty, since the exact period of their first arrival is not known with precision.

The Greeks had watched the movements of the Phenician mariners with jealous envy for a series of years; but being ignorant of geography, and fearful to venture on the waves of the Atlantic, to encounter storms and dangers, of which they had heard such terrible reports, they remained at home to indulge their idle wishes, and to make preparations for voyages, which none among them was daring enough to undertake. Accident, however, sometimes accomplishes what neither courage nor avarice has the power to inspire; and in its effects finally calls forth those energies of the mind, which, but for such an unexpected circumstance, would have perpetually remained in a state of unprofitable torpor. It was to such an accident that the Greeks were indebted for the early extension of their maritime knowledge.

About 900 years after the Phenician Hercules, 600 after the Trojan war, and 550 before Christ, the people of Samos attempting to send a colony into Egypt, were driven by contrary winds down through the Mediterranean; and not being able to find a harbour, they were carried beyond the Straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic Ocean, where none of their countrymen had ever presumed to venture before.

Here they formed some settlements; and without attempting to proceed farther, here it is probable they remained for several ages. This may be inferred from the declarations of Herodotus, and from the doubts which Strabo throws on the southern voyages of the Phenicians.

It has been noticed in the preceding chapter, that the Phenicians had sailed from the Red Sea, had visited the Cape of Good Hope, and had returned through the Atlantic, and entered the Mediterranean. In their reports of this voyage, which occupied three years, they declared, that they had perceived the sun on their right hand, as they sailed round the coast of Lybia. This fact Herodotus treats as an actual falsehood, and attempts from this circumstance to discredit the whole account. Strabo joins with him in the denial of it, and Polybius doubts whether the land on the south of Africa has any sea surrounding it. Of the Phenician testimony, modern discoveries will not permit us to doubt; and therefore it may be fairly inferred, that if the Greeks had made any considerable improvements in their navigation, or had extended their voyages before the days of these historians, they would not have treated as fabulous, a fact so simple and obvious as that which they attempt to discredit.

Nor can we suppose that this ignorance of the Greeks was confined to the coasts of Africa on the Atlantic shores. On the shores of Europe they had made no discoveries. They knew that the Phenician merchants traded to the north; but from what distance they brought their tin, or in what direction those islands lay which produced it, their wisest men were unable to determine. Herodotus declared himself ignorant of their situation; and when Scipio endeavoured to learn from whence the tin was brought, the only answer he could obtain from the Greeks was, that their situation was wholly unknown to them. In this reply, it is however possible, that they might have acted with duplicity, in order to conceal from the Romans a secret which they and the Phenicians alone possessed.

But whatever might have been the knowledge of the Greeks with respect to the Scilly Islands in the days of Scipio, it is an indisputable fact that they had then made a great proficiency in ship-building, and consequently in the management of their vessels. Their voyages however were of no considerable extent; but their knowledge answered all their early purposes, that of planting colonies in various parts, as the Phenicians had done before them, and that of trading in the produce of them all.

Among these colonies which the Greeks had contrived to plant, there was one of some considerable extent, which the natives of Phocea had settled at Marseilles, about 540 years before Christ. This at a very early period was in a flourishing

condition, and might justly claim in naval affairs an equality with the best, if not a decided superiority over all their other settlements.

" The Greeks of Marseilles with all that fire of activity which they had derived from their ancestors, and with all that fondness for maritime enterprises which had carried them from Phocea into Gaul before, resolved to explore the Atlantic themselves for these islands of wealth." A ship was accordingly prepared, and the command of it given to Pytheas Massiliensis, one of the most experienced navigators that Greece could boast; who has immortalized his name by this daring voyage, and by the important discoveries which he made. The time of his sailing from Marseilles is rather uncertain, contradictory accounts having been given of the expedition; and the wonders which he recounted on his return, of the prodigies he had discovered, though now calculated only to amuse, must, on their being first published, have excited the utmost degree of astonishment.

In reciting the particulars of his voyage, he says, that he discovered " a vast prodigy in the tides of our ocean, the water rising no less than eighty cubits upon the land." In this voyage he seems to have ranged along the continental shore, and to have made discoveries on the northern extremities of Britain, before he attempted to explore the south, in which the Scilly Islands lay. In this northern expedition, he reached an island which he called Thule, supposed to be the most northerly of the British islands, from the inhabitants of which he learnt another prodigy. According to this account, there was a place " where was neither land, nor sea, nor air by itself, but a something composed of all, like the lungs of the sea; in which he says, the land and the sea, and all things are suspended on high, and this acts as the bond of the universe, not accessible either by land or sea." But of these wonders he candidly acknowledges that he saw nothing himself, except the likeness of lungs, having received the rest from the information communicated by others.

" He had opened a communication with the natives, and had conversed with them by a Gallic interpreter assuredly, but had grossly mistaken their information. He himself indeed saw only a thick sea fog, such as has frequently been mistaken for land by our own mariners; such as would thus be neither sea nor land, nor air, yet something composed of all. And in this, as the natives we may be sure, really reported to him, the land and the sea and all things appeared suspended on high, all nature swimming in a fog, as it moved slowly along the shore.

" He thus pushed as far (can we believe it possible for navigation then?) as the 90th degree of latitude, or the very North Pole itself; because he wrote in the journal of his voyage, that at Thule, six days' sail from Britain, the days continued for six months together. But from his mention of the isle as a British one, as

only six days' sail from the north of Britain, and from the physical impossibility of his wintering at the Pole to know personally the length of a day for six months; we may be sure he went only as far as the Orkney Islands, the only isles on the north ascribable to Britain, there experienced a day of eighteen hours and a half, so went no farther towards the Pole than the 60th degree, and related all the rest from the information received there. Yet in this amazing voyage of discovery, which seems to have rivalled all that even the present race hath produced, commerce then running an equal race of glory with philosophy now, and Pytheas ranking in naval action almost with a Cook himself; he certainly discovered the Sylley Isles, though he discovered not, what perhaps from the extent of his navigation, was equally an object, new islands of tin."*

Dr. Borlase thinks that this astonishing voyage of Pytheas was undertaken about the time of Alexander. He does not however give any intimation, that it was supposed that Pytheas sailed so far as the North Pole. He only sailed so far north as to see the sun disappear only for a moment of time, and immediately rise again. And to do this he had only to sail so far as the arctic circle, in 66 deg. 30 min. north latitude, when the sun has advanced so far as the northern tropic. It was here, in all probability, that he saw the sun performing his revolution above the horizon, which could not fail to make a deep impression upon a mind that had never before entertained an idea of the possibility of the fact. This probably was the first time that the Greeks ever ventured into the northern seas; but having thus the way pointed out by the great example of Pytheas, their fears subsided, and they became bold enough to attempt voyages of this kind, which in after ages they performed with facility, exactness, and success.

"That Pytheas in this voyage reached the Scilly Islands, is plain, from what Timæus, the Greek historian of Sicily, who wrote about 300 years before Christ, and what he could declare only from this, the only great voyager of the Greeks in our seas, is reported by Pliny to declare, that 'the island Mictis is distant from Britain westward, by a navigation of six days, that *tin grows in it*, and that the Britons navigate to it in wicker boats sewed round with leather.' Mictis is thus described in the very same terms with which we have just seen Silura and its isles described before; the tin then being said to be sought in islands of the Atlantic Sea, and to be brought to the seekers 'in wicker boats sewed round with leather.' And from this voyage it is, that Britain became what Pliny expressly avers it was, what however the industry of learning has toiled in vain to discover whence or how it was—'celebrated in the monuments of the Greeks.'"†

* Whitaker's Supplement, p. 50. † Ibid. p. 51.

MIDACRITUS, A MERCHANT OF MARSEILLES, THE FIRST GREEK THAT EXPORTED TIN FROM SCILLY.

Pytheas, on returning to his native port, communicated to his astonished countrymen the glories of his discovery; and they saw new sources of wealth and commerce opening before them, to which their imaginations could set no bounds. In addition to this, they had now discovered the islands which the Phenicians had concealed for ages, and henceforth considered themselves as rivals or partners in trade, as circumstances might direct; felicitating themselves on the maritime glory which the colony had thus acquired.

"The Greeks of Marseilles now visited the Sylley Isles, equally with the Phenicians of Cadiz, and equally exported its tin. Posidonius, who appears to have been cotemporary with Pompey, and to have been visited as a famous orator by Pompey, when the latter was engaged upon the piratical war; in a passage that first notices, and surprisingly for a writer so early, notices the British position of Sylley, says, 'Tin is generated in the isles the Cassiterides, and is carried from the British Isles to Marseilles.'

"But we even know the very name of the first merchant of Marseilles, that exported a cargo of tin from Sylley. The name of this man was Midacritus, though violently distorted by Stukeley, after Bochart, into Melcartus, to make it a Phenician name. Stukeley however acknowledges him as the first bringer of tin into Greece from the Cassiterid Islands. These isles received their general and characteristic name of Cassiterides, from the Greeks alone. By this name they were known to Herodotus himself, about four centuries and a half before Christ; and probably at a period just posterior to the very voyage of Pytheas. By this name did they continue to be known, through all the succeeding ages of antiquity. The Greeks imposed their Greek name upon the isles, when their predecessors and cotemporaries the Phenicians, imposed none; because the Greeks gratified their national vanity in imposing them, and could perpetuate the gratification by their writings. They thus appear also to have done, what the Phenicians appear not to have attempted; to have not only prosecuted their voyages of discovery to the isles, but to have taken their stations at them; to have thence directed their voyages of discovery along the main land of Britain, and to have marked their courses by imposing their names as they sailed along."*

In the science of ship-building the Greeks had certainly made great proficiencies; constructing their vessels agreeably to the hints they had received from the Phenician models, and the skill of their most celebrated artists and mechanics. "We have it on the authority of Athenæus, that about two hundred years before Cesar, the Greeks had made a rapid progress in ship-building and navigation.

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, p. 51.

THE MARINER'S COMPASS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO THE PHENICIANS.

That famous ship which was built at Syracuse, under the direction of Archimedes, is at once a proof of the proficiency of the Greeks in the maritime arts, and of their connexion with Britain. According to Athenæus this ship had three masts, of which the second and third were easily procured; but it was long before a tree for the mainmast could be found. At length a proper tree was discovered in the mountains of Britain, and brought down to the sea coast by machines invented by a famous mechanic, Phileas Tauromenites."*

Closely connected with this circumstance, is the fact that the Greeks must have visited the shores of Britain before this celebrated vessel was built, otherwise they would not have thought of exploring this island to search for a tree to make her mainmast. In what part of this island the tree was found we are not informed; but as it was in the western parts that the Greeks, as well as the Phenicians, had established their connexions, it is natural to conclude that the tree was felled on some of the Danmonian hills. And even in this as well as in any other point of view, it appears evident that the Greeks must have had some previous acquaintance with our forests and their productions, which more than intimate, that about 300 years before Cesar, they were not strangers to our shores and mountains.

In what direction either Pytheas or Midacritus sailed to discover the mines of Scilly and Cornwall, we do not know; neither are we any more acquainted with the harbours they frequented, than with those from which the Phenicians shipped their tin. The ore however confines our views to the western parts; and although their early voyages, like those of other adventurers who traverse boisterous seas to discover unknown countries, might have been tedious from being circuitous, no doubt they soon discovered the track of their predecessors, who had contrived to reach their various ports of destination with astonishing expedition.

By what art either the Phenicians or Greeks, in these early periods, contrived to conduct their vessels across the Channel, when the land on each side became invisible, has given rise to many curious speculations. Mr. Polwhele conceives that to the Phenicians at least, the mariner's compass was known, and, that by its direction they guided their vessels somewhat similar to the moderns. He argues also, that it is not improbable, that the inviolable secrecy which they observed respecting it, to conceal it from the Romans, might have been the primary occasion of its being lost. In this opinion he is far from being singular; but it is not always that we can infer probability either from a singularity of opinion, or from the want of it. The supposition is certainly liable to many very formidable objections.

With some of the useful principles of astronomy, there can be no doubt that

* Historical Views of Devon, p. 145.

both nations were at this time acquainted, although it can hardly be doubted that the knowledge of the Phenicians exceeded that of the Greeks. Both nations had noticed the apparent revolutions of the fixed stars, particularly in the northern regions of the heavens. The Greeks had turned their attention to the stars of Ursa Major, and had endeavoured to regulate their voyages accordingly. But as the apparent circle described by this constellation was too large to be specifically definite, and as the apparent movement of the stars would be either accelerated or retarded by the course which the vessel took, and the rapidity with which she sailed, their voyages were attended with some degree of uncertainty; and, as a natural consequence, with a proportionable degree of hazard. The Phenicians on the contrary, who were more minute in their observations, fixed their eyes on a bright star that they found to be stationary near the Pole. This star, M. Bailly, in his work on the astronomy of the ancients, tells us, was the star in the Dragon marked x, which was then only five degrees from the Pole. While that star which we now denominate the Polar Star, was, in the time of Chiron, more than fifteen degrees from it. The star marked x in the constellation of the Dragon, is now fixed on some globes nineteen degrees distant from the Pole. It was by this star, probably, that the Phenician mariners endeavoured to steer their vessels; and from its stationary position, that they learnt the various directions which they ought to take, rather than from a knowledge of the mariner's compass, which they are supposed to have concealed until its use was lost. This circumstance must have enabled them to proceed on their distant voyages with more confidence than the Greeks could proceed on theirs; and this may in some degree account for those daring adventures which history has associated with their general character.

To the astronomical knowledge, both of the Phenicians and Greeks, Ovid has paid a tribute of due respect, and characterized their scientific acquirements in the following lines:

> "Thy arts, O Greece, with us had yet no place,
> Learn'd were thy sons, but not a warrior race:
> To handle well the sword, or missive dart,
> Was then at Rome the master-piece of art;
> Who then of Hyades, or of Pleiades spoke,
> Or notice of the Poles observant took?
> Who knew the Greater or the Lesser Bear,
> By which the Greeks or the Phenicians steer."*

* Massey's Translation of Ovid's Fasti, p. 126.

GRECIAN NAMES OF HEADLANDS IN BRITAIN.

The Greeks having made themselves masters of the route from Marseilles to the Scilly Islands, made these and the western shores of Cornwall the central spot of all their operations. "As they advanced from the Sylley Isles to pass up the British Channel, they took their departure from the Bolerium Promontorium, our Land's End; but gave it an additional appellation of their own; Ptolemy, a Greek like themselves, noting expressly 'Anti Vestæum Promontory, which is also Bolerium.' – But what can be the meaning of such a name? The usages of the Greeks in imposing names, serve sufficiently to explain their meaning. We have thus their Rhium and Anti Rhium in ancient Greece; their Bacchium and Anti Bacchium, in the Arabian Gulf; their Barrium and Anti Barrium in the Adriatic, from the opposition of the one to the other. We have also from these general denominators of half the globe, Libanus and Anti Libanus; and, to come nearer home, Antipolis or Antibes, so named by these very merchants of Marseilles, as standing opposite to their previously founded Nicæ or Nice. But to come still closer to the case of our Anti Vestæum, a point on the continent of Phenicia itself, denominated Antaradus, from its being over against Aradus, an isle. We thus see the name of Anti Vestæum derived from the name of one of the isles which it confronted.

"The Greeks then moved along the southern shore of Britain, to that grand prominence in it, from or at which our own vessels take their departure or mark their return, the Lizard Point; and called it, as Ptolemy calls it from them, 'the Danmonian, which is also the Ocrinum Promontory.' They afterwards advanced to that promontory near Plymouth, which we now denominate from a fanciful yet new assimilation of the land to an animal, the Ramhead, in the parish of Rame; and, as to our agreeable surprise we find, in so doing, we are only echoing the very Greeks, who called it, as they called a point in the Euxine, the Ram's Front. But the Greeks still advanced up the British Channel, and even denominated the Start Point in Devonshire the Helenum Promontorium, or Grecian Cape; no longer contenting themselves with giving Greek appellations to our shores, but fixing upon them the very name of Greece, and so fixing apparently upon this, as the boundary of their range along shore to the east. We find no Greek appellations to the east of this.

"But what is very extraordinary, we can trace the same signatures of their coasting from Sylley, in the Irish as well as in the British Channel. Immediately before the mention of Anti Vestæum, Ptolemy notices what the Greeks had entitled the Promontory of Hercules, that hero of Greece for peregrinations as wonderful as his deeds; and what proves the familiarity of these Greek names

among the very natives themselves, a familiarity which could be introduced only by the Romans, we still preserve the Greek title in our English of *Hert-land Point*. The Isle of Lundy near it, so inconsiderable even now as to have only one family upon it, was then important enough from its cliffs rising up near 800 feet in perpendicular height, and from its own projection of fourteen or fifteen miles into the sea, to have also a specific appellation from the Greeks, to have one correspondent with the other, and to have the dignified title of *Heraclea*, or *Insula Herculea*, the Isle of Hercules. But we crown all with the Pillars of Hercules, erected upon Hertland or Hartland Point; the evidently intended signature of the limits of this coasting navigation to the north, as the Grecian Cape was to the east.

"From all these circumstances and facts, we may fairly conclude, that though the written monuments of the Greeks in which Britain was celebrated, have not reached us, yet we have enough of notices remaining, to see how it was celebrated, by seeing the coasting navigation of the Greeks from Sylley in the Irish as well as British Channel; by marking the course and extent of their progress along our shores to the north, as well as the east, and by observing them to define the extent of their progress with either significant names, or significant erections. But at the close, it is amusing to observe, that these navigators of ancient times sailed along our shores with the same curiosity of mind, with the same adventurousness of spirit, and with the same unconsciousness of our future consequence as a nation, with which we ourselves have been recently exploring the coasts of New Zealand, or New Holland, in the southern hemisphere."*

Such appears to have been the origin, progress, and extent of the Grecian intercourse with the Scilly Islands and with the coasts of Cornwall; the boundaries of which were fixed at Hartland Point; to which, according to other writers, the Phenicians had sailed before; and to the Start Point, to which, on their arrival, they gave another name.

The merchants of Marseilles having now become partners with the merchants of Cadiz, in the treasures of Scilly, through the enterprising activity of their renowned countryman, resolved, like them, to share in the secrecy, as they shared in the advantages of commerce. And although they were at this time in close alliance with the Romans at Narbonne, nothing could induce them to sacrifice interest at the shrine of patriotism, or to shew that trade and friendship had any connexion with one another. The Romans at this time had begun to traverse the

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, p. 53.

ocean in their own vessels, and had furnished many proofs that nothing could be more desirable to them, than to become acquainted with this important secret. Of this the Phenicians and Greeks were well aware: and in order to mislead them in case they made any attempts to discover these islands, they falsified their position in those secret accounts which they artfully published, declaring that the Cassiterides, from which the tin was brought, lay in the Atlantic, on the north-west coast of Spain. This delusion had its desired effect for a considerable time, and enabled them to keep the secret inviolable, not only from the prying eyes of Rome, but from every other part of the commercial world.

The Greeks, who had concurred with the Phenicians, in giving the name Cassiterides to the Scilly Islands, from the tin which they produced, added, on their arrival, another, which was suggested by the appearance of the inhabitants. This name was *Œstromenides*, which implied *the isles of the furies*. According to Strabo, the natives of Scilly, when the Greeks landed on their shores, and no doubt those of the western parts of Cornwall were much the same, " were clothed in black, wearing tunics down to their ancles, girt about the breast, walking with sticks, and looking like the tragic furies. They live like the Nomades, upon their cattle, having metals of tin and lead."

It appears from the preceding description, that these natives had much improved in their appearance and dress, from what their distant ancestors were, and from what many of the tribes of Britain were at that very time, although they looked like tragic furies. The skins of beasts, and the frightful paintings of the body, with which several tribes were distinguished, were here exchanged for garments made of wool, dyed black. These garments were of a long flowing kind, hanging down to their ancles, and gathered at the breasts, near which they were confined with girdles; and what adds to their advancement in civilization and refinement, they carried sticks in their hands, perhaps for ornament and fashion, rather than support; thus shewing an example which their distant posterity are careful to follow, even to the present day.

For this mode of dress, for these ornamental appendages mentioned by Strabo, and for that civility in manners which Diodorus has ascribed to them, they were certainly indebted to the Phenician traders, who perhaps imported these articles from Cadiz, to barter with the natives for the metals which their mines produced. Nor can we justly suppose that the description given by Strabo of their looking like tragic furies, will militate against that improvement which they had made in their appearance and manners. Their looking like tragic furies applied to their dress, not to their behaviour. It was an illustrated comparison which conveyed a

suitable idea to the minds of the Greeks, who were well acquainted with the character of the furies represented on the stage, and was nothing more than what every author had a right to employ.

It is not however very frequent that the Scilly Islands are called Œstromenides. Festus Avienus indeed speaks of them under this appellation, although he connects them with the Tartessians, or inhabitants of Cadiz, by whom they had another name; thus evidently blending together the two names Tarshish and Cadiz, and making them one in the following lines:—

"At the far distant isles *Œstrymnides*,
Did the Tartessians use to have a trade,
The very colonists from Carthage."

In another place, the same author speaks of the same islands, describes the trade, persons and character of the inhabitants, and adverts to the boats or skiffs in which they ventured upon the tempestuous waves, in order to expedite their trade:—

"There raise their heads the isles *Œstrymnides*,
Lie loose together, and in metals rich
Of tin and lead; the men are very strong,
Proud in their minds, but in their conduct wise,
Their souls are ever on their traffic bent;
Yet with no boats like ours do they attempt
The wide, the boisterous, monster-breeding sea;
To form the keel of pine, as others do,
Or shape the beech for oars, is not the way
They bend their skiffs; but wonderful to tell!
They make their vessels with conjoined skins,
And range in leather o'er the wide-spread waves."

It is not exactly certain, that the Romans with whom the Greeks of Marseilles were in close alliance, knew that they had obtained a knowledge of the important secret, which the Phenicians had been thought exclusively to enjoy. Some have thought that the Romans continued to think that all the tin which was imported on the continent, came through Cadiz and the Phenician merchants. If this be true, it must have been a master-piece of policy in the Greeks, to preserve their alliance and their trade; and even to conceal from the Romans a knowledge that they were acquainted with this secret source of wealth. But the day was fast approaching, when Rome was no longer to be kept in ignorance. We shall next proceed to

notice the adventures of the Romans, after having made a few remarks on the scattered remains of Greece, which may be found in this county.

SECTION II.

Few Memorials of the Greeks to be found in Cornwall.

The evidence adduced in the preceding section, proves that the Greeks shared in the Phenician trade, and visited the western shores of Britain for tin, at a very early period, although the exact time seems to be unknown. Bochart thinks that the Greeks did not visit our shores more than 117 years before Christ; but Camden places the same fact at 160 years before the Christian era. Herodotus, who wrote 450 years before Christ, informs us, that tin was brought from the Cassiterides in his days, although he knew not where those islands lay. But from his declaring that he supposed the tin was like amber, brought from the remotest parts of Europe, these remotest parts of Europe must have been discovered at that time. It is well known, that the amber, upon which the ancients set an inconceivable value, was found on the coasts of Denmark and Prussia, and on the islands of the Baltic. It is therefore plain, that these regions must have been explored before the days of Herodotus, otherwise he could not have mentioned either the name of amber, or that of the territory from which it was brought. And as Pytheas was the first Greek who is known to have sailed into these northern latitudes, it follows as an inevitable consequence, that his voyage must have been undertaken before Herodotus wrote, because the amber which he mentions could not have been known till this voyage was accomplished. And although at this time the Cassiterides might have been known to some Greek merchants and navigators, their true position and distance might have been so studiously concealed from every one who was not individually concerned, that Herodotus might in reality have been as ignorant as he declares himself to be. Sammes, when adverting to this fact, thinks Mr. Camden to have placed the coming of the Greeks at too late a period. He supposes that they visited our shores so early as the days of Pythagoras, who flourished about 600 years before Christ. But this has been declared to be an assertion without authority, and to be in direct opposition to several circumstantial facts.

Pliny says, that Britain was famous in Greek monuments long before the time of the Romans; and Polybius, who lived about 200 years before Christ, promised to write a treatise concerning the British Isles, and the manner in which the people

prepared their tin. Strabo says that he accomplished his promise; but if so, the book is lost, and its valuable contents for ever hidden from the world. It is plain however, from his proposing to undertake such a work, that historical materials must have then been in existence, and have been placed within his reach; and if so, the Greeks must have been acquainted with the situation of the Cassiterides long before his days. It therefore appears from these combined circumstances, that the accounts transmitted to us respecting the time when the Greeks first visited our islands, are conflicting and various, and consequently that the fact itself is involved in much uncertainty. From this uncertainty arises another, as to the period of their continuance. For even though the time of their final departure could be ascertained with much precision, yet while that of their arrival remains undecided, the whole period of their trading to our shores must be involved in much uncertainty.

But how long soever the Greeks continued to visit these parts, it does not appear that they have left many monuments behind them. This circumstance may be considered as arguing strongly against their having established colonies on our shores. Of their places of residence we have no memorials visible in any surviving vestiges, from Hartland Point to the Start; from which we may gather, that if any settlements were formed, the habitations of the settlers were of a transitory nature, and formed of materials too feeble and perishable to bear the shocks of time, and the accidents of hostile elements. Those on the southern coasts near Mount's Bay, and in the Scilly Islands, if any such ever existed, we may easily conceive to have been swept away by the same inundations which probably annihilated those of the Phenicians. But on those promontories to which they have given names, and which appear to have sustained little or no injury from the encroachments of the sea, we might naturally expect to discover some memorials, if any had ever existed. None however can be found; and hence the conclusion is evident, that they must have been of a temporary kind, if they existed, or that no buildings in these permanent parts were ever erected by them.

It has been before noticed, that the Druids of Britain, although they committed none of their mysteries to writing, were not ignorant of the art; that in their ordinary affairs they used the Greek letters; and that these letters were imported from a colony which the Greeks at a very early period had established at Marseilles. In these letters we perceive the influence and ascendancy of the Greeks; and if any of the ordinary writings of the Druids had been transmitted to us, we might have discovered in the medium of communication, a striking monument of these celebrated traders. But since nothing of this sort has been permitted to reach us,

we can only perceive the shadow of this monument cast upon us by a kind of accidental reflection.

If we look back to the preceding section, we cannot but discover that for several names of places in Cornwall, and for the termination of many more, we stand indebted to the Greek language. These words, and terminations of words thus applied, Dr. Borlase thinks are nearly all the monuments of Greece which this county can boast.—"It does not appear that they left many monuments behind them, if any at all; unless the number of Greek words interspersed in the British language may be considered as such, and to have proceeded from this commerce."

That the commercial intercourse of the Greeks with Cornwall occasioned the terminations which the names of many of our places still occasionally bear, seems to be too plain to admit of much doubt. But as the Greeks traded to this country almost exclusively for tin, their intercourse can hardly be supposed to extend beyond the confines of Devonshire and Cornwall. Dr. Borlase therefore seems to argue justly, when he contends that those Greek words with which the British language was impregnated, must be imputed to some other cause.

The Gauls, he says, used the Greek letters in Cesar's time, who found their rolls of soldiers, together with a vast number of women and children, written in the Greek characters. And it is well known, that the conquests of Alexander were accompanied with a diffusive knowledge of the Greek language some centuries before Christ. By Alexander and his captains it was spread through Egypt and the East; and by the colonies of the Peloponnesians and their academies, to which the polite world resorted, it was carried into the West, as an indispensable accomplishment among the more exalted orders of society. Hence it became the universal fashion of the polite world for several centuries before Christ, not only to be acquainted with the language, but also to write in Greek.

From these circumstances it has been inferred, that our British ancestors did not derive all those Greek words with which their language was impregnated, from the Grecian traders exclusively, but rather in a considerable degree from the intercourse which subsisted between the Druids of Britain and of Gaul, whose records, whenever they were committed to writing, were always preserved in Greek characters. In addition to this, it has been thought, that the Greeks themselves, though proud of their language, borrowed many words from the Gallo-Grecians, a Celtic nation, with whom they were well acquainted. This therefore, if it can be admitted, will easily account for the introduction of a still greater similitude. Besides all this, the resemblance between many of the Greek words to those of the Phenicians, will plainly teach us how they might naturally augment their

THE ONLY GREEK VESTIGES NOW IN BRITAIN ARE IN MANY WORDS OF OUR LANGUAGE.

stock, independently of those trading Greeks, who without all doubt contributed more than any other cause, to give diffusion and perpetuity to their words.

As for any other remains of the Greeks who once visited our shores, besides those which the names of our places still continue to supply, very few if any are to be found. Tin was the article which they sought, discovered, and purchased; and Cornwall and the Scilly Islands were the places to which they resorted. But in these places no memorials of any monuments, known to be Grecian, can be said to exist. We have neither coins nor inscriptions among us; nor does it appear with certainty, that any satisfactory evidence can be adduced, to prove that they ever actually made any settlements upon our coasts; unless, like the habitations of the Phenicians, we suppose all their remains to have been swept away by the encroaching waves, and even this appears rather doubtful.

Their only business to these islands was trade; and not being at variance with the natives, and dreading no invasion, they erected no fortifications, and formed no encampments. No battles were fought; and no monumental stones, either with or without inscriptions, were erected, to denote either victory or defeat. And perhaps as they were no more than transient visitors, they built no temples, and established no particular mode of worship; and from these things they might have been led to abstain, as the Phenicians had already established a profitable monopoly, and left no room for an adventurous rival in the articles of superstition.

CHAP. VII.

Cornwall visited, invaded, subdued, and abandoned by the Romans.

SECTION I.

Cornwall first known to the Romans, and visited by them.

IT does not require much acquaintance with history, to know that Rome and Carthage were the deadly enemies of each other; that the overthrow of the one was considered as necessary to the safety of its rival; and that this enmity involved them in successive wars, which finally terminated in the ruin of Carthage. The first of these wars, which are in general denominated Punic, began about 264 years before Christ, at which time the Romans were totally ignorant of all naval tactics. But as they were to contend with a nation renowned for the adventurous spirit of its inhabitants upon the ocean, they found it necessary to turn their attention to maritime affairs. The second Punic war began about 218 years before Christ; at which time the Romans had made themselves so well acquainted with ship-building, with the management of vessels, and with the general principles of navigation, as to become formidable, even in the eyes of the Carthaginians. It is not before this period that we can suppose them capable of visiting distant shores, much less of making an expedition into Britain.

No sooner had their wars with the Carthaginians made the Romans acquainted with maritime affairs, than they endeavoured to turn their skill to their national advantage, by uniting the wealth of commerce with the glory of their arms. Long before this time they had marked with secret envy the benefits which the Phenicians derived from their trade in tin, with some distant but unknown islands, which according to report, abounded in this valuable metal. They had frequently considered it a desirable object to turn this trade to their own advantage; but they had hitherto found two obstacles which it was not in their power to surmount. One of these was, their ignorance of maritime concerns; and the other, their inability to comprehend at what distance, or in what direction the Cassiterides lay. The Punic wars had enabled them to overcome the former of these obstacles; and

they now began seriously to think, that nothing more was wanting than skill and perseverance to enable them to overcome the latter. And as the tin trade had been hitherto carried on by their rivals, except that share which the Greeks of Marseilles had acquired, and of which their knowledge was rather doubtful, to share with them the glory of the trade from the fountain head, and perhaps ultimately rise to the exclusive possession, was deemed an acquisition not unworthy of Roman greatness.

With this important object in view, they concentrated their nautical ingenuity, and equipped some vessels which they thought adapted for the purpose, and entrusted their care to some of their most experienced sailors. A vessel being thus equipped and manned, as no one on board knew either the distance or the bearing of the port for which they were destined, was ordered to hover near the port of Cadiz, to watch the movements of such vessels as were occasionally leaving that harbour; and to follow any one, that from its appearance and equipment, appeared bound to a foreign port, at such a distance as might just serve to elude suspicion, and yet conduct them to the port of its destination. To these orders the Roman captain strictly adhered; but his designs were defeated by the patriotic vigilance and intrepidity of the Phenician.

Scarcely had the Roman begun to hover round the port of Cadiz, before he discovered a vessel stretching into the Atlantic, and apparently steering for some unknown region. He followed her at a distance; but his intention was discovered by the wary Phenician, who determined on a mode of revenge which should exempt himself from the charge of insult, should baffle the present attempt upon their profitable monopoly, and preclude every future attack upon it. To steer into the Atlantic in a wrong direction, to alter his course in the night, and thus escape unseen to the Cassiterides, the Phenician thought would be too hazardous an experiment. He therefore fixed upon some more decisive measures, and meditated nothing less than the utter destruction of the Roman vessel with all her crew, although it might be attended with the loss of his own ship and cargo.

Being well acquainted with his own situation, he directed his vessel towards a point of the coast, where he well knew the water to be shallow, and the bottom to be of such a nature as rendered it impossible to extricate a ship that should get aground upon it. On this shore he instantly drove his vessel, and she became immovably fixed. The Roman followed, and soon found himself in the same perilous situation, in which both ships were wrecked. The Phenician commander having thus accomplished his purpose, soon extricated his men, and with them got safe to land. In this condition he returned to Cadiz, recounted his adventure, and was reimbursed out of the public treasury.

THE ROMANS AFTER MANY UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS, DISCOVER THE SCILLY ISLANDS.

The Romans were soon made acquainted with the disaster of their countrymen; but although they were disappointed, they were not disheartened; and instead of sinking into a state of despair, the misfortune operated as an incentive that urged them on to new exertions. The value of the tin islands advanced in their estimation in proportion to the means made use of by the Phenicians to conceal them. Rome was not accustomed to be intimidated; the glory of her boasted genius was at stake; and she resolved to persevere in her efforts, until every avenue was shut against hope, or until success should finally crown her enterprises.

Being taught by experience the folly of pursuing the Phenician mariners in order to discover these islands, they resolved like the Greeks of Marseilles, or like Columbus in modern days, to explore the ocean by themselves, from a full conviction that it was not in the power of the Phenicians finally to conceal any portion of the globe which Rome was determined to discover. Under these impressions they fitted out some new adventurers, and sent them into the Atlantic. Many efforts were accordingly made, but disappointment continued to mock their hopes, and they always returned to their ports with the same degree of ignorance that they left them.

Nor was this to be considered as a matter of surprise. The Phenicians had falsified the real position of the Scilly Islands; and the Greeks, equally interested in confirming the commercial world in ignorance, joined in this deception. They pretended that these islands lay on the north-west coast of Spain, and in these latitudes the Romans sought them. But after examining the shores of Spain in every probable direction, without discovering a single ray of light to guide them in their future adventures, the islands seem to be enveloped in a mist, or hidden behind a cloud, which appeared to be impenetrable. But it was not in the power of all these disappointments, and unpleasant circumstances combined, to make them relinquish their enterprise. They determined still to persevere, and their perseverance was finally crowned with success.

Among these numerous candidates for wealth and fame, was a bold adventurer, whose name was Publius Crassus, who undertook an expedition in pursuit of these islands which had excited so many desires, and created so many doubts. This man stretching farther into the Atlantic than any of his predecessors, at length had the happiness to behold the much desired islands, rising apparently from the bosom of the ocean. Like Pytheas before him, he had made the discovery alone, and like that of Pytheas his name is immortalized.

No sooner had he effected a landing, than he began to form some acquaintance with the natives, and to explore their mines. The people he found living in a state of contented tranquillity, equally strangers to luxury and idleness, and totally

unacquainted with the power and manners of the Romans. In their behaviour they were courteous and civil, much disposed to trade, and far advanced in a state of refinement, from the general condition of men who hold little or no intercourse with the rest of the civilized world. In the knowledge of useful science they had however made but little improvement; for although the Phenicians and Greeks had traded with them for ages, they had never yet ventured to conduct their vessels into any foreign ports; neither does it appear that they had ventured upon the seas any further than was necessary to reach the Cornish shores. Both the Phenicians and Greeks might have combined to keep them in this ignorance of maritime concerns, by representing dangers which had no existence, as being too formidable for their feeble vessels to encounter, and the voyage too long for them to hope to perform. These lessons, an attachment to their private interests would naturally suggest; and so long as they could inculcate them with success, they could ensure a monopoly of trade by preserving a knowledge of the islands from every distant rival.

On exploring their mines, Crassus discovered that they had not worked them with so much advantage as they might have done. From shode-pits, or koffens, they had hitherto derived all their metal, excepting that which the streams, the shores, and the beds of rivers supplied. To the perpendicular shaft and adit they were perfect strangers; their labour therefore in opening the ground from its surface, and in pursuing a vein of ore through beds of rubbish, must have been incalculable.

Crassus, who had known something of the nature of mining, from what he had learnt on the continent, soon discovered the defect, and with all the magnanimity of a Roman, pointed it out to the natives, and taught them to improve their system. The advice thus communicated by Crassus, was received with readiness, and instantly adopted. Perpendicular shafts were accordingly sunk, and adits driven on the lodes; a new era was formed in their commercial speculations, and a spirit of adventure inspired which was before unknown. Of these shafts, though shallow at first, some memorials still remain in the Scilly Islands; and the ancient adits which have been already noticed, may probably be attributed to the advice of this intrepid Roman adventurer.

But the advantages which the Britons derived from this visit of Crassus, did not end here; although we may hereafter find reason to suspect his disinterestedness. On observing their ignorance of naval affairs, and the prejudices under which they suffered, he endeavoured to give them some instruction, and to remove their apprehensions; advising them no longer to trust to foreign merchants, but to push boldly across the ocean, and visit for themselves the ports of the continent. From

attending to this advice he promised them many advantages, of which they had hitherto been deprived; pointed out to them the benefits of competition among the merchants, and inspired them with a distant desire of commercial independence.

To this advice, which appeared to be as disinterested as it was plausible, the natives listened with much attention; and soon concluded, that it was not less practicable than the changes that were introducing into their mining system. But the schemes of Crassus were more extensive than their penetration into his designs. By enticing them across the Channel, he taught them to explore new ports, which were evidently more convenient than those of Cadiz and Marseilles, to which the tin had hitherto been carried. In thus opening to them a new market, he aimed to divert the golden stream into a new reservoir, and finally to exclude from the trade the Phenicians and Greeks, who had hitherto contrived to engross the whole. In this system of retaliation his object was something more than common revenge. He hoped to induce the natives to export their own metals to the shores of France, in which they might always find safe harbours and advantageous markets, even in the vicinity of their own coasts. From hence he intended to transport the tin to Narbonne, the place of his abode, and thus complete the mercantile degradation both of Phenicia and Greece.

Strabo indeed only says, that Crassus advised the natives to push over the ocean in order to visit the ports of the continent; but Narbonne must have been known to him to be too distant for such timid sailors. Crassus with his countrymen, had long sought the Scilly Islands about Cape Finisterre; he had conducted his vessel into the Bay of Biscay, and had ranged along the western shore of France to Ushant, when by a fortunate stretch into the Atlantic he had gained a sight of the Scilly Islands. But to retrace the track which he had pursued, was too distant and too hazardous a navigation for British sailors. He could therefore have considered France alone, the western side of France, and even the north-western extremity of it, as the only point of the continent immediately accessible to them, and as the only point, which in truth could answer the description given by Strabo, that was divided from them in the Scilly Islands only by "a sea" just "wider than between themselves and Britain."

The advice given by Crassus to the Britons respecting the working of their mines, was not more readily adopted than that which he communicated relative to their enterprises in navigation. They soon explored the continent for themselves, and learnt to traverse the seas with so much address, that in the fourth century the natives of Scilly are celebrated by Festus Avienus as "men of high minds, of great prudence as merchants, and for their great skill as pilots, in steering their vessels of skins with dexterity through the ocean."

THE NATIVES OF SCILLY INDUCED TO CARRY THEIR TIN TO GAUL.

"So much was the genius of these islanders changed, by this visit of Crassus to them! So very different were they now became, from what they had been! From a life of peace and plenty on their little isles, knowing nothing of the world about them, considering the kindred isle of Britain as a continent, as an universe to them, and rich in a metal for which they had no use, from their want of knowledge in the qualities of the ore, and in the modes of manufacturing it; they were suddenly visited by some strangers from a region, then thrown by the general ignorance of the world concerning its own geography, to the seeming distance of half the globe from them. They were amazed undoubtedly at their dress, so superior to what they had made for themselves out of the same materials with their very boats; at their persons, so strongly attesting the neighbourhood of their country to the sun; and at their ships, so strongly built, so largely framed, and so plentifully provided with all kinds of stores. Yet they would be more amazed to hear of the vast distance from which the strangers had come, to find they had a person among them, a miner assuredly, from Spain or Portugal, whose eye fastened readily upon their tin ore, whose hand eagerly picked it up from their brooks, and whose tongue taught them to collect it carefully for the present, to separate the metal from its adherences by water, and then to fuse it by fire into ingots, more completely than they had done before. So commenced the *mining* for tin in Britain. It commenced at first at the south-west angle, in one of its detached isles there. It went on there, till the islanders had been successively taught by the Carthaginians of Spain, by the Greeks of Marseilles, or by the Romans of Narbonne, to become expert miners, to rise into bold mariners, and in their sea boats of skins to explore that very continent from which they had now been visited by three different nations of it. Yet what is more surprising perhaps than all, this amusing, this instructive portion of our British history, has never been called out into notice before; though it is so necessary to the origin of all our domestic manufactures, and of all our foreign commerce; so necessary even to the history of our commerce and manufactures afterwards."*

At what particular period Publius Crassus was so fortunate as to discover the shores of Scilly, seems to be involved in some uncertainty. We have already seen that it could not possibly be before the second Punic war, because prior to that time, the Romans were ignorant of navigation. It is equally certain, that it was before the days of Julius Cesar, who visited Britain more than fifty years before the birth of Christ.

* Whitaker's Supplement to Polwhele's History of Cornwall, p. 58.

THE VENETI, A PEOPLE OF GAUL, TRADE TO BRITAIN FOR TIN.

Mr. Whitaker says, that the discovery made by Crassus, was *some years* before the entry of Cesar into Britain; but the particular time he leaves in an indefinite manner. Chapple thinks that Crassus was of Gaul, and that his discovery and examination of our mines cannot reasonably be supposed to have taken place till after the third Punic war, and the destruction of Old Carthage; and perhaps not till the conclusion of the Allobrogic war, which happened about 116 years before Christ, when Narbonne was reduced to a Roman province. Dr. Borlase however, places the arrival of Crassus at a much earlier period:—"That the Romans worked our ancient mines, is very probable; for, having found the way to the Cassiterides, above 200 years before Julius Cesar, it is not to be supposed that they ever quitted that profitable trade, which was worth pursuing, even from Italy, and must needs therefore have induced the Romans to seize upon the mines, the sources of these riches, when they came here and were so near the fountain's brink." Such is the uncertainty in which these interesting periods of our history are involved.

To what part of the continent the navigators of Scilly, under the instruction of Crassus repaired, when they began to transport their tin, can be ascertained with a greater degree of precision than the time when Crassus made his discovery. "It was to the region of the Veneti, and to the harbour of Vannes their capital, in the province of Bretagne."* This is a fact which may be gathered from some subsequent circumstances in their history.

"We are sure that the islanders went to the continent; we naturally pitch upon the nearest part of France, as the point to which they went, and we actually behold the natives of this point trafficking afterwards with the islanders. 'The Veneti,' as Strabo observes, with some little deflexion from truth in the reason assigned, 'engaged in a naval war against Cesar, because they wished to preclude him from his expedition into Britain, *as they used that emporium.*' 'The Veneti,' adds Cesar, during this war, 'have many ships, with which they have been used *to navigate into Britain.*' But he afterwards adds concerning the Veneti, 'they send for auxiliaries out of Britain, which lies confronting their country.' And, as he finally subjoins, with a reference to auxiliaries so sought, in almost all his Gallic wars, he understood auxiliary troops to have been furnished from Britain."†

No sooner had the Veneti become acquainted with the advantages arising from this trade with the islanders, than they fitted out vessels of their own, to visit the islands. For what reason this was done, it is now useless to inquire. It might have been, because the voyages of the Britons were not sufficiently frequent;

* Whitaker's Supplement, p. 59. † Ibid.

because their vessels were incommodious for stowage; because the passage was too boisterous for such inexperienced navigators; or perhaps, because they wished to share in that lucrative trade for which Carthage, Greece, and Rome, had been so long contending. It was this latter motive, in all probability, by which they were actuated; and the consequences which followed seem to justify the supposition. But whatever their motives were, it is certain that the Veneti visited the islands, exported tin in their own bottoms, and most probably carried it to the harbour of Vannes, their capital. The trade thus once more became a monopoly, as it had been before, though in different hands; and was now primarily lodged in the warehouses of Narbonne, there to wait the opening of the most advantageous markets of the continent.

But it was not long that the Veneti were permitted to triumph over the trade of Britain, by holding a monopoly of tin, although it seemed destined to submit to the dominion of foreigners. The Romans, who at this time were partakers in the tin trade, instead of acting with that apparent generosity which Crassus had displayed towards the natives on his first arrival at the British shores, secretly aimed at the monopoly of the trade, and evidently kept it in view, in all their political calculations. Nothing therefore could be more insufferable, than for a new rival to enter the market, which, from the proximity of situation which the Veneti enjoyed, could not but place them in a formidable light.

Rome was at this period pursuing her conquests with rapid strides; and, in her career of military ambition, falsely denominated glory, she had brought the neighbouring nations to acknowledge her power. Her arms were soon turned against Gaul; success attended her enterprises; and, in the wide extension of her dominion, the Veneti were compelled to join in the general submission. Their trade to Britain fell with them; and in connexion with all their mercantile transactions, the Romans seized what they had unfortunately lost.

"Its commerce now became a national object involved in it; the interests of half the south of the island, and was carried on by a combination of powers, that appears gigantic in itself, if we compare it with the infantine weakness then of the mercantile mind in Britain. Even so early as the reign of Augustus, as Strabo informs us, there were four passages out of the continent to the isle familiarly used, from the mouths of the currents of the Rhine, of the Seine, of the Loire, and of the Garonne." To correspond with these four passages out of the continent, Mr. Whitaker also supposes, that there were as many ports frequented in Britain, among which he includes the Isle of Wight, the claims of which have been already examined. He does not contend however, that this port was established for the

conveyance of tin to the continent, until the time of Cesar, when the opposite coasts of Gaul were subdued; consequently, it might have been wholly unknown to the Greek, and to the still more early Phenician merchants. In the mean while, it is allowed by this respectable author, that a commercial intercourse was immediately kept open between the Scilly Islands and two of the continental ports. "One of these is the course, that we have seen the islanders of Sylley first, and the Gauls of Vannes afterward, taking from the isles to the continent; and another was obviously set up from France to Sylley, to shorten the carriage of the Sylley tin from Vannes to Narbonne, by transporting it up the Garonne to Toulouse probably, and then conveying it by a short passage to Narbonne."

It appears from these statements of Mr. Whitaker, that the ports of the Scilly Islands were adapted to the reception of foreign vessels in the time of Julius Cesar, and that the supplies of tin which they afforded were sufficient to carry on a trade with two ports on the continent. What then could induce the natives to carry their tin by land, from these western extremities to the coasts of Hampshire? What could induce the merchants to make such a strange requisition? Above all, what could incline the ancient Phenicians and Greeks to leave the ports which they had found in the islands, to cast anchor in a distant region, in which they could find no trade, and among a people that in all probability were unknown? It will perhaps be more difficult to answer these questions, than it is to propose them.

But in what light soever these questions may be viewed, or the point decided to which they allude, no doubt can be entertained that the mines of Cornwall became considerably improved, under the selfish or fostering care of the Romans. Through the scientific knowledge of these masters of the world, more tin was procured, more avenues of wealth were opened, and more judgment was displayed in sinking on the unbroken veins of ore, than any of the natives had hitherto been called to witness. It is only therefore on a supposition of the unexampled prosperity of the mines, taken in connexion with some political expedient which we do not fully comprehend, that we can reconcile with the principles of common sense, the land carriage of tin from Cornwall to Hampshire, that it might from thence be transported to the markets of the continent. And even if this be allowed, it can only be granted on a supposition that the rivers were rendered fordable by the erection of bridges, and the country rendered passable by the establishment of suitable roads, which can only be supposed, after the Romans had conquered the inhabitants, and rendered their power permanent throughout the western parts of the island.

SECTION II.

Cesar with a military force invades Britain.—Progress of Roman Conquests.—The Romans subdue Cornwall, and finally abandon the Island.

Although the Romans had traded to the Cornish shores several ages before the days of Cesar, the country at large was but little known to the nations of the continent, till this mighty conqueror and his successors invaded, subdued, and explored the island. We have already seen in the overthrow of the Veneti, that Cesar had carried his victorious arms over the territories of Gaul, from the shores of which he discovered that Britain was divided by only a narrow channel. It was here that he formed his resolution to subjugate the inhabitants, as he had done those of the continental nations; bringing all into subjection to the dominion of haughty Rome.

When an ambitious prince has formed a determination to invade the territories of another independent monarch, he rarely wants an occasion to execute his design, and is seldom at a loss for a reason to assign, in justification of his deeds:—

> "He strikes the blow; then pleads his own defence,
> Glory his aim, but justice his pretence."

Suetonius intimates, that Cesar was induced to invade Britain, from the hope of enriching himself with the pearls that had been discovered on the British shores. It is however more probable, that his unbounded ambition, and unquenchable thirst for military glory, prompted him to the undertaking. And this seems to coincide with the pretext which was alleged by himself; namely, that in his wars with the Gaulish nations, the Britons had assisted the enemies of the republic, and thus awakened the resentment of Rome.

It was upon this real or pretended provocation, that he formed his avowed resolution to cross the Channel, that by the conquest of this new territory, he might enhance the reputation which he had already acquired by his victories in Gaul. But as the summer was far advancing when this resolution was formed, and he had reason to expect that the winters in these northern climates were both early and severe, he permitted the season to commence and to retire, without any other movements or marks of activity, than those which were necessary to prepare for the ensuing campaign. Among these preparations he thought it would be highly advantageous to his meditated exploit, to learn something of the country respecting its productions, extent, ports, harbours, and havens, that he might calculate upon the hazards which he had to encounter, and learn to anticipate the

issue of his enterprise. Respecting the inhabitants also, as to their customs, manners, courage, dispositions, numbers, and modes of government, he wished to obtain some information. But on convening together the merchants who had traded to the Cornish shores, and who alone were supposed to be able to impart the information which Cesar solicited, he had the mortification to find, either that they were wholly unable to answer such questions as he proposed, or that by concealing what they knew, they intended to divert him from his purpose, that the commercial intercourse which they had established, might experience no interruption.

Being thus disappointed in his expectations, he fitted out a vessel, placing it under the command of Volusenus, directing him to sail immediately to the shores of Britain, and if possible, discover from the natives, and from actual observation, that intelligence which he could not learn from the merchants. Suetonius asserts, that Cesar himself accompanied him in the expedition, in order to view the coast, and make his observations on the difficulties that he had to encounter. But this report does not correspond with the testimony of Cesar, neither can it as a fact, be reconciled with the preparations that were going forward during the absence of the vessel.

Having taken his resolution to invade Britain, Cesar in the mean time, and during the approaching winter, marched the forces that he intended to employ, into the country of the Morini, which is now the province of Picardy, as affording probably the shortest passage into Britain. At the same time he commanded his ships to be brought into the neighbouring ports, that they might be in readiness to receive his orders, and co-operate in his designs.

The Britons, who at this time were well acquainted with the continental shores, could not but notice with some concern, the menacing preparations that were making for some future expedition in a country already conquered, and therefore suspected that they were deeply interested in the issue. Whether they knew any thing of the vessel that was sent out by Volusenus to examine their shores, is uncertain. Without this, they had enough to awaken their jealousy; and with it enough to give them an assurance of what they had reason to expect. Confirmed in their opinion, that an invasion of their territories was meditated, they deliberated how they should either repel or shun the impending blow. The result was, that they should have recourse to negociation. They accordingly dispatched messengers to Cesar, professing themselves friendly to Rome, and willing to enter into any league that might be thought necessary to preserve that security which they had hitherto enjoyed, and to give assurances of their sincerity. In these negociations

they offered virtually to submit to Rome, without making a tacit acknowledgment of their degradation, and actually sent hostages for their future fidelity.

Cesar, on hearing these overtures, listened with much secret satisfaction; and in order to conceal his real intentions, professed to enter into their views, and to negociate with them on their own ground. And in order more effectually to lull all suspicion to sleep, he sent back the hostages they had brought, encouraging them with such fair promises as conquerors know how to make, to persist in their resolutions of attachment to Rome, and to dismiss from their minds all those gloomy apprehensions which their fears had created. And finally, as if to give consummation to duplicity, he even offered to send Comius, on whose wisdom, penetration, and fidelity he could rely, to Britain, in company with the negociators, and returned hostages, as public proofs of that confidence which he placed in their integrity.

Pleased with the kindness of Cesar's manners, the unsuspecting Britons, in company with Comius, hastened back to their country in triumph. They reported what they had seen and heard, and became the advocates of an ambitious warrior, who was at that moment meditating the overthrow of their liberties, and the subjugation of the island. Comius in the mean while descanted upon the virtues of Cesar; and, agreeably to his secret instructions, passed from state to state, to point out the advantages of submission, and the benefits of servitude; expatiating on the glory of an alliance with Rome, whose power was sufficient to protect them from all the insults of every hostile nation upon earth. To conclude all, he finally informed them, that it was the intention of Cesar to pay them a visit shortly in their own country, to ratify that submission, of which he was sent to descant on the excellencies. In these excursions he had an opportunity of making his observations on all he saw, relative to the country and its inhabitants; so that on his return he was fully qualified to communicate all the information which the merchants either could not, or would not impart, and to enable the conqueror to make his arrangements, and regulate his forces accordingly.

While Comius was thus deceitfully negociating by land, and preparing himself to transmit his information to Cesar, Volusenus was making his observations on the cliffs and shores, in order that a landing-place might be secured, when the plan should be carried into execution, which was now ripening for the grand result. Both were thus actively engaged in the same pursuit; the former by land, and the latter by sea; while Cesar and his officers were making vigorous preparations for each element, and only waiting the arrival of the season that should favour their undertaking.

THE BRITONS FINDING THEMSELVES DECEIVED, RESIST THEIR INVADERS.

Cesar having obtained from his two emissaries all the information they had been able to procure, embarked two legions on board of eighty transports; and, appointing eighteen more, which lay wind-bound in a neighbouring port, to take on board his cavalry, weighed anchor, and sailed immediately for the British shores. The vessels which he left behind were ordered to follow with all possible dispatch, that his horse might be ready to act in concert with his legions; but either through negligence or contrary winds, these orders were so badly executed, that the expedition suffered considerably from their unexpected delay.

The Britons in the mean while were not ignorant of these continental and maritime transactions. They had awakened from that delusive dream into which the persuasive eloquence of Comius, and the duplicity of Cesar, had drawn them, and had resolutely determined to oppose the landing of hostile troops upon their shores. Their forces were accordingly collected together on the southern shores, and every means of defence was adopted that prudence could suggest, and that the state of their affairs required, so far as the power of resistance was placed within their reach.

Cesar sailed from Gaul with a favourable breeze, and reached the British shores in a few hours; but finding on his arrival the cliffs and passages covered with multitudes of fierce and armed men, who seemed determined to oppose his landing, hovered on the coast till about three in the afternoon, waiting the arrival of some of his fleet, which his own ship and some others had outsailed. On their arrival he called a council of war, communicating to his officers the information respecting the British coasts, which his maritime emissary had been able to procure. In this council it was determined, that, instead of staying to engage in a fierce encounter with the hardy natives, they should instantly sail to a plain and open beach, about eight miles farther, should there cast anchor, and put on shore the troops, so that they might secure a landing, before the defenders of their country could penetrate their real designs, in time to defeat their purposes.

The Britons however, observing the movements that were making, anticipated his design, and with all possible expedition hastened to the selected shore. Their cavalry and chariots they sent before; the rest of their army following with all possible speed, to oppose the landing of the Roman forces. Success attended their exertions; for on their arrival they found the Romans embarrassed with a difficulty which they did not seem to have anticipated. The level country which had invited their attempt, was connected with an inclining shore, which rendered it impracticable for them to bring their vessels so near as was necessary to land the troops, on account of the shallowness of the water. This place it has been supposed was near Deal, in the county of Kent. The vessels drawing a great

depth of water, grounded; and the soldiers, though laden with arms and heavy armour, were compelled to plunge into the sea, and in this condition urge their way towards the shore. The Britons beholding their disastrous plight, seized the occasion, and rushed upon them while struggling with the waves, they were not in a condition to defend themselves. And from their superior acquaintance with the shallows, they annoyed the Romans, without experiencing from their courage and discipline any considerable inconvenience.

The invaders, who had not expected either such an obstacle, or so formidable a resistance, became disheartened; and instead of displaying their accustomed alacrity, manifested a disposition to retire from the unequal combat. This being perceived by Cesar, he ordered some of his gallies to advance with their broadsides towards the shore, that by the arrows and slings, and engines from on board, the Britons might be compelled to retire, so that the troops might effect a landing without any annoyance. This in a certain degree had the desired effect; but it was found insufficient to rouse the Roman soldiers from the panic into which they had been thrown.

To recover them from this delirium, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, after having invoked the gods, addressed the soldiers in the following words:—"Fellow soldiers! Unless you will forsake your colours, and suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am resolved to discharge my duty to the commonwealth, and my general." Having thus spoken, he leaped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle towards the distant enemy. The soldiers who had heard his harangue, and who now beheld his example, determined to overcome their fears, and to follow that standard which had so often led them to victory. They accordingly left the ship with new courage, plunged themselves once more into the waves, and struggled towards the shore. Their conduct was observed from the other ships, and their example followed by the troops, which appeared, as by some magical power, to be inspired with new courage. They accordingly cast themselves into the water, and by a noble emulation strove with each other who should first reach the shore.

The Britons, who had retired at a distance, to avoid the annoyances of the ships, on seeing the invaders thus hastening to the shore, resumed fresh courage, and pressed to the attack. The conflict was sharp and severe; and though sustained with undaunted bravery on both sides, appeared chiefly in favour of the Britons. Cesar beheld the danger of his troops, and immediately sent reinforcements to assist those who were most exposed. Victory for a considerable time hung in suspense, till at length the Roman forces increasing, their discipline prevailed; and having obtained firm footing, they charged the Britons so briskly, that they

gave way, and finally sought refuge in flight. But as the Roman cavalry had not yet arrived, they had nothing to fear from a victorious pursuer, who was amply satisfied with having obtained firm footing on the shores, and compelled the natives to retire from the field.

Intimidated with this disaster, the Britons held a consultation on the state of their affairs; and in order to avoid worse consequences, sent ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace; instructing them to lay upon the multitude the censure which they had incurred, in not adhering to their professions of friendship, during the former negociation on the shores of Gaul. Cesar heard them with attention; and after upbraiding them for their perfidy, without once adverting to his own, promised to forgive them, on condition that they should actually deliver to him a certain number of hostages. This they promised to do; and delivering to him such as were with them, engaged to bring the remainder, who lived at a distance, in a few days.

Affairs being thus amicably settled, the British soldiers were dismissed, and the chiefs hastened to the camp of Cesar, to do that homage to the majesty of Rome which the articles of peace required. In the mean while, the ships which carried the Roman cavalry, and had been detained by contrary winds, on crossing the Channel, had been overtaken by a violent storm, and driven back to the ports of Gaul. By the same storm, the fleet of Cesar that had been riding at anchor, was so much damaged, that several ships were dashed to pieces; and others by the loss of their anchors, cables, and rigging, were rendered ungovernable, if not altogether useless. These circumstances threw the Roman army into great consternation, as they had no proper materials to refit them, and wanted their services to repair to Gaul, to bring provisions and necessary stores. In addition to this, it being the time of full moon, the tide rose to such an unexpected height, as to fill the gallies with water, that had been thought to be above high water mark. This was considered by the Romans, who had but very little knowledge of the tides, as an ill omened prodigy; and as such their desponding apprehensions caused it to operate.

The British chiefs who had free access to the camp of Cesar, soon discovered the condition of his ships, his want of horse, the scantiness of provisions, and the desponding state of his troops, and once more resolved to have recourse to arms; so that if successful in the onset, they might compel the enemy in their turn to sue for that peace which they had but just granted. With these resolutions they secretly withdrew from the camp, in such a manner as might create the least suspicion; and having concerted their measures, sent privately to re-enlist the men, who had but just been publicly dismissed from service.

Cesar, who knew nothing of their designs, was not without his suspicions, that things were not going on so favourably as he wished, as the hostages were not delivered according to agreement. To prepare therefore, against the worst, he caused all the provisions that could be found in the neighbouring country to be brought into his camp, and ordered the fragments of such vessels as had been wrecked, to be secured, in order to repair the damaged ones. This was done that he might be prepared to embark for Gaul, in case any reverses of fortune should render such a measure necessary, or at least that he might be able to send for such supplies as might be deemed expedient.

In the midst of these precautions and preparations, while the seventh legion was sent out to forage, they unhappily fell into an ambuscade. The harvest in most places had been gathered in and secured by the Britons, before they attempted to break their league with Cesar. In one spot however, the corn was left standing in the fields. This booty attracted the notice of the seventh legion, and tempted them to secure so valuable a prize. Accordingly, unconscious of any danger, they laid by their arms, and while one party was reaping, another was securing the grain. The Britons, knowing how much their enemies were in want of corn, had no doubt foreseen, when they left this standing, that they would soon be attracted to the spot, and therefore they prepared for their reception accordingly. In the vicinity of this corn they had stationed some armed bands, who had been secreted all night, waiting the arrival of their plunderers, and watching the favourable moment to begin the work of death. In the midst of their labour the Britons fell upon them with all their force; and having killed many, so encompassed the rest with their horse and chariots, that not one would have escaped, had not the fate that awaited them reached the Roman camp.

It happened that some of the advanced guards of Cesar, just at the beginning of the onset, turned their eyes towards the spot in which the seventh legion had been foraging, and saw an unusual cloud of dust arise from that quarter. They immediately made Cesar acquainted with their discovery, who suspecting what had really happened, dispatched two cohorts that were on guard, to their assistance, commanding all to fly to arms, and hasten to the spot with the utmost expedition. The Britons, on the arrival of the cohorts, gave over the attack; but although the Roman troops might on their aggregate assembling, have pursued them with much advantage, Cesar was unwilling to be allured from his now defenceless camp by the fascinations of a promised victory.

It was the misfortune of the Britons to attribute this act of Roman prudence to another cause; and as one error frequently leads to another, to fall into a snare which the sagacity of Cesar had taught the Romans to shun. The Britons who

had engaged in this onset, finding that they were not pursued, concluded that it arose from inability; and immediately dispatched messengers into all parts of the island, informing the inhabitants of the disasters of their enemies; pointing out the reduced state of their camp, and calling upon them to join in one general attack, and thus put an end to the Roman invasion, and the power of Rome in Britain. Their invitation was accepted; and a large body of horse and foot, flushed with the prospects of certain victory, advanced immediately to the Roman entrenchments. But instead of being able to carry the camp by storm, as they had expected, they were received with such warmth and persevering fortitude, that they were compelled to retire with precipitation. Cesar pursued them in their retreat; and after slaughtering multitudes of them, he set fire to several of their towns and villages, and finally returned to his camp in triumph.

Disheartened with their disasters, as much as they had been elated with their prospects before, the Britons once more sent ambassadors to sue for peace. This Cesar once more granted, upon condition that they should now send to Gaul double the number of hostages which he had engaged to take on the former occasion; and with this requisition they were glad to comply. Affairs being thus once more amicably adjusted, Cesar, dreading another storm, as the equinox was approaching, seized the advantage of this favourable accommodation; and setting sail for Gaul, reached the port of his destination in safety. Immediately on his arrival, he wrote to the senate, giving an account of his military transactions, exploits, and conquests, in such a splendid manner, that a general thanksgiving to the gods for twenty days was instantly decreed. This first and memorable irruption of the Romans into Britain under Julius Cesar, took place in the year of the World 3950; in the year of the Deluge 2294; in the year of Rome 694; and before Christ 54 years.

The Romans had no sooner departed from Britain, than the terror of their arms began to relax in its operation. The Britons once more turned their views to the independence of their ancestors; and animated with fallacious hopes, that their invaders would return no more, they withheld nearly all the hostages that they were bound by agreement to send into Gaul. Two only were sent, out of the stipulated number, from the petty states into which Britain was then divided. All besides joined in one grand confederacy, to defend their country against all assailants, and either to transmit their liberties unimpaired to posterity, or to leave nothing to reward the victor but the desolations of war.

Rome, provoked at this contempt of her power, before which the world was doing homage, resolved, as soon as they found that no more hostages were to be sent, to chastise the insolence of the Britons, by sending an army that should be

sufficient to overrun a country, which they had thus far rather discovered than subdued. Cesar, who was again to command the expedition, and whose military ambition knew no bounds, secretly rejoiced at the conduct of the Britons, while he joined in the public execration of their perfidy, as it furnished him with a fair pretence to commit devastations with impunity, and to compel the unfaithfulness of the Britons to afford shelter to all the enormities of war.

A fleet, including vessels of all descriptions, amounting to no less than eight hundred sail, was accordingly fitted out the ensuing year. On board of these he embarked five legions, and 2000 horse, together with such stores of provision and military equipage as he thought necessary to complete a conquest, which he had begun on the preceding year. The port of rendezvous on the continent, Horsley supposes to have been Calais; and the point of destination was that which Cesar had visited on the opposite shore, in his former expedition. All things being in readiness, the Roman fleet weighed anchor about sunset, and arrived in safety on the coast of Britain the following day about noon.

The Britons being apprized of their coming, had assembled in vast numbers near the beach, to oppose their landing. But inferring from the number of Cesar's ships, which seemed to cover the ocean, that his military force was proportionably formidable, they retired from the shore in a state of depression, and permitted him to land without opposition. They were not however so far intimidated as to sink into despondency. They only retired to their places of security, to wait the approaching storm, under all the advantages which their situation could afford. These circumstances were communicated to Cesar, by some prisoners of war which afterwards fell into his hands.

The petty chiefs, among whom the territories of Britain were divided, had from time immemorial afflicted each other with incessant wars. But a foreign enemy being now at the doors of all, with a formidable force, and with still more formidable weapons and discipline, they abandoned all private dissensions, and agreed to unite under one common head, to repel if possible the common danger. Among these British tribes was one, that was denominated the Trinobantes, whose territories lay about eighty miles from the place in which Cesar landed. These had been governed by a king or chief, whose name was Cassibelan, who had rendered himself famous in the annals of our savage ancestors, by the depredations which he had committed on his neighbours. On this prince it was resolved that the whole management of the war should devolve in this moment of exigency, he being more competent than any other from his courage, activity, and skill in expedients, to the important undertaking. It was under his direction, that the Britons had retired on the arrival of the Roman fleet, to their fortified places; in

which success was less doubtful than on the open shore, and where resources were immediately at hand, in case of any unforeseen disaster.

Cesar had no sooner made good his landing, and secured his fleet, than he hastened with his horse, and the main body of his troops, to the fortified retreat to which the Britons had retired, to wait his arrival. These he found about twelve miles distant, posted on the opposite bank of a river, which he must necessarily pass, in order to commence the attack. The Romans being accustomed to danger, plunged instantly into the river with so much undaunted resolution, that the Britons, who had determined to dispute the passage of it, retired with precipitation into a wood, the avenues to which being blocked up with trees that had been cut down for the purpose, secured them from the Roman cavalry. From this fortress they never ventured, only in small bodies; which under the active vigilance of Cassibelan, so harassed the invaders, that it became necessary to dislodge them, or to abandon the conquest of the country. This was undertaken by the seventh legion; which having cast up a mound against their works, threw its numbers into the forest, obliging them to fly in all directions, and abandon a retreat in which they had placed the most unbounded confidence. They fled in such disorder, that vast numbers fell; and a still greater number would have fallen, if the day had not been so far spent, that Cesar thought it more prudent to return and fortify his camp, than pursue the fugitives through a country with which he was totally unacquainted.

Having accomplished this work, he divided his horse and foot into three bodies, directing them to pursue the retreating Britons; to fall upon them, and proceed according to those rules of justice which warriors and robbers only know. They had just come in sight of the British army, when intelligence reached them, that a dreadful storm had overtaken their fleet; that many ships were dashed to pieces, and the remaining part much damaged. On receiving this information, Cesar hastened back to the spot, to repair the damages, and secure the remaining part of his fleet from any future disaster.

The Romans having thus withdrawn their forces from the field, the Britons, who knew not precisely the cause, although they were not ignorant of the ravages of the storm, once more took courage, resolving to avail themselves of the distresses of their enemies, and add to the hurricane of the elements the tempests of war. But unhappily, while they were deliberating on the means to be pursued, the Romans were so indefatigable, that they had repaired their fleet, had drawn all their ships on shore, and enclosed them within the fortifications of their camp; and were actually on their march towards the British forces, before the latter had fully determined how and when to meet them.

CESAR AFTER DEFEATING THE BRITONS, MARCHES TOWARDS THE RIVER THAMES.

The Romans however had not long left their camp, before they were attacked by the British horse and chariots, with a degree of bravery which could hardly be expected from savages almost naked, and badly armed. In the management of their chariots they displayed a degree of dexterity that amazed the Romans, and did great execution. But their prospects of triumph were of short duration. The Romans recovering from their surprise, not only stood firmly against the shock of their onset, but, from defending themselves they became assailants, putting the Britons to flight, and pursuing them with great slaughter. But losing sight of that wary circumspection which had hitherto marked the Roman cause, by pursuing the fugitives with too much confidence and ardour, they were checked in their career with the loss of many men, and were glad to return to their camp as a place of safety and repose.

The Britons growing courageous by this diminutive advantage, soon afterwards sallied from a wood, in which they had concealed themselves, and fell with fury upon the advanced guard of the Romans, while the other troops were engaged in strengthening the fortifications of their camp. In this assault they displayed the utmost skill and bravery; for although two cohorts were immediately dispatched to the assistance of the advanced guard, the British broke through their ranks, slew many, among whom was a tribune, and returned again to their former position, without the loss of a single man, leaving the Romans astonished at the dreadful execution of their chariots of war. And had it not been that some additional cohorts hastened to their aid, British valour would have been triumphant. But the arrival of these additional forces soon changed the face of affairs, and the Britons were once more put to flight.

The succeeding day the Britons posted themselves on the hills in great numbers, at some distance from the Roman camp; when observing that three legions, with all the cavalry, were sent out by Cesar to forage, they commenced a vigorous attack upon the foragers; but meeting with a more formidable resistance than they expected, they were repulsed with considerable loss. In this condition they once more betook themselves to flight; but so closely were they pursued by the Roman cavalry, that having no time to rally or to make a stand, multitudes were cut to pieces, and the rest were completely routed. This disaster terminated in their final overthrow. From this moment the auxiliary forces that had enlisted under Cassibelan, deserted his standard, and repaired to their respective tribes, leaving him to prosecute the war with his own forces, or with such as either his power could compel, or his eloquence persuade, to follow him in his adventures.

As Cassibelan still continued in arms, Cesar, after this victory, marched towards the Thames, with a design to cross that river, and carry the war into the territories

of the British chief. He however found, on arriving at its banks, that only one place was fordable, and even this could only be attempted with considerable difficulty and hazard. In addition to this, he perceived on the opposite banks, the enemy's force drawn up in great numbers. In this bank and the bed of the river they had driven sharp stakes, to annoy the Romans in fording, and prevent their landing. Cesar had received information of these dangers, from the prisoners which he had made, and from deserters from the British army. But he was not to be deterred from his purposes by the appearance of difficulty and danger. He ordered his cavalry first to make the attempt, and commanded his legions to follow. This was undertaken with so much resolution, that although the soldiers were at the chin in water, they persevered, and reached the opposite shore, which the troops of Cassibelan were too timid to defend.

To account for this unexampled panic, Polyænus asserts, that Cesar made use of the following stratagem. He caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower full of men on his back, to be driven into the river; the appearance of which struck the astonished Britons with so much terror, that they instantly abandoned that shore which they should have defended. "The stakes driven into the ground were just above Walton, in Surrey; and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be seen at low water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the Thames, but with great difficulty. They are of oak; and although they have been so long in the water, are as hard as Brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton they have several knife handles made of them."*

The British chief, on perceiving the Romans to cross the Thames, despaired of making any successful stand against them in the open field. He therefore changed his mode of warfare; dismissed a considerable part of his forces; retired to heights inaccessible to the Roman horse; and contented himself with watching their movements, seizing their straggling parties by surprise, cutting off their supplies, and stripping the country of every thing that might facilitate their marches. As he still retained in his service 40,000 chariots, he was always ready to watch the movements of the invaders; and by cutting off such parties as ventured to pillage the country and lay it waste, he prevented them from making such bold excursions into the country as they otherwise would; and thus protracted a war, to which even Cesar himself could not calculate upon the termination.

But it is not always that monarchs and their subjects have the same views of the calamities of war. The former frequently triumph in their exploits, while the

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 126.

latter sigh under the iron hand of oppression. The plaudits of conquerors are not sufficiently splendid to conceal the miseries which they have occasioned, nor loud enough to drown the groans of dying soldiers, and a starving peasantry.

Though Cassibelan was pleased with this depredatory mode of warfare which he pursued, and which actually ruined his own country to prevent the Romans from reaping the advantages of it, yet his subjects were far from being satisfied with his conduct. To set an end therefore to the miseries of war, the Trinobantes sent ambassadors to Cesar, declaring their readiness to submit to him, on condition that they should be delivered from the dominion of Cassibelan, who had driven their rightful sovereign Mandubratius, from the throne of his ancestors, and usurped his rights. Mandubratius, on the arrival of Cesar, had fled to him for protection, and he was at this time in his camp. Him they requested Cesar to establish among them, as a tributary king to Rome, promising to obey his mandates, and renounce all allegiance to Cassibelan, so long as they were secure from his power.

To divide and conquer, being a maxim with all who thirst for dominion, Cesar gladly acceded to the proposals which had been made; directing the ambassadors to send him forty hostages, together with a large quantity of corn for his army, as a proof of their sincerity. With these conditions they immediately complied; and the agreement was instantly ratified to the mutual consent of both parties. From this alliance they derived a double advantage. They were protected from the authority of Cassibelan, and exempted from the ravages which the Roman soldiers committed, while they were in a state of avowed hostility against them. Several other states, discovering that peace and safety were to be procured by submission, followed the example of the Trinobantes; and from being friends of Cassibelan, became his private foes; betraying his secrets, and in one instance, giving Cesar information, that in a fortified town not far from a new camp which he had formed, the British chief had deposited his cattle and stores. Cesar instantly directed his march towards it; and ordering it to be stormed in two places at once, although it was strongly fortified, compelled the defenders to seek refuge in flight, and to leave behind them a booty which they were unable to defend.

The brave Cassibelan, though thus deserted, betrayed, defeated, and plundered, did not despair. In the midst of his misfortunes he had the address to entice five petty princes, whom Cesar denominates kings, to join with him in a league, and follow his fortunes in one desperate effort which he intended to make for the expiring liberties of the country. These accordingly joined their forces; and, under his command, commenced an attack on the ships that were laid up within the fortified camp on the shores of Kent. The Romans however, were too watchful

to be taken by surprise. They made a desperate sally on the assailants, and having repulsed them with great slaughter, took one of the tributary kings prisoner; and, without sustaining any loss themselves, returned in triumph to their trenches.

These complicated disasters following in regular succession, were too numerous and formidable for the British chief to meet with fortitude, and to repair with ease. And seeing no probability of terminating successfully a war which he could easily protract, but which could only finally shut up the favourable avenues of capitulation, to which he must ultimately submit, he resolved to follow the example which several other states had set before him, and appeal to the clemency of Cesar. He accordingly dispatched ambassadors to negociate in his behalf, and to bring him tidings of the disposition of the Roman commander.

As Cassibelan was the most formidable of all the British chiefs, and almost the only one whose activity and power the Romans had to dread, Cesar listened to his proposals with secret pleasure, and professed himself ready to enter into an alliance with him. In addition to this, as the summer was far advanced, and he had determined, if the posture of affairs would permit him, to winter in Gaul, he was anxious to bring this negociation to almost any terms. A treaty was therefore quickly concluded, upon the following conditions:—That Cassibelan, and the chiefs in alliance with him, should pay an annual tribute to Rome; that he should leave Mandubratius in the quiet possession of his dominions; that he should not molest the Trinobantes; and that he should instantly send hostages to the Roman camp, as pledges for the faithful performance of all his engagements. With these conditions Cassibelan readily complied; and having sent the stipulated number of hostages, Cesar, not much less perplexed than himself, gladly departed to the continent, no doubt with an expectation of returning again to subjugate the tribes which inhabited the northern parts of the country; the extent of which was at present nearly unknown.

There is in all human affairs a degree of uncertainty, which weakens confidence, while it awakens hope. The domestic concerns of Rome at this time wore an unfavourable aspect; and Cesar was too much interested in the issue of them, to turn his attention to the further conquest of Britain. The commotion which a combination of causes introduced, in a train of successive events, occasioned new delays. Rome was hastening to the destiny of empires; Britain was neglected for subjects of greater magnitude; and Julius Cesar visited its shores no more.

Twenty years had now elapsed since the fleets and armies of Rome had been withdrawn from Britain, during which time the stipulated tribute was not paid. Whether it had been demanded is rather uncertain; but if so, as Rome was not in a condition to enforce payment, the Britons considered this as cancelling the

obligations they were under, and lived as free from the Roman yoke as if it had never been imposed.

But although Britain was thus neglected, it was not forgotten. Augustus, having put an end to the civil wars which afflicted his country, and secured to himself the possession of the empire, made several efforts to visit Britain. His objects were, to conquer those states which his uncle had left unsubdued, and to enforce the payment of that tribute which Rome had not been able to exact. But in all these efforts a succession of obstacles diverted him from his purpose. His menaces induced some of the British princes to pay their arrears of tribute, in order to secure his friendship when more auspicious circumstances should concur to favour his descent; but death arrested him in his career, and Britain remained unmolested and free.

Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, being sensible that the Roman empire was already too vast, entertained no thought of enlarging its dimensions by any new conquests. He contented himself therefore with cultivating the friendship of the Britons, and with receiving such portions of their accustomed tribute as he could collect, without daring to provoke them to resistance.

Caligula, who came next, menaced Britain with an invasion, to which he appears to have been stimulated by the son of a British prince, whose father had banished him from his native home. But being informed, on his arrival on the coasts of Gaul, that the Britons, who had made great proficiencies in the art of war, since they had been acquainted with the Romans, were waiting on the shores of Britain in great force, intrepidity, and discipline, to prevent his landing, he abandoned his design.

Britain had now enjoyed the blessings of liberty and peace for nearly a century, from the first landing of Julius Cesar to the days of Claudius, who succeeded Caligula. It was under his reign, that the Romans began seriously to think of reducing this island under their dominion. They accordingly made the attempt, and were finally successful in their enterprises. For this war, opposite reasons have been assigned; some imputing it to the ambition of Claudius, and others to the resentment of the Britons, who refused to trade with Rome, because the emperor had given countenance to a fugitive that had been banished from this country.

But whatever were the causes, a war with Britain was determined on at Rome; and the command of the expedition was given to Plautius, who was then prætor in Gaul. Contrary winds at first retarded his passage; but this circumstance, together with a report that prevailed of a mutiny being in the Roman army, so far operated in their favour, that the Britons were thrown off their guard, and Plautius

landed his forces without opposition. In this enterprise the Romans were almost invariably successful; but the resistance which they had to encounter, was far more formidable than that to which the troops of Cesar had been exposed.

Claudius, whose ambition led him to expect the honour of a triumph, no sooner heard that the Roman arms had been successful in Britain, than he determined to visit in person this celebrated spot, which promised Rome a field of military glory. The Roman soldiers, on his arrival, lay encamped on the margin of a river, which they hesitated to pass, it being dangerous to ford; and the British forces were posted in great strength on the opposite territory. Being ambitious to distinguish themselves in the presence of the emperor, they became courageous, crossed the river, attacked the Britons, and defeated them with terrible slaughter. These successes were followed by others not less important; and a conquest of some of the neighbouring states, followed as a necessary consequence. Claudius remained only sixteen days in the British territories; but on his return he was honoured with a triumph, as though he had subdued nations; and the name Britannicus added to his own. This memorable visit of Claudius to this country is said to have taken place about A. D. 43.

As the Romans now seemed determined to keep possession of all the territories they could subdue, they secured their conquests by fortifying their camps, building fortresses, and introducing colonies. Plautius had the government of all the conquered provinces, given him by Claudius; he therefore pursued his victories to augment his own dominions, as well as to immortalize his valour, and add lustre to the glory of the Roman name.

To check this rapid career of conquest, no one among the British chiefs for a considerable time, had either the courage to attempt, or the ability to concert any measures. At length deriving vigour from the rapacity of their conquerors, whose venality of manners their hardy virtues taught them to despise, they broke in upon the conquered parts, which were now denominated Roman territories, and committed depredations which their invaders were not prepared to expect.

To counteract this recoil of rapacity, which the Romans denominated rebellion, Ostorius Scapula was ordered into Britain to command the Roman forces. He vigorously applied himself to suppress the rising insurrections; and falling upon the Britons unexpectedly, who were triumphing in their late successes, he drove them from their short-lived acquisitions, penetrated farther into their country than any of his predecessors had hitherto ventured, and erected some forts on the Severn, the Avon, and the Nen, to keep them in awe; and reduced all that part of the island which lies to the south of these rivers, to the condition of a Roman province.

CARACTACUS, A CELEBRATED BRITISH CHIEF, TAKEN PRISONER AND CARRIED TO ROME.

Animated with these and similar successes, Scapula resolved to push still farther, and therefore made war upon the Silures, who then inhabited South Wales. But neither his successes nor his forces were sufficient to intimidate the spirit of resistance which they meditated. Enrolling themselves under Caractacus, a chief of extraordinary fame, they faced the Romans in a pitched battle; but after displaying prodigies of valour, the superior discipline of their invaders prevailed, and the British forces were completely routed. Caractacus, upon his defeat, being unable to make head against the Romans, fled for protection to Cratismandua, queen of the Brigantes. This unprincipled woman, either to court the favour of the Romans, or to avert the force of their arms, basely betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, together with his wife, daughter, and brother; who were reserved to grace, in a foreign land, the triumphs of an insulting foe.

The capture of this stern warrior was received at Rome with as much joy as the intelligence of a captured province would have excited; and as his fame had awakened the attention even of the emperor, he commanded that the royal captive and his family should be carried to the capital, to be exhibited as a spectacle to the Roman people. A day was appointed for the exhibition. Claudius ascended the throne, surrounded by his courtiers, ordered the British captives to be brought before him. The trophies of conquest were first brought forward; the vassals and inferior officers followed; and his family came next, in the character of supplicants imploring compassion. Caractacus, with all the dignity which fallen greatness and patriotic virtue can inspire, followed in the rear, exhibiting an aspect better calculated to command submission than to yield it. "Alas!" cried he, as he turned his eyes on the splendours that surrounded him, and on the crouds with which he was encircled, "how is it possible, that a people possessed of so much magnificence at home, could envy me an humble cottage in Britain!"

On being introduced into the presence of the emperor, he addressed him in the following language:—"Had my moderation been equal to my birth and fortune, I had arrived in this city, not as a captive, but as a friend. But my present misfortunes redound as much to your honour as to my disgrace; and the obstinacy of my opposition serves to increase the splendours of your victory. Had I surrendered myself in the beginning of the contest, neither my disgrace nor your glory would have attracted the attention of the world, and my fate would have been buried in eternal oblivion. I am now at your mercy; but if my life be spared, I shall remain an eternal monument of your clemency and moderation." Claudius was so affected on hearing this speech, and on beholding the dignified intrepidity of the British hero, that he ordered his chains to be instantly taken off, and himself with his fellow captives to be set at liberty.

THE ROMANS DEFEAT THE BRITONS IN THE ISLE OF ANGLESEA.

But the capture of Caractacus was not followed by the conquest of the Silures. For although they had lost their general, they prosecuted the war with sufficient vigour, to gain many considerable advantages over the Romans; and so harassed them in their movements, as to suspend their career of victory. Their successes so affected Scapula, that he is said to have died of grief; thus leaving this field of military glory in Britain to more fortunate successors.

Nothing of any consequence was done towards the conquest of this country, until the arrival of Suetonius Paulinus, in the reign of Nero. This governor, about A. D. 59, made an attack upon the Isle of Anglesea, in which the Druids had found an asylum, and to which the British forces retreated whenever they were discomfited by the Roman arms.

The Britons being aware of his intentions, used every exertion to obstruct his landing on this almost last retreat of their liberties, superstition, and independence. Accordingly, on the arrival of Paulinus, he found the inhabitants in a state of frantic commotion. The men were formidable in arms, and seemed determined either to conquer or die. The women appeared like agitated furies; and, with dishevelled hair and lighted torches, poured out the most unheard of execrations against their invaders. The priests in the mean while were exercising the magical influence and incantations of their respective orders; and all, inspired with an incomprehensible frenzy, waited the display of some signal vengeance that should mark the interposition of heaven.

The Roman soldiers, who were not quite free from the influence of superstition, beheld these motley preparations with a degree of wonder that almost suspended their natural powers. Confounded and motionless, they received the first onset without attempting to make any resistance; and were on the verge of a total overthrow, when Paulinus, by a seasonable harangue, awakened them from their torpor, and impelled them to instant action. Taught thus by their leader to despise the menaces of a ridiculous superstition, they rushed upon them with terrible impetuosity, drove them from the field, and after destroying the consecrated groves and altars, consumed the Druids in those flames which they had lighted up to offer abominable sacrifices to their gods.

While the troops of Paulinus were thus engaged in the reduction of Anglesea, the Britons, who had groaned under the severity of the Roman yoke, collected their forces, and, in one insurrection, made a formidable effort for the recovery of their liberties. Their motives for it were, the weight of those taxes which the Romans compelled them to pay, and the insolence of their conquerors; who basely reproached them with that poverty which their own cruelties had occasioned. But

above all, their resentment was roused into action by the indignities with which Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, was treated by the Roman procurator.

To gratify the rapacity of the Romans, and to bequeath tranquillity to his family and people, although it could only be accomplished by the surrender of one half of his dominions, Prasatagus, king of the Iceni, at his death had bequeathed one half of his territories to the invaders, in order that his widow Boadicea, and his two daughters, might enjoy the remaining part without molestation. His bequest produced a very different effect from that which he had fondly anticipated. The rapacious Roman immediately took possession of the whole of the territories of the departed monarch; and when Boadicea remonstrated with him on the injustice and inhumanity of his conduct, he ordered her to be whipped like a common slave; and, to add to the degradation of her family, in a tide of brutal lust, violated the chastity of her daughters.

These outrages were resented with the most implacable indignation; they were communicated from state to state, and resentment breathed in every bosom; which finally terminated in a revolt throughout the whole island. The Iceni, who were most deeply interested in this quarrel, were the first who took up arms; and their example was instantly followed by the other states; which, in addition to their respective wrongs, made this the foundation of one common cause. Boadicea, a woman of masculine spirit, as well as of personal beauty, was appointed to take the command of their common forces, which amounted to 230,000 men. This formidable force, confident in their numbers, and stimulated by their wrongs, attacked several Roman settlements with such success, that the whole posture of affairs in Britain assumed an entirely new aspect.

Paulinus, who had been engaged in the reduction of Anglesea, no sooner heard of this general revolt, than he hastened with his troops to relieve London, which was of importance from its flourishing condition as a colony, but was in imminent danger from its situation and exposure to the enemy. But he came too late. London was therefore abandoned to the fury of the Britons, who soon reduced it to ashes; and the Romans, and others who favoured their cause, to the number of 70,000, were put to the sword.

Animated with these successes, the Britons considered the recovery of their liberties as certain; and instead of avoiding the troops of Paulinus, marched boldly to an eminence, where, with 10,000 men, he waited their arrival. Boadicea appeared in a chariot with her two daughters, and animated her troops both by her example and harangues. The battle was long and bloody; but the cool intrepidity of Roman valour was more than a match for British numbers and undisciplined

bravery. The latter were defeated with great slaughter; 80,000 perished in the field; and a great number were made prisoners. The unhappy queen, fearing from what her daughters had already suffered, to fall into the hands of an enraged conqueror, ended her days by poison; leaving her surviving countrymen to mourn the departure of that liberty which they were unable to regain.

But although Paulinus was successful in quelling the insurrection by force of arms, he was recalled by Nero from the government of this country, in which the inhabitants were too much irritated to listen to any pacific overtures that he could make. His immediate successors were not more fortunate than himself. Revolt and conquest succeeded each other; and nothing but tumult reigned among the factions that either contended for private empire, or opposed the progress of Roman power.

At length Julius Agricola visited the British shores; and, on being invested with the whole government, laid out a regular plan for the conquest of the country and the civilization of its inhabitants. As the northern regions were found more fierce and hostile to his measures than any other parts, in his first campaign he directed his arms against their almost inaccessible districts; and, being successful in his first encounters, penetrated into the heart of Caledonia; driving before him those daring and independent spirits, who preferred famine to servitude, and perpetual hostility to tame submission. But it was not without much opposition that he could prosecute his plans. He was opposed in his march by Galgacus, at the head of 30,000 men, who flocked to his standard from every quarter, placing in his reputation for valour a confidence which nothing could shake. It was to this army that Galgacus delivered a speech, which Lipsius considers as one of the finest pieces of eloquence ever committed to the Roman language. But the battle which followed was not so successful as they had been led to anticipate. The superior discipline and intrepidity of Agricola's forces prevailed; the Caledonians were completely routed; a terrible slaughter ensued; and the fugitives were pursued by the Romans to their last retreat.

The summer being far spent, and not finding that the surviving fugitives had any where formed themselves into hostile bodies, Agricola equipped a fleet, ordering the commander to sail round Britain, if possible, to ascertain the extent of the British dominions, and finally determine a disputable point, whether the whole were an island, or only a part of some continent, the extent of which was unknown. In this expedition, which was accomplished without any disaster worthy of notice, they discovered and subdued the Orkney Islands. Iceland, which was then called Thule, was also discovered during this voyage, hidden by winter, according to Tacitus, under eternal snow. In the mean while Agricola led on his army by

marches that kept pace with his fleet, on the margin of our shores; preferring this tedious movement, that the nations might have time to survey his forces, and be intimidated with this display of his power. Agricola, having thus made a tour of the island, conducted his troops to a place of safety, in which, after their long fatigues they might enjoy repose. The fleet also having accomplished its voyage, returned to a port which Tacitus calls Trutulensis, which is generally thought to be Sandwich.

In the midst of these conquests, revolutions, and changes, it is very difficult to determine at what period the Romans first obtained possession of Cornwall. But as it is admitted by the concurrent testimony of historians, that the southern part of the island was conquered by Claudius Cesar, it is probable that the conquest of this county may be included in that general triumph of the Roman arms. It also appears, from the celebrated speech of Galgacus, the Caledonian chief, that even then, the pasture, the *metals*, and the ports which other parts of the island had produced, had only furnished the Romans with additional temptations to invade the northern territories. The metal here alluded to, which engaged the attention of the Romans, could only be that of tin; which was exclusively the produce of the western districts of Danmonium, and the Scilly Islands.

But whatever might have been the fate of Cornwall previous to the days of Agricola, it is not to be supposed that his fleet, which was sent out on discoveries, or that his army, which co-operated with it, would pass by without any notice, two of the finest harbours in the world, namely, Falmouth and the Hamoaze; and leave wholly unobserved the secure stations of Helford and Fowey on the south, together with Padstow and St. Ives on the northern coast, and several other creeks and inlets of vast importance, though of less magnitude.

It appears that the fleet of Agricola sailed through the British and St. George's Channels, and that the march of his armies kept pace with his ships. The whole of Cornwall must therefore have been under the dominion of Rome at that period, otherwise the Britons would have obstructed his march, and some account of their conflicts would have been recorded by the Roman historians. But since no such records appear, nor any intimations that they ever existed; and since we learn from Tacitus, that the mines were in their possession, we cannot but conclude, that Cornwall was brought into subjection to Rome in the days of Agricola at least, and probably some parts had been subdued long before.

The two principal inducements which led the Romans into Cornwall, Dr. Borlase thinks, were the abundance and value of our metals, and the excellence of our harbours. It is certain that they had discovered the Scilly Islands more than 250 years before Christ; and that they thought the trade in tin worth pursuing,

even from Italy. It is therefore but natural to infer, that, at a time when they had made themselves masters of a great part of Britain, they would continue the mines, and monopolize their riches at the fountain head.

Among the most ancient mines of Cornwall, may be reckoned some in the higher parts of Wendron parish. These being situated in a wild of barren hills, which appear never to have been cultivated, could not have held out any agricultural temptations to the Romans to visit them. Yet it is certain from some Roman coins that were found in a stone barrow called Golvadnek Burrow, not far from the old workings, in 1700, that the Romans had been here, and very probably had taken up their abode in this place for some considerable time.

In the parishes of Illogan and Camborne, and in the sides of Carnbre Hill, some vestiges of very ancient workings are also visible, and many Roman coins have at different times been discovered. These are strong indications that the Romans had the possession of these mines; and if so, that being in a state of hostility with the nation at large, they must have extended their dominion over Cornwall, to secure their possession of the mines.

In early periods, before these discoveries were made, doubts were entertained, whether the Romans ever carried their arms west of the Tamar; and the scarcity of memorials was urged as an evidence to confirm the supposed fact. But this mode of argument will also exclude them from Exeter, and several other places where it is well known they took their stations. All these are now done away; and the existing evidences of their dominion, demonstrate that the government of Cornwall must have been exclusively their own for a considerable time.

It was the singularly happy lot of Agricola, not only to be successful in arms, but to be equally fortunate in cultivating the arts of peace. The tribes whom he subdued, he treated with lenity and compassion; and, by protecting them from the depredations of other foes, he taught them to set a greater value upon the safety they had acquired, than upon the independence they had lost. The advantages of the customs and manners of the Romans, were displayed before them with so captivating an address, that the conquered were led to adopt them from interested motives; and, by insensible degrees, they scarcely regretted that they had been vanquished. The removal of Agricola from the government of Britain, through the jealousies of Domitian, caused a temporary suspension of their felicity; but the happy consequences which had resulted from his mild administration, imparted a lesson to his successors, to which they found it their interest to adhere.

Incorporated in the general family of Rome, they had only to solicit assistance against the incursions of their northern assailants, in order to ensure it; and the

advantages which they thus derived from this submissive alliance, was deemed an equivalent for the weight of the Roman levies. The Picts and Scots, in the mean while, being unsubdued, and continually making incursions into the territories of such tribes as had either submitted to Rome, or maintained their independence, so far prevented the successors of Agricola from extending their conquests with the rapidity which his example had inspired, that their time and attention were chiefly engrossed in securing those territories which they were bound to defend against their restless depredations.

But the time was fast approaching, when the convulsions of Rome compelled her to disregard the destiny that awaited her distant provinces. "The empire being overrun by the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians, most of the troops quartered in Britain were recalled, and the island was left open to the attacks of the Scots and Picts. Hereupon, the natives expecting no assistance from Rome, resolved to set up an emperor of their own; and accordingly invested with that dignity one Mark, whom, though an officer of great credit, after a few days they murdered, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room. Gratian, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate, and was succeeded by Constantine, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, common to him with Constantine the Great. The new prince obliged the Scots and Picts to leave the Roman provinces which they had invaded, and retire beyond the two Friths; which success inspiring him with such a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, that he formed a design of making himself master of the whole empire. With this view he passed over into Gaul, taking with him the few Roman forces that had been left there, and such of the Britons as were able to bear arms; and after various reverses of fortune, was beheaded in Italy."*

The unhappy Britons, from the time that Constantine carried his arms, and the flower of the British youth, into Gaul, (A. D. 407) found themselves more harassed than ever by their implacable enemies the Picts and Scots, without having the means of defending themselves against their inroads and barbarities. In this state of suffering they continued from the year 407 to 410, constantly representing to Honorius the miseries of their condition, and imploring succour. But Rome, instead of being in a situation to comply with their requests, rather wanted that assistance she was solicited to bestow. The Britons finding that they implored in vain, withdrew their allegiance from Rome, and resolved to defend themselves against all assailants. This circumstance, so far from provoking the emperor,

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 166, and Vol. XVI. p. 519.

procured his approbation; and by his letters, encouraged them to provide for their own security, and in effect discharged the inhabitants from all allegiance to his authority. This renunciation was made, according to Bede, A. D. 410.

The Britons once more resuming the freedom which their ancestors had been compelled to surrender, recovered their courage with their independence; and fought with so much success, that they actually rescued several cities from the hands of their enemies. But being finally overpowered by the perseverance and superior force of their warlike foes, they once more had recourse to the emperor, promising, in return for their assistance and protection, again to renounce their independence, and yield a perpetual obedience to Rome.

Honorius, affected with their calamities, sent a legion to their relief; which fell unexpectedly upon the Picts and Scots with such vigour, that they were completely routed. And to prevent the barbarians from returning, the Romans advised the Britons to build a wall from sea to sea. This was accordingly done; but being made of turf, the Scots and Picts, on the Romans returning to the continent, broke it down, overran the country, destroying every thing with fire and sword. This inundation took place, according to Usher, A. D. 422.

Overwhelmed by these torrents of incendiaries and murderers, the miserable Britons once more sent deputies to Rome, to state their calamities and implore protection. To move compassion, they appeared before the emperor with tattered garments, and dust upon their heads, as an emblem of their condition. Their appearance and representations induced the emperor to send new forces to their relief. These hastened into Britain, again surprised and defeated the Scots and Picts, and drove them beyond the line which had fixed their boundaries. This occurrence is placed by Usher, in A. D. 426.

Gallio, the Roman commander, assisted the Britons to build their wall of stone, instead of turf; and having instructed them in the art of war, and furnished them with arms, took his final leave, exhorting them to oppose their enemies with the courage of their ancestors; and at the same time assuring them that the Romans would return no more.

In the early periods of the conquest of Britain, the natives opposed the Roman power, and contended arduously for their liberties and independence. But being compelled to submit, they first grew acquainted with Roman manners, government, and laws, and finally became attached to their conquerors. The strength of this attachment may be estimated from the applications which we have perceived them making to Rome for assistance, and the surrender of their independence as the condition upon which they were willing to procure it. These circumstances shew that the Roman yoke had not pressed them with intolerable severity.

SECTION III.

Brief Observations on the modes of Government established by the Romans, and on the advantages which the Britons derived from them.

The geographical and political divisions of a country are so closely connected with the forms of its government, whether civil or military, that the latter must be incomplete while the former are passed over in total silence. It has so happened, however, on the present occasion, that the divisions of Danmonium have been already noticed in the first chapter; to this therefore the reader is referred. The modes of government introduced by the Romans still remain to be considered; and on these a few remarks are now offered.

It appears, from the accounts transmitted to us by Richard of Cirencester, that the Romans divided the conquered territories of Britain into six provinces. These were distinguished by the names of Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia, and Vespasiana. Britannia Prima, which is that with which we are concerned, included all that country which lies south of the Thames and the Severn. This district is said to have contained eleven nations, and thirty-six Roman stations; of which Richborough was the provincial capital; and to have included all those western counties which lie on the Cornish side of a line drawn from Cricklade to Berkeley. In this province of Britannia Prima, Danmonium was included; it formed a large portion of this division, and contained two Roman stations, Isca and Moridunum.

The uncertainty of the effects which immediately resulted from the establishment of the Roman power in Danmonium, has given rise to a variety of opinions. By some it has been asserted, that the natives, tenacious of their rights, and proud of their independence, emigrated in large bodies to the shores of Ireland, while another colony proceeded in an opposite direction, and found an asylum on the coasts of Armorica, in Gaul. These emigrations are said to have happened just at the time when the Roman forces were penetrating into the heart of their country.

It appears clear, however, even allowing these emigrations to have taken place, that the great mass of the inhabitants submitted to their conquerors, without making any formidable resistance; that in return they were treated with much indulgence; and drew their political happiness from a cause which had inspired them with terror, and urged so many of their countrymen to seek an asylum in distant lands.

It has been argued, from the great length of time the natives retained their original language,—from the numerous vestiges of the ancient Britons remaining

in this county, and from the hostility which the Romans in other places manifested against Druidism, that the dominion of the Romans in Cornwall must have been more nominal than real. But this is a supposition which we have no occasion to make. The solicitude of the Romans to conciliate the affections of those whom they had already subdued, would naturally inspire them with mildness; so that we may attribute the forbearance which the natives experienced, rather to the indulgence of their conquerors, than to their want of power.

As the Romans rather wanted taxes than territory, it does not appear that any were dispossessed of their lands. To certain regulations which the presiding Roman officer instituted, the conquered natives were obliged to conform; but even these appear to be of such a nature, as to leave them in possession of their more important rights, and to enable them to transmit these rights to their posterity. It appears therefore, that the Roman edicts, though founded on the principles of a military government, were so far accommodated to the genius, the dispositions, and the ancient customs of the vanquished, as to conciliate their affections, and cause submission and independence to bear some distant resemblance to each other.

As no particular accounts of the progress and establishment of the Roman government in Devon and Cornwall, have been transmitted to us, we can only derive our information from the manners and customs established by them in the counties of Hampshire, Kent, and Sussex; analogy therefore must supply the place of fact. Subjected to the control of a superior Roman officer, and perhaps to that of all who acted by his delegated authority, the British chiefs or princes must have suffered a considerable diminution of their power. But it is probable that they acquired in another department, a greater degree of independence than they lost in this.

The Druids were the avowed and irreconcilable enemies of Rome. This the Romans knew; and invariably endeavoured to disarm them of their power, to prevent the consequences of their hostility. Nothing therefore could be more natural for the Roman general, as soon as he had gained the dominion, than to sow the seeds of discord between the Druids and the British chiefs. To effect this, nothing could be more likely, than to rescue the chief from the dominion of the priest; and, to give security to his emancipation, to arm him with a portion of that power of which the Druid had been deprived. This is a mode of procedure which common policy would suggest. Enslaved to the Druids, whose will was always sanctioned by the will of heaven, the chief had no means of escaping from their authority, but by disowning the justice of its influence; and nothing short of this could give security to Rome. Policy therefore dictated to the Romans, a

dissolution of that compact, which the tenets of Druidism had interwoven with the principles of legislation; and the princes, from those common motives which actuate mankind, were easily induced to co-operate in this political measure.

But whatever changes took place in the priesthood, no laws were enacted that affected the hereditary succession of the British princes. This right of inheritance and royalty was preserved throughout all the stages of Roman dominion, though with a greater or less degree of authority; and was enjoyed even after the Romans had abandoned the island, and when Druidism was no more.

Mr. Polwhele observes, that the chief government of the island was committed to the proconsul, legate, or vicar of Rome:—"That each province formed a distinct government under a Roman prætor; and that in the capital of the province was the mansion-house of the prætor, and the principal courts of justice. That inferior courts, in the subordinate towns, were opened under his commission, in which his deputies presided; that in Britannia Prima, there were about forty towns, where the same number of deputy prætors presided in the courts of justice; but that with respect to the changes which took place in the government of Danmonium, as a part of Britannia Prima, nothing can be advanced with certainty."

The same author adds, "It is not unlikely, that there existed in Danmonium, even in these early times, some peculiar stannary regulations. In working the rich and extensive mines of the western counties, a considerable body of men must at this period have been necessarily employed; and the obvious peculiarity of their circumstances must soon have suggested some appropriate laws. To our mines the Roman people were by no means inattentive. The hidden treasures of Danmonium were their *pretium victoriæ*. And there is little doubt, but the victors, curious as they were, inquired into the regulation of the mines, supplied deficiencies, and suggested improvements; yet without losing sight of the habits and usages of the miners."

To prevent insurrections, and to give permanency to their power, the Romans no doubt, either disarmed those whom they had subdued, taking them under their immediate protection, or incorporated them with their own effective force; teaching them to co-operate with their legions in carrying on their conquests. To facilitate these, and to organize their designs, they established a chain of posts, which preserved a communication with each other, throughout their respective districts; and kept on foot a standing army, to check the insurgents whenever they attempted to throw off the yoke. This army consisted of 80,000 Romans, besides several corps of native troops, that were compelled to act under their directions. Of these fortified camps and stations, many memorials still remain in this county;

but the traces are not sufficiently conspicuous in every part, to enable us to ascertain the whole. Many of these have doubtless been occasionally occupied, altered, or destroyed, by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, so that the blending of their respective arts, have destroyed the marks of discrimination.

It has been suggested, and not without probability, that all the ancient borough towns were originally Roman camps or stations. That on the removal of the conquerors, they were seized by the Britons as places of security, preferable to any others. From this circumstance they acquired a degree of reputation which all were ready to acknowledge, and obtained privileges in consequence of it, which they still continue to enjoy, although their reputation is lost.

Among the Roman taxes, those levied on pasturage, orchards, and agriculture, were the most considerable. From the orchards they exacted a fifth part of all the produce. This shews that these must have been very productive, and attended with little labour; otherwise, under such an exorbitant impost, their cultivation would have been neglected, and their orchards become deserts. From the arable and meadow lands they exacted a certain proportion of the produce, which most probably laid the foundation of our present land tax. But such was the extent and flourishing condition of agriculture in those distant periods, that from this tax on the produce of lands, more corn was collected than was necessary to supply the demands of all the Roman troops in Britain.

On the tin mines of Danmonium it can hardly be said that they levied any taxes, having appropriated the produce of them exclusively to themselves, under such regulations as would ensure their being worked. Their early stannary laws were necessary to give permanency to these regulations.

But although the profits arising immediately from the mines were exclusively the property of the Romans, the Britons were not without advantages, which they derived from the monopoly of their conquerors. They soon discovered that the Roman arts were very superior to their own; and by making constant observations, improved themselves by all the inventions and discoveries which their ingenious masters daily exhibited before them. From them they learnt to apply to domestic purposes the metals which had hitherto been regarded only as articles of commerce. Utensils both culinary and ornamental, began to appear; and, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages, there are still extant some pitchers, cups, and basons, which were made at that period by the natives under their Roman masters.* From the same instructors they also learnt the art of lining vessels of copper and brass with tin; that neither the unpleasant taste, nor the pernicious qualities of these

* See Philosophical Transactions, 1759, Part I. p. 13.

metals might be imparted with their uses. And according to Pliny, proceeding still farther in metallurgy, they acquired the art of incorporating tin with brass, in such proportions, as to produce by that combination, the compound which we now denominate bell-metal. From all these considerations, it is doubtful whether the Britons were on the whole actual losers by the temporary losses they sustained, when we fairly balance the advantages with the inconveniences.

From the manner in which the Romans instructed the Britons to work their mines, they derived incalculable benefits. Through their information they were taught to penetrate the lodes by perpendicular shafts, of which their ancestors seemed to know nothing. This formed a new epoch in the science of mining, and laid the foundation of those vast improvements, which in their aggregate amount, constitute the present state of its perfection.

That the Britons paid for this instruction a heavy tax, by the loss of this source of wealth for several centuries, cannot be denied. But during the whole period they were passing through a school of discipline, of which the advantages were reserved for them to reap hereafter. In agricultural pursuits, the benefits which they acquired were not less than in the mining department. Cultivation, though regarded with attention before the arrival of the Romans, was carried, under their direction, to a degree of perfection which former ages never saw. In domestic life they were taught by the example of their conquerors, to emerge from barbarism to civilization, and from civilization to refinement. And although the polish which they received was less brilliant than that by which more recent ages have been distinguished, it was adapted to their condition, and it ultimately tended to their advancement in the scale of refined society. It is probable on the whole that they acquired from the Romans more than they lost by being conquered, independently of the benefits of Christianity, the introduction of which will be considered in the next section.

SECTION IV.

Introduction and Progress of Christianity in Cornwall under the Romans.

In the early periods of its history, the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of Cornwall were so closely blended with those of the island at large, that it is not easy on all occasions to mark their distinguishing characteristics. As Cornwall formed only a part of the Roman territories, it always appears in that connected relation; so that we are frequently taught to behold an event, without being informed by what particular means and instruments it was brought about. It is thus we are assured,

that, soon after the Romans obtained the dominion in Britain, Druidism declined, and Christianity was introduced; and that these changes took place in Cornwall in a similar manner, at a very early period. But as no particular records have been preserved, to mark the origin and progress of this moral revolution, we must appeal to detached incidents for that information which we should have gladly received in historical detail. To these incidents we may add the voice of tradition, which speaks the same language, and adds to the mass of accumulated proof.

The tradition which has been received by our ancient historians, and by the nation at large, as of the highest antiquity, and of the most indubitable authority, is that which attributes the introduction of Christianity into Britain, to Joseph of Arimathea. This is said to have taken place even in the apostolic age, and the account is given in the following manner:—

About sixty-three years after the incarnation of our Lord, and thirty after his ascension to glory, Joseph of Arimathea, in whose tomb the body of Jesus was interred, was furnished by Philip the Evangelist with eleven disciples, and sent into Britain, to introduce the Gospel of Christ instead of the barbarous rites of the Druids. With these rites, as well as with the people who practised them, the Romans had become well acquainted through the writings of Julius Cesar.

These holy men on their landing, applied to Arviragus, a British king, for permission to settle in a rude and uncultivated spot, called *Ynswytryn* by the British, *Avolonia* by the Romans, and *Glaesting-byrig* by the Saxons; and which is still known by the name of Glastonbury. Their petition was granted, and twelve hides* of land were assigned for their support; and the place is to this day denominated *the twelve hydes of Glaston.* Here, according to tradition, the standard of the cross was first erected; and a chapel, made of wicker work, was the first church or oratory of God in Britain.

Whether this tradition be true or false, it is an undoubted fact, that Glastonbury has always been held in high repute on this account; and the remains of its religious edifices, built in a subsequent period, still appear "majestic though in ruins," to confirm the truth of that tradition which has been related.

That this nation was converted to the Christian faith at a very early period, by those who had been the disciples of our Lord, was the constant belief of our ancestors. And this fact, which associates itself with Glastonbury Church, runs not only through the histories of our country, but even through some of our regal acts. In the charter granted by Henry II. A. D. 1185, for rebuilding Glastonbury

* A hide of land was considered to be so much as a plough could turn over in one day; but this will be considered hereafter.

Church, which had been destroyed by fire, he styles it "The mother and burying place of the saints, founded by the very disciples of our Lord;" he then adds, "It has the venerable authority of the ancients." This church was the head of all ecclesiastical authority in these nations, till A. D. 1154, when Pope Adrian IV. transferred that honour to St. Albans.

It has been argued, that when the emperor Claudius visited this island A. D. 43, he was accompanied by Plautius, one of his generals, whose wife Pomponia had embraced Christianity, and who first made it known in these territories to her friends and domestics; from whom it spread throughout the British territories. To this account an ancient inscription has given some degree of sanction; but the authority of this narration has never been deemed equivalent to the tradition respecting Glastonbury.*

It is very probable, that Claudia Ruffina, who is supposed to have been a native of this island, was a convert to the Christian faith, within seventy years after our Saviour. She is mentioned by Martial, and is said to be the wife of a Roman senator named Pudens. Whether these be the same mentioned by the Apostle or not, it is impossible to say. But it is a singular fact, that a Pudens and a Claudia, both Christians, lived at Rome in the time of St. Paul, as he informs us, 2 *Timothy* iv. 21.

Tertullian, who flourished about the middle of the second century, speaking of the spread of Christianity, says, that "all the different nations of Gaul, and *those parts of Britain* which were inaccessible to the Romans, are become subject to Christ." It is plain from hence, that the Gospel was *extensively established* in this island before the middle of the second century, and consequently, that it must have been introduced a considerable time before. A similar account is given by Origen, who flourished about A. D. 220; this also is confirmed by Athanasius, in A. D. 350, who then speaks of British bishops being at the council of Sardis; and the whole is ratified by Chrysostom, who, A. D. 380, speaks of Britain as having received the Gospel prior to that period.

But how early soever the inhabitants of Britain received the Gospel, there was no British king who embraced Christianity until the days of Lucius, whose name stands foremost among the Christian princes of this island. The time however, in which he is supposed to have embraced the Christian faith, is not placed beyond the reach of controversy. Bede, who styles him the first Christian king, states his conversion to have taken place, A. D. 156. But this event is generally held to

* See Dr. Adam Clarke's Introduction of the Gospel into Britain.

have occurred in the days of Lucius Verus, and the beginning of Eleutherus's popedom in 171; for to this pope he is said to have written a letter, praying for assistance in his attempts to propagate the Christian faith. His request appears to have been granted; and this circumstance has furnished the Romanists with an occasion to say, that Lucius was converted to Christianity by their missionaries.

But although a certain degree of truth may be attached to each of the preceding accounts, for certainly Christianity might have been introduced into different parts by different persons, we cannot suppose that Druidism was every where abolished in an instant, so soon as Christianity appeared. Experience and observation unite to shew us the force of habit and the influence of prejudice; and we have no reason to imagine that the dominion of superstition was less inveterate in these early periods. Nor can we reasonably conclude, because Lucius embraced the Christian faith, that it became universal even in his days. Britain was under the dominion of several independent princes, whose example and edicts could scarcely extend beyond their own territories.

Cornwall lying a considerable distance from the seat of the Roman government in Britain, had not the earliest opportunity of acquiring that light which the Gospel imparted, and of breaking through those barriers which superstition continued to present to free inquiry. It is therefore but reasonable to suppose, that Druidism continued to prevail in these parts much longer than in many others, and that it was not until some considerable time after Christianity was introduced, that it finally gave way, leaving the influence of Revelation to reign in triumph over the souls of men.

When Christianity became so far established in this country, in the days of Constantine, that three British bishops were summoned to the council of Arles in 314, the profession of our religion in Cornwall was under the superintendance of the Archbishop of London. But as he resided at a considerable distance from this extremity of the island, his clergy, who were generally kept near his person, only paid occasional visits to these remote parts. And therefore, although the Gospel might have been supported in all its purity immediately under his eye, it was left with comparatively small assistance, in those remote corners in which Druidism appears to have entrenched itself. "It had taken deep root," says Dr. Borlase, "and it would not give way to weak efforts. Hence it is, that after the Roman empire, and much the greatest part of Britain had been Christian, we find many martyrs suffering death in Cornwall for the Christian faith. And hence it is, that in the latter end of the fourth, during all the fifth, and most part of the sixth centuries, we find so many holy men employed to convert the Cornish to the Christian religion."

MARTYRDOM OF MELOR, ONE OF THE EARLY PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL IN CORNWALL.

Thus far it has appeared that the light of Christianity was introduced into Britain at a very early period; and no doubt can be entertained, that Cornwall partook of its genial rays. It does not however, appear, that during these early periods any direct measures were adopted for carrying the Gospel into this county in particular. For this benefit we are indebted, through the providence of God, to some pious individuals, whose names are still retained in the local appellations which several of our parishes still continue to bear.

It appears from the best accounts that can be collected, that about the middle of the fourth century, Solomon, who was either a king, prince, or duke of Cornwall, had embraced the Christian religion. This is the first Cornish Christian prince whose name stands on record; Lucius reigning only, according to Stillingfleet, over Surrey and Sussex. The principal reason why Solomon is considered to be a Christian prince is, that his son Kebius, from whom the parish of Cuby derives its name, was ordained a bishop by Hilarius of Poictiers, and afterwards sent back into his own country to exercise that high function. But if Kebius thus stands high in dignity and fame, he was far from being foremost in utility. Corantine, from whom Cury derives its name, appears to have been the first of any note, who preached the Gospel with success in Cornwall. He was born in Brittany, and first preached the Gospel in his own country. From thence he proceeded to Ireland, but being obliged to quit the Irish territories, he repaired to Cornwall; and after travelling from place to place to instruct the ignorant, and reclaim the vicious, he finally settled at the foot of a mountain or hill called Menhenont, or Menheniot, in Cornwall. From this state of solitude, in which he had secluded himself from the world to hold communion with God, he was called by Grallonus, king of Armorica, who from the fame of his sanctity, caused him to be created bishop of Cornwall, by St. Martin, bishop of Tours. This Corantine, who is said to have converted all Cornwall, died A. D. 401.

Piranus, from whom Piran derives its name, was born in Ireland, A. D. 352. He is supposed to have visited Cornwall about the same time as Corantine, and to have preached the Gospel to the natives. But all their efforts were ineffectual to extirpate paganism from their minds. For notwithstanding the zealous endeavours of these holy men, and no doubt of many others whose names are not recorded, so prevalent was the spirit of heathenism, that Melor, from whom the parish of Milor probably derives its name, though the son of Melianus, duke of Cornwall, suffered martyrdom in the year 411, which was attended with circumstances of aggravated cruelty. He was put to death by order of his uncle Rinaldus, a pagan, who inhumanly commanded the executioner to cut off first his right hand, then his left leg, and after this his head.

SEVERAL CHRISTIAN PREACHERS MASSACRED NEAR HAYLE.

The rites of Druidism still continuing to be practised in Cornwall, induced St. Patrick with twenty of his companions, to touch on the Cornish shores, A. D. 432. They landed on the northern coast, near the place where Padstow now stands. Christianity had visited that part of the island long before their arrival; but no religious edifice was yet erected in the county for the purpose of Christian worship. St. Patrick and his companions erected a house on a spot which was anciently called Loderick, and the house itself was denominated Laffenac, a name which either expressed the purpose for which it was built, or alluded to the materials (being stone) of which it was erected.

From the unexampled success which attended the preaching of St. Patrick in Ireland, his fame spread to distant parts; and from his time Ireland began to be the seat of every kind of learning which the Christian world was then acquainted with. To this seminary persons of the highest rank resorted, and from professed Pagans became preachers of the word of God. "But they neither shut themselves up in monasteries, nor confined themselves within the limits of their own island; but travelled into Italy and France, frequently into the isles on the north of England and Scotland, and oftentimes into Cornwall, directing their course where they saw most need of their instruction."*

Among the pupils of St. Patrick was Fingarus, who with his sister Piala, eleven bishops, and a numerous train of attendants, all baptized by St. Patrick, passed from Ireland to Cornwall, in order to propagate the Christian religion. They landed at the mouth of the river Hayle, where, by order of Theodorick, king of Cornwall, they were all inhumanly put to death; and the reason assigned was, lest by their preaching they should turn aside his subjects from the religion of their fathers. This Fingarus is the same with Guigner, or Gwinear, from whom the parish of that name is denominated.

It was nearly about the same time that this massacre took place, that Breaca, Sinninus, and Germochus, from whom Breage, Sennen, and Germoe parishes are denominated, together with many others, came over from Ireland, to spread the truths of Christianity. These also landed on the eastern bank of the river Hayle, at a place called Revyer, not far from the place where Theodorick had his castle. They were attacked by him, and a part of the company was slain. Such however, as were spared, he treated with more humanity, permitting them to proceed on the errand which had induced them to brave so many dangers; and finally sanctioned that very cause which he at first attempted to destroy.

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 370.

MANY OF OUR PARISHES DERIVE THEIR NAMES FROM IRISH SAINTS.

From a legend of Cornish saints quoted by Leland, it appears that the greater number of them came from Ireland; many of whom reached our shores between the years 423 and 432. Among these it has been asserted by some, were St. Iia, St. Roche, and St. Austell, from whom the parishes of St. Ives, Roche, and St. Austell are respectively denominated. But of these saints more particular notice will be taken hereafter, when we proceed to the parochial department of this work. In these early days, hermitages, cells, and a seclusion from the world, were thought either essential to piety, or necessary appendages of it; and the more gloomy, horrible, and desolate the situation of the hermit was, the more extensively his renown for sanctity was circulated.

But the benefits which the natives of Cornwall enjoyed, from the introduction of Christianity, arose from a different race of men. These, in imitation of their Lord and Master, went about doing good; and such was the success with which their pious exertions were blessed, that it is to them, as instruments in the hands of God, our ancestors were indebted for the light of that Gospel which finally banished the barbarous rites of Druidism from our shores. Among these, we find a multitude of individuals, whose names have been preserved in those parishes in which many of them finally settled. And although we have been taught to despise these parochial appellations, as relics of papal superstition, and as the canonization of men whose professions were similar to those of others whose vices we so justly execrate, we ought to remember, that a mere appellation will not justify us in condemning all, because the practice of some has been base. We have no right to infer an association of character from a similitude of names; nor to reproach the conduct of our distant ancestors, because they expressed their pious gratitude in giving to their churches and parishes the names of holy men, to whose zeal and usefulness they were so highly indebted.

Dr. Borlase says, "The monasteries of the western nations, before the time of St. Benedict, were chiefly intended as nurseries to the church, to educate persons in such a manner as to make them able ministers of the word of God.

"In the fifth century we read of no distinct orders of monks; they were not yet called after any particular patrons, as the Benedictines, Dominicans, Augustines, &c. in the following ages were; their design being to learn of some, in order to teach others. They were quite strangers to the ambition, luxury, and idleness, which afterwards attended the monastic life. Their zeal for religion made them indefatigable in preparing themselves for, and afterwards exercising their holy function. In the monastery of Bangor, by some accounted the first Christian monastery in the world, great numbers of monks were bred up in a collegiate

manner, and daily bodily labour was to fill up the intervals of their study and devotion. By their learning they fitted themselves for teaching religion; by their labour they contributed in their turns to the support of the religious community of which they were members. Many of these monks were bishops, of which seven at one time, with many other learned men from the same place, attended the synod called by St. Austin of Canterbury, about A. D. 600.

" St. German, St. Martin, and St. Patrick, all exercised the episcopal function, ordained and appointed bishops to their particular provinces. St. German is thought to have established several schools or seminaries for young divines here in England; and St. Patrick, who spent several years under the discipline of St. German, carried the same collegiate or monastic education into Ireland; and doubtless brought the same into Cornwall when he came here. We see therefore, by the history of these great doctors, that their principal office was to preach the Gospel, to undertake the conversion of infidels, now in one nation, and now in another, and to bring up other monks under them, who might engage in the same holy task.

" By this it appears that the monastic life, in those early ages of Christianity, was not what it generally is at present, viz. a life of inactivity and confinement; but a life of travel and preaching. It was from such monasteries, and such monks, that we had our Irish saints and teachers, who coming into Cornwall to preach the Gospel, were after their death generally reckoned among the saints. And we have indeed great reason to think those holy men endued with as much piety and learning as any of the age they lived in, or any after them for many centuries.

" To name all these holy men and women, and particularly specify their coming into Cornwall, and their departure elsewhere, might suit a register or catalogue, but would be foreign to the intention of this treatise, as well as tiresome to the reader. The design of them all was the same; they came to preach the Gospel, and by the strictness and severity of their lives, to enforce their doctrine; and the consequence was suitable to their endeavours. By their means Christianity increased, and churches were built; and, when by a division of the kingdom into parishes, each parish had its church, there was scarcely a saint from Ireland or elsewhere, who had preached in Cornwall, but had his memory preserved by the grateful inhabitants, by having a church near the place he settled in, dedicated to and called after his name. Ireland continued to be a nursery full of holy and learned men, even to the year 674; and therefore we may reasonably suppose, that till that time she continued to send forth her saints into the adjoining countries."

Such was the character of these monks in early times; such was the origin of Christianity in Cornwall, and such were the means by which it was propagated.

ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT ONE OF THE EARLY RESIDENCES OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

Of the general authenticity of these facts, little or no doubt is entertained by our historians, although the subordinate circumstances have given rise to a variety of opinions. The time when these Christian teachers made their first appearance in Cornwall, the order in which they came, the associations which they formed among themselves, and the peculiar circumstances under which they settled in their respective parishes, have given rise to much discussion. Mr. Whitaker, in his Cathedral of Cornwall, animadverts on the statements of Dr. Borlase with much animation, and in terms which seem to border on severity. But point and energy pervade all his writings; the vigour of his spirit was imparted to his language; and the native independence of his mind beamed through his expressions, the strength of which was more than sufficient to compensate for their apparent asperity.

Among the numerous residences which Christianity found in Cornwall, St. Michael's Mount was seized at a very early period. Its situation was exactly adapted to the prevailing genius of these days; and accordingly, from the earliest times it was a place of great celebrity. The origin of its Christian establishment is however buried in some obscurity; and in that state we must be content to leave it, until we proceed to examine its history. Such lights as can be collected will then be thrown upon the subject; and it will be well if the scattered rays when gathered to a focus, will be sufficient to dispel the cloud which hovers over this "guarded Mount." In the mean while we must proceed to notice a few of those memorials of the Romans which have been discovered, and which still exist in Cornwall.

CHAP. VIII.

Remains of the Romans still visible in Cornwall.

SECTION I.

Towns in Cornwall in which it is probable that the Romans had Settlements.

AS Cornwall was originally connected with Devonshire, and both were included under the general title of Danmonium, we have no right to expect on this side of the Tamar, so many memorials of Roman antiquity as might have been visible, if this western region had afforded them an exclusive abode. It was indeed long doubted whether the Romans ever visited this part of Danmonium; and in early years, the want of coins, urns, tools, and weapons, known with certainty to be Roman, was thought to be a decisive argument against their residence in this district. Succeeding observations, and persevering diligence, have however now placed the fact on a ground which is no longer questionable; and there are many decisive proofs that the Romans have been in Cornwall.

From the supposed residence of these conquerors in this county, it has been inferred, that some remains of their ancient towns or places of residence ought to be produced. But we have already noticed, that the government which they established in this country was chiefly military; that they kept standing forces; and held an intercourse with one another throughout a long chain of territory. It is therefore reasonable for us to suppose, that they fixed their abodes in camps and fortified places, rather than in towns; and consequently, that we have more reason to expect memorials of these camps, fortified positions, and roads, than of towns, in which their residence was in all probability only occasional. Of Roman camps and fortifications we have many vestiges still remaining. Some fragments of their causeways have also survived the shocks of time; and even where these fragments have disappeared, the name has in some cases outlived their existence; and, hovering over the spot in which they have been interred, continues to the present moment to point us to their grave. Hence it is, that in the parish of Luxulian, we have a place called Bodmin *Caunse*, or *Coanse*, which signifies a pavement or causeway, although no vestiges of any ancient road remain visible. But from its vicinity to the remains of a Roman encampment, we may easily infer

from what source it derived its name. On Pounds-Coanse and on several other places, similar observations may be made.

Besides the ancient towns in which the aboriginal Britons resided, and in which after the conquest, the Romans no doubt claimed a joint occupancy, several others have been named as places of their general residence, if not of their exclusive abode. Among these towns, there was one that existed in former ages in the western part of the parish of St. Germans. This town, which was called Seaton, once stood on the mouth of a small river, which still retains the same name. At present no remains of this town are to be seen; although it is considered to have been a place of some importance, before the encroachments of the sea in these parts occasioned its total overthrow. Tradition, in this neighbourhood, unites with the voice of history, to assure us that these desolations of the sea have been very considerable.

To the town of Liskeard the same ancient honour has been attributed; but the foundation on which it rests is rather of a dubious nature. That this town is very ancient, is not to be doubted; this the fading remains of its ancient castle sufficiently demonstrate. But the vestiges of this once venerable pile are so scanty and indistinct, that nothing can be inferred with certainty from the fragments which remain. According to tradition, a Roman legion was once stationed in its vicinity, and some faint traces of Roman pronunciation have been thought still to remain in the latter part of its present name.

That Lostwithiel was the Uxela of Ptolemy, we have already noticed; and the authorities of Camden and Borlase have been cited in support of the fact. "The situation assigned by Ptolemy, and the name it bears to this day," says Camden, "sufficiently evince it to have been the ancient Uxela. Now, it is a little town, and not at all populous. For the channel of the river Fowey, which in the last age used to carry the tide up to the very town, and bring vessels of burden, is now so stopped up by the sands coming from the lead mines, that it is too shallow for barges. And indeed all the havens in this county are in danger of being choked up by these sands."

About four miles below Lostwithiel, and at the mouth of the same navigable river, which at Fowey spreads into a secure and beautiful harbour, the Roman shipping must have resorted; for it is only through this spacious inlet that they could have any access by water to their celebrated Uxela. The country around, and also this harbour, must therefore have been well known to the Roman mariners. "Indeed," says Dr. Borlase, "it is very likely that they had a station for ships here; for on the other side of the river, about a mile from Fowey, and somewhat below it, there is an ancient village, with a fair cove before it, still called Polrouan,

signifying the Roman pool; or as I find it sometimes written Port-Rouan; that is, the Roman cove or port."

Although the origin of Launceston Castle has been attributed to the Britons, it still appears to bear about it some strong marks of Roman workmanship. The Romans succeeding the Britons in the dominion of the county, no doubt took possession of all their strong and fortified places; and consequently this fortress then fell into their hands. All such alterations as were then deemed necessary, were therefore made in the Roman style. Its repairs were finished on the same common principle; and hence the motley appearance which its parts exhibit, even in the present day.

Dr. Borlase says, "The buildings which remain of this castle are of different styles, and shew that the several parts of it were built at different times. For at the first entrance through the great gateway, you have a flat but pointed arch over the first gate; but, within at the second gate, you have a much rounder arch. There is a round tower on the angle of the rampart, which if not built by the Romans, is undoubtedly of the Roman style. There is a squareness also in the area of the base court, which agrees with the manner of the Romans, much more than any thing we have in our other castles; but whether these parts are as old as the Roman times, I cannot say; however, that the Romans should fortify here is not at all improbable, considering that the situation of this castle near the ford of the river Tamar, makes it a pass of great consequence." That Launceston Castle was in possession of the Romans, no doubt seems to be entertained. And it is hardly to be supposed that they held possession of the castle without making any residence in the town, which was placed under its immediate protection. The latter seems to be a necessary consequence of the former; and the fair conclusion is, that the Romans possessed both.

Stratton, though a town of little importance at present, carries with it many marks of being of Roman original. Its situation is in the northern extremity of the county. Its name, which is common to many other towns in the kingdom that are confessedly Roman, gives a corroborating sanction to various other branches of evidence, which, when taken in the aggregate, furnish us with all the testimony that we could reasonably expect. For although at present it has neither extent, population, trade, fortification, nor beauty to recommend it, yet it was anciently of such importance as to give its name to the hundred in which it is situated. This is an honour of which no other town in Cornwall could boast, when about the year 900 the county was divided into hundreds.

It is unnecessary to prove, that the Romans carried their roads through the countries which they conquered, and that they caused their principal stations or

towns to be joined with some of their branches. When dominion in this island was transferred from the Romans to the Saxons, these latter denominated the roads or causeways of the former, *streets*. Thus the Roman roads at Watling and Icknild, were called *Watling Street*, and *Icknild Street*. The places where these roads passed through rivers, the Saxons called *Street Fords;* and such towns as were placed on the margins of these roads, they called *Street Towns*, or *Strettons;* and this appears to be the proper orthography of our present *Stratton*.

In Warwickshire there are several places called Stretton, all of which, according to Sir William Dugdale, take their names from some great road which once lay, or which now lies in their vicinity. In Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Oxfordshire, we have Strettons; and there is hardly any county through which these ancient roads have passed, in which a Stretton is not to be found. Some vestiges of a Roman causeway have been discovered in the vicinity of our Cornish *Stretton*, which we shall shortly notice; and from this fact we cannot but infer, that the name itself determines this town to be of Roman original.

In addition to the preceding towns, there are others which lay some claims to Roman antiquity. Among these Mr. Polwhele reckons St. Austell; but it ought not to be dissembled, that its claims are very problematical. Both Grampound and Tregony can support their pretensions to Roman honours with much better authority, and perhaps advance claims which it will not be easy to resist.

There can be no doubt that the Romans were well acquainted with Falmouth Harbour, and with the various branches into which that spacious harbour spreads; it is not improbable, therefore, that they had some settlements besides those which have been already noticed in their vicinity. About Truro, Dr. Borlase thinks they were conversant, and the scite of its long demolished castle has been produced to give authenticity to the fact. To Penryn the Romans were certainly not strangers; but whether they formed any actual settlements in this place cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained.

SECTION II.

Vestiges of Roman Roads which have been discovered in Cornwall.

It is well known, that the Romans had four principal ways or roads, through which the whole island was laid open to their inspection and control. Of these roads, as they verged towards the west, we have reason to believe that there were two which were continued onward to the banks of the Tamar, renewed again on the Cornish side, and conducted towards the western extremity of the county. It

appears from the traces of these roads which have been discovered, that one came down by Exeter through Totness; thence passing near Plymouth towards Saltash. Renewed again at Saltash, it is supposed to have proceeded onward to Liskeard, Lostwithiel, St. Austell, Grampound, and from thence to Truro. The other road seems to have taken a more northerly direction. This is supposed to have come from Somersetshire, through the northern parts of Devon, by Torrington; from thence to have proceeded to Stratton, Camelford, Bodmin, and continued onward on this high ridge towards the Land's End. From these two principal roads, others of a subordinate description have been discovered to branch off in different directions towards the camps or fortifications, the passes which their interest led them to secure, or the ports which their shipping frequented.

Dr. Borlase, who seems minutely to have examined this subject, has given us a variety of marks by which such Roman roads have been distinguished, as are known with certainty to be theirs. But whether all the varieties that existed among them have been explored or not, it is impossible to determine. And hence, from the variety that has been discovered, and the uncertainty of those which may still remain unexplored, the subject itself is involved in considerable difficulties.

The Romans having the mines of Cornwall in their possession, on the riches of which they set a considerable value, it is but reasonable to suppose that they would take every precaution for the preservation of so valuable a prize. And as every thing shews that it was their intention to complete the conquest of the island, and add it to their permanent possessions, we should be led to conclude that the formation of public roads was among their earliest cases, even if no vestige of any such roads had ever been discovered.

But it is not on mere probability that the fact depends. If we appeal to actual observation, we shall soon be led to consider that as a certainty, which we admitted as a probability before; and of this the evidence which appears on the southern road, will furnish us with a convincing example.

"The Roman road is visible at Kentford, about three miles below Exeter; there are not bolder remains in the kingdom of such ways than from the passage over the Exe, through Kentford and Newton Bushel to Totness. It appears with a high crest and entire, most part of the way, which is at least twenty miles. I travelled twice along it; at Totness I lost it; but about Brent, a small market town six miles farther, I imagine I struck into it again, whence it continues in as straight a line as that rocky country admits of, to Ridgeway, a small village near Plympton. In the neighbourhood of this place, in the grounds of Mr. Parker, of Borrington, I observed a remarkable camp, though of no great magnitude. Near this entrenchment, the said road having passed the small river Plym, mounts a

pretty steep ascent, crosses the main coach road from Plymouth to Exeter, at a place called Nacker's-Hole, and proceeds in a direct though narrow line to St. Buddox, where the ferry over the river Tamar brings us to Saltash, and thence into Cornwall."* Mr. Moulding, who traces this road no further west, then adds, "This way from Saltash, I have been told, proceeds to an entrenchment near Lostwithiel, where there is a causeway leading directly to it. I am equally positive there is another Roman direction into Cornwall."

To ascertain this fact, respecting the Roman way in Cornwall, Dr. Borlase, in the summer of 1752, set out on an eastern tour of this part of the county; and he thus states the result of his personal observations:—

"In the summer of 1752, I set out for Saltash, on purpose to search after this road; and in my way from Lostwithiel to Liskeard, about a furlong to the eastward of Lostwithiel Bridge, saw an old ridge-way on the right hand, but soon lost it by keeping too much to the left, as I imagine. But a quarter of a mile before I came to the second tap-house, I saw on the left a high ridge leading on nearly easterly, with large pits on the higher side of it, some square, some shapeless, out of which the ridge was raised. This way was ditched on both sides, ten feet and half wide, in some places wider. It went on straight over the downs, which was here level, from Lostwithiel to Liskeard; on the side of it were many barrows. Hence it runs through some meadows which lie round the tap-house, beyond which I immediately joined it again, plain, high crested, slanting up the hill, ditched on both sides, but wider than before. Thence it is very plain as far as the third tap-house, beyond which, in a straight line, it continues for half a mile, then passes from the highway into a field, where it runs within the hedges for a quarter of a mile further in a straight line still. I then lost it; and thence to Liskeard, and afterwards to Saltash, being through deep hollow ways and enclosures, I saw nothing more of it. That this is part of a Roman way I am inclined to think, from its keeping a straight line from the places dug along its sides to fill it up, from its ascending the hill in an easy slope, and from its being ditched on one side as much as on the other; whereas if it had been a camp, it would have turnings round the hills, and rounds or salient angles on its turnings, and would have been ditched but on one side."

Respecting the western part of this road, stretching from Lostwithiel to Truro, the author's researches were not attended with much success. He thus expresses himself:—"Having tracked this way thus much about Lostwithiel, I have seen no more of it; but there is reason to believe, that it kept on through or near St.

* Moulding of Wichampford, Worcestershire, on the Roman Ways, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lyttleton, dated August 22, 1743.

Austell, to Grampound, the Voluba of the ancients, and thence in a straight line to Truro, six (eight) miles farther; but the grounds, altogether enclosed, will make it difficult to trace it here. However, about a mile west of Grampound there is a tenement called *Caerfôs*, alias *Carvoza*, that is, the castle, or encampment on the dyke, or foss, by which names the ancient ways are frequently called, adjoining the high road to Truro. And indeed the name of this last mentioned town makes me think that more than one way passed here. Probably the great eastern road passed from Truro, near Penryn, there being a straight-lined fortification about midway between these two towns, (in the parish of Feok as I remember) and so on towards Constantine, and Helford Haven, where many coins have been found."*

From this main road it has been conjectured, that a little beyond Grampound a branch was sent off to the left hand, as we travel west, towards Tregony, which, lying on the banks of the Fal, or Val, was accessible to shipping, and was a place of considerable note. And what adds to the probability of this conjecture is, the certainty that this neighbourhood was of importance, from an ancient fortification at Wolvedon or Golden, in the parish of Probus.

But whatever opinions may be entertained respecting the Tregony branch of this great southern road, that there was another which led onward from the west of Lostwithiel towards Fowey, we have something more than conjecture to induce us to believe.

"There is," says Dr. Borlase, "a ridge-way west of Lostwithiel, which runs down nearly parallel to the river Fawy. It runs by Castle Door, an ancient encampment now almost demolished, betwixt which and Lostwithiel, I saw many remains of a risbank, about eight feet wide, ditched on each side. Between Castle Door also and Fawy, I saw a high ridge-way, ditched on each side, in a straight line. What makes it probable that the Romans had a way here, running down from their great western road, is, that many coins have been found hereabouts; and a little below Fawy, cross the river is an ancient village called sometimes Polrouan, and sometimes Portrouan, which by its name seems to have belonged to the Romans.

"I am informed that there is part of a stone causeway leading from Bodmin to Lostwithiel, which tradition attributes to the Romans. The remains of it are about midway betwixt these two towns; they consist of two fragments, the longest about a hundred yards, and the other not so much. They incline a little with the road, are about ten feet wide, and are raised above the common level about a foot. It is not at all strange that here should be a way, for the river Alan coming up

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 334; and Natural History of Cornwall, p. 324.

from Padstow Haven on the north sea, and the river Fawy coming up from the south sea to Lostwithiel, do almost cut our narrow county in two, being within the reach of four miles one of the other, so that a way from river to river would in a manner connect the two seas; and there could not be a more judicious piece of ground chosen, either for a way or a garrison, than this, from whence the troops could so easily reach from north to south sea. To this let me add one observation more; that at Pencarrow there is a very considerable fortification overlooking the Alan, and on a hill near Bodmin as considerable a fort, leading directly from that of Pencarrow towards Lostwithiel, called Castle-Kyneh. By means of these two garrisons, and one at or near Lostwithiel, the passage between the two rivers was easily secured, and small parties might traverse with security."

Still farther to the east there was another road which branched off from the main one. There are the remains of a causeway between Liskeard and Looe, near Polgover, the seat of Mr. Mayow, which, as well as the cross road from Dulo to Heasenford, vulgar tradition makes to be Roman.

"That the Romans had ways in these eastern parts of the county about Looe and Lostwithiel, the following ancient work shewn me by the Rev. Mr. Howel, rector of Lanreath, (June 25 and 26, 1756) will abundantly confirm. This work, which is called Giant's Hedge, is a large mound, which reaches from the valley in which the two boroughs of East and West Looe are situated, to Lerring on the river Fowey. It is first visible on West Looe Downs, about two hundred paces above the mills, whence it runs to Kilmaenarth Woods; from and through them to Trelaun Wood, about three hundred paces above Trelaun Mills; then through Little Larnie to the barton of Hall, in which there are two circular encampments, about four hundred paces to the north of it; then quite through the said barton, making the northern boundary of a field on the glebe of Pelynt Vicarage called Furze Park; then cross the barton of Tregaric, and thence through the north grounds of Tresasson and Polventon, to the glebe lands of the rectory of Lanreath, where I measured it, seven feet high, and twenty feet wide at a medium, thence it stretches through the tenement of Wyllacomb to Trebant-water, whence it proceeds through the barton of Langunnet and some smaller tenements to Lerring, from which there is a fair dry down called St. Winnow Down, leading north along to Lostwithiel.

"This risbank, or mound, ranges up hill and down hill indifferently; has no visible ditch continued on any brow of a hill, as entrenchments always have; there is no hollow or fosse on one side more than the other; it is above seven miles long, and tends straight from Looe to Lerring Creek, in the direct line from Looe to Lostwithiel.

"By all these properties, its height and breadth, its wanting the fosses of fortification, its straightness and length, the grandeur of the design, and the labour of the execution, I judge that it can be nothing less than a Roman work. In this supposition I am the more confirmed, first, because several Roman coins have been found on the banks of Fowey river, and, as I have been informed, in the run of this notable work also; secondly, by its tendency to the first ford over the navigable river of Fowey. For it must be observed, that the Romans, thoroughly sensible of the delays and hazards of crossing friths and arms of the sea, and the danger of bridges getting into the possession of the natives, were equally adverse both to bridges and passing large rivers; they had therefore in constant view the nearest and most commodious fords of rivers, and directed their roads accordingly. Now near Lerring Creek, where this work ends, there is a ford, and no where below is the river fordable, which plainly accounts for their carrying this road so high up in the country, that it might at once convey their troops towards their station at Lostwithiel, and afford them a safe passage over the river Fowey, into the western parts through Grampound and Truro."

If we turn from this southern road, and from the several branches into which we have seen it diverging, to survey that which once ran through the northern district, we shall find some memorials sufficient to convince us that it existed, though they may be insufficient to enable us to trace it through the county. In those parts of Devonshire through which it ran in its approaches towards Cornwall, its vestiges are more conspicuous than they are in the county; and even here the memorials are still more striking in the northern than in the western parts. Some remains of a cross road have also been discovered; but the traces, which, through the cultivation of the soil, the lapse of time, and the changes which every thing terrestial is destined to undergo, are fading on the sight, and ere long they will only be found in the pages of history, and the whispers of tradition.

Resolved to ascertain the truth of antiquarian report, respecting the existence of this northern road, the indefatigable author whom we have just quoted, visited Stratton, in the vicinity of which he thinks there are plain remains of this northern road still to be seen. "As this town," says he, "lies among hills, I was obliged to get up in the church tower to have a better view of the country round. From the battlements there, I soon saw a straight road passing east and west, and bearing directly for the town, which in the main, has the same direction, though some little bye streets branch off on the sides. The next morning, in my pursuit of this subject to the east, I easily found the ridge-way which I had seen from the tower the evening before, overgrown with briars, about ten feet wide, bearing in a straight line up the hill; I rode by it till I came to West-Leigh, on the top of a

hill, near two miles east of Stratton, in the way to Torrington, which is about twenty miles eastward of this town. There is a way parallel nearly to this, which runs midway betwixt the lane leading to Lancell's Church, and the forementioned way; and this midway is called Small Ridge Lane. This may be a collateral way to the other, for such are found near the great roads, particularly in Oxfordshire; and are supposed to be made, either because nearer or better ways, or in order to keep seditious people and soldiers from worse employments. But I do not take this to be the principal or most ancient road, because I apprehend there must be a *broad ridge-way* near by, or this could never with any propriety have been called the *Small Ridge*.

"Having collected these hints to the east, let us now pass through the town of Stratton to the west; where, at the town's end, we find a raised way pitched with stones, called the causeway, slanting up the hill, and then running a mile and half, as straight as the hilly surface will permit. About half a mile from the town, and one furlong to the right of this causeway, there is a square entrenchment, containing about an acre of ground, where the house of the Blankminsters, (once a great family in these parts) formerly stood. It was moated round; but whether a little fort belonging to this way, was laid out so by the owners, I do not pretend to say. In this place several brass medals and some silver coins have been lately found, as I was assured by the tenant of these lands, who found the former, and gave the four or five old brass farthings, as he termed them, to his children to play with, as good for nothing.

"Before I go further from this town, I must not forget to mention, that about two thirds of the way from hence to Launceston, there is a barton called Broad Ridge, in which, as I am informed by the proprietor, there is a large ridge-way, straight for a mile together, in a line pointing north and south; that is, from one of these towns to the other; which makes me imagine that there was a cross road which struck off at right angles from Stratton to Launceston, a place certainly of great antiquity, and a pass of no less importance to those who would master Cornwall."

Through the distance of one mile and half, in a westerly direction from Stratton, the great causeway was pursued by Dr. Borlase; but whether, from a conviction that he had discovered sufficient for his purpose, or because no other fragments could be traced, he desisted from his pursuit, it is impossible to determine. Other vestiges however, have been discovered in other parts; and some remains are still visible between Stratton and Camelford, and from Bossiney to St. Columb. Proceeding further west, on this great northern track, we find, in the parish of St. Agnes, a rough raised way, which is still called White Street. In the parish of

Gwennap we have a place called Rough Street; and several other places in the vicinity, from their names and peculiarities, seem to combine together to convey an idea, that in these districts a road, if not roads, once existed, that had branched off from the great northern causeway, towards the northern shore, just as we have already seen, from the remains discovered on the southern coasts, vestiges which prove that some roads branched off from the other in those opposite directions.

There can be no doubt that these roads existed. The only difficult question that remains is, whether they are Roman or British. Besides these there can be no competitors. The presumptive evidence however, is more in favour of Rome than Britain; and to the Romans may also be attributed a considerable portion of those beacons which once illuminated the hills of Cornwall, and by which they are at present crowned.

If it were possible that we could ascend some lofty eminence in a central part of Cornwall, from the summit of which the whole surface of the county could be distinctly seen, we should behold on each side, a chain of beacons so disposed as to communicate with each other, and to transmit from one end of the county to the other, intelligence either of an insurrection, or of an invading foe. From the hills of Stratton to those of St. Ives on the north, and from the commanding ground at Maker, to the Godolphin hills on the south, the remains of many beacons are still visible; but many others have been demolished. Those however which remain, will serve in some degree to distinguish the course which the Romans pursued to communicate their information. And these also may serve to shew the direction which their causeways took, in those places where not a vestige now remains to be seen.

Another line of beacons seems to have been established in the middle of the county; the remains of several are still visible. From each of these chains there must have been some cross links, uniting the opposite sides of the county together; and even of these, some few memorials remain. The roads seem to have been established on the same principle; and the difference between these and those appears to be only that which beacons and roads require to distinguish them from one another.

SECTION III.

Roman Coins discovered at different times in Cornwall.

When Mr. Carew published his Survey of Cornwall in 1602, he expressed his conviction that the Romans were not ignorant of the tin trade of Cornwall, on the same ground that others have been led to doubt whether they ever visited the

county with any military force. He says, " Neither were the Romanes ignorant of this trade, as may appeare by a brasse coyne of Domitian's found in one of these workes, and fallen into my hands." When nothing but this solitary coin appeared, many were disposed to attribute its being placed there to an accidental circumstance, by foreign hands; and no doubt can be entertained, if this solitary coin had been the only vestige of the Romans, that such a conclusion would have been irresistible. But since the days of Mr. Carew, the aspect of things has considerably changed; and so many coins have been discovered, in such particular places, and in such vast quantities, that no reasonable doubts can remain, as to the people by whom they were deposited.

Mr. Tonkin, in a letter to Bishop Gibson, dated August 4, 1733, says, that " In 1702, in the parish of Tawednack, between St. Ives and the Land's End, were found under a prodigious rock of moor-stone, called the Giant's Rock, a large flat stone supported by four pillars of the same, an urn full of ashes, with a round ball of earth by the side of it, and in the said ball fourscore silver coins of the latter emperors, very fair and well preserved. I could not have a sight of more than five of them, of which I got three; of Valentinian I. Gratian, and Arcadius; the rest were seized for the lord of the soil."

Harrison, in his description of Britain, when speaking of the place where Prince Arthur is supposed to have fought his last battle, on the banks of the river Alan, says, " Not long since, and in the remembrance of man, a brass pot full of Roman coine was found there, as I have often heard."

All those coins thus found at a distance from our ancient towns, harbours and forts, Dr. Borlase thinks, were deposited there, either by the Roman miners, or by those Roman officers who were appointed to superintend the mines. Such on the contrary, as have been discovered in places remote from mines and harbours, as those mentioned by Mr. Harrison, can hardly be attributed to any but the military forces that were stationed throughout the country, to awe the inhabitants into submission. Those which have been discovered near the sea, in the vicinity of harbours, which their mariners and merchants frequented, and these are far more numerous than any others, develope the sources from whence they came, and clearly prove that the Romans were something more than transient visitors to the Cornish shores.

Among the Roman coins found near our ports, the greater part appear to have been much worn; and in proportion to the increase of their number, they seem to have diminished in value. Hence it has been thought, that these coins could not have been brought hither for mercantile purposes, being too insignificant and cumbersome for the facilities of commerce. It has rather been supposed that they

were brought hither to pay the soldiers, who were kept in arms to preserve the county in peace. There is certainly nothing unreasonable in this supposition; but we must not forget, that it is entitled to no more credit than mere conjecture can enable it to claim.

Leland says, that at Tredine, or Treryn, the south-west point of Cornwall, a brass pot full of Roman money was found by some men who had been digging there for a fox. And Dr. Borlase mentions two silver coins in his possession, one of which was of Trajan; these were found near Penrose, in the vicinity of Helston.

In the tenement of Condorah, on the margin of Helford Harbour, the same author says, that in the spring of the year 1735, twenty-four gallons of brass money, all Roman, were found, all of which were of the age of Constantine and his family. On the opposite side of this haven, on the margin of a creek, which runs up into the parish of Constantine, forty Roman coins of the baser metals were also discovered.

In the parish of Tywardreath, not far from a branch of Fowey Harbour, many Roman coins have also been found. And on the eastern bank of Fowey Harbour, near Ethy, several coins of the same nation were also discovered. Those found in the parish of Tywardreath, were carefully preserved by the late Philip Rashleigh, Esq. in his justly celebrated cabinet at Menabilly. From him they passed into the possession of his sister, Mrs. Mary Hawkins, of Pencoit, or Penquite.

In 1723, some small brass coins were found in an urn mixed with earth, in a place called Kerris, in the parish of Paul. This urn, with its contents, was found in a vault paved with stone. The vault itself was eight feet long, and six feet high, and was probably designed as a repository for some human remains.

Carte, in a note on his History of England, observes, that in the beginning of the last century, some Roman coins were accidentally discovered in a barrow in a field at Ludgvan. The report of this fact so stimulated the miners in that neighbourhood, that they opened many barrows with a full expectation of finding hidden treasure. They found in most of them nothing more than a little cell, enclosing one or more urns, in some of which were a few Roman coins. Among those that were found in this general search, Carte had seen some of Claudius, Nerva, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, L. Verus, Lucilla, and Faustina.

In the year 1779, an urn filled with Roman copper coins, was found on the barton of Godolphin, about half a mile from the Roman fort at Bossens. The farmer who found them sold eight pounds weight to a Jew. In 1789, an urn was found in the parish of Morva, within three quarters of a mile from Chûn Castle, filled with Roman coins, mostly of copper, with a few of lead; this urn was found at the corner of a small enclosure, surrounded by a thick uncemented stone wall;

another urn, enclosing Roman coins, was discovered in June 1793, about a hundred yards from the sea, in the parish of Ludgvan, and little more than half a mile north-west of St. Michael's Mount; the coins in these two urns were chiefly of Gallienus, Victorinus, and the Tetrici. In 1807, three hundred small copper and plated Roman coins were found between two flat stones, under a large projecting rock, in a field near the Land's End; they were chiefly of Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus."

Besides those already noticed, many other Roman coins have been found in this county; but being scattered on the surface, or only lightly buried, nothing certain can be inferred from their discovery. A variety of opinions has existed respecting the discovery of these coins in such large quantities, but of such insignificant value. Some have thought that the Romans purposely buried them to perpetuate the glory of their nation, in the eyes of distant posterity. Some have thought that they were the property of merchants, deposited in seasons of alarm. Others have imagined that, being the property of private individuals, they were buried in order to preserve them, and finally forgotten by their proprietors. Others have supposed that they belonged to the soldiers, who, on being called to the field, buried their treasure, and through the disasters of war never returned. In some instances all these suppositions may probably be true; but in others it is more reasonable to conclude, that the large quantities of coins, such as these found at Mopas and Helford Haven, were part of the military chest, and buried by the paymaster of the army on some sudden alarm, when they were obliged to quit a post which they never more regained. This also may account for the absence of gold and silver money. Coins made of these metals being more valuable and more portable, might be carried off with little difficulty. But it is not improbable, that many of these have also been deposited in Cornwall, and future accidents may bring them hereafter to light.

SECTION IV.

Remains of Roman Fortifications and Camps still visible in Cornwall.

Among the diversified remains of the Romans in this county, several vestiges of their camps, and of the ruins of their fortifications, are still extant. Many others of a similar description, we have reason to believe have been demolished, in places which their successors have found it necessary to occupy; and in some the vestiges which have survived the ravages of time, are rather sufficient to satisfy us of their existence, than to enable us to describe either the form, strength, or extent, of these military edifices and enclosures.

MANY ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS ON THE BANKS OF THE TAMAR.

Beginning our researches on the banks of the Tamar, we are forcibly struck with several ancient fortifications; but these are so defaced, that nothing characteristic of the Romans can justly be inferred from their appearance. There is however, the site of an old camp between Newton (the seat of Mr. Helyar) and Callington, which has all the bold and striking features of a Roman undertaking. The Ramehead has evident marks of having been fortified in ancient times. The isthmus which connects the promontory with the main land, still bears the remains of a strong vallum, with a deep ditch. These run from side to side, uniting together the two excavations which the sea has made on the eastern and western extremities. Of this ancient fortification a considerable portion is demolished; but part of the vallum near the middle of the isthmus is still apparent. This work can scarcely be attributed to any but the Romans.

Proceeding onward on the shores of the south-west, we find in the parish of Duloe, the remains of an ancient camp called Bury Castle. This is of a circular form, and lies on a place called Bury Down. Whether East and West Looe were ever fortified in these early periods, we have no means of knowing. The situation of the creek would seem to demand it, but no vestiges of such fortifications remain visible. If ever they existed, they have been swept aside by modern innovations. On Fowey we may make remarks of a similar nature. It was evidently known to the Romans, and visited by them; and it is scarcely to be expected that they would leave the entrance to their passage towards Lostwithiel unprotected, while their vessels found constant anchorage in Polruan Pool. But no vestiges of any fortifications remain at present in this neighbourhood, unless what we find in the name of Castle-Mawgan, which lies to the east of this commodious harbour.

On the Blackhead, in the parish of St. Austell, the remains of some very ancient intrenchments appear; but whether these can with justice be carried back so far as the days of the Romans, may appear very doubtful. In like manner all the promontory from Portmelin to Carhayes, seems to have been guarded with military defences. Of these the most conspicuous at present is the old fortification on Chapel Head, or Chapel Point, in the parish of Gorran. These ruins however, are too prominent to induce us to believe that they are Roman. And, although we might reasonably suppose that the Romans would not leave such a situation as Gorran without protection, our principal guide to direct us in our conclusions, arises from the memory of demolished castles, that is preserved in the names of several places in this neighbourhood.

Advancing towards Tregony, we find the footsteps of the Romans in Carveth, to the north of this ancient town, and in Carlennick, to the north-east of Grampound.

ROMAN FORTIFICATIONS STILL VISIBLE IN PROBUS.

But in neither of these places are the marks of the Romans so conspicuous, as at Wolvedon, or Golden, in the parish of Probus. This very ancient fortification Dr. Borlase thus describes:—"There is an angular fort on the barton of Wolvedon, alias Golden, in the parish of Probus, which has a wide and deep ditch, the outer edge or counterscarp of which was faced upward with masonry of thin stones in cement, which had round turrets or buttresses, (such as neither Saxons, Danes, or Britons had as far as I can find) of the same masonry, interspersed with the straight lines of the ditch. This is very singular in our country, where most of our ancient fortifications are of a circular plan, without any projections, angular or circular, from the master line. I can judge this therefore, neither to be British, Saxon, nor Danish, as being like to no other works of these people; and from the artful fence of this ditch, as well as from the polygon which the whole forms, I guess it to be a Roman work. There is a large avenue, or way from the north, rising from an adjoining valley."

Whether the ground on which the fortifications of Pendinas now stand, was ever fortified by the Romans, we can only learn from analogy and circumstantial evidence. Advantageously shaped for defence, and most conveniently situated to protect one of the finest harbours in England, which it is well known the Romans frequented, we cannot suppose they would leave this without any defence, while they fortified with great care places much less exposed, and incomparably more unimportant. The fortifications of modern times being erected on the site of the old ones, may furnish a sufficient reason why none of the former appears. There are indeed some vestiges of antiquity lying near the present works; but it may be much doubted whether these can claim an original so venerable as the days of Agricola.

In a place less frequented, because less convenient, than the noble harbour of Falmouth, and less liable to change, because less important, we find some remains of fortifications which carry with them every mark of being Roman. This is on the banks of Helford Harbour, about four miles west of Falmouth, within the precincts of which those coins were found, which are mentioned in the preceding section.

The place near which this fortification stands is called Condorah; it is in the parish of St. Anthony in Meneage; and appears like a little hill, or projection of land, washed on each side by the sea. The hill itself is called Dinas Vean, or Little Dinas, to distinguish it in all probability from Pendinas, which we have already noticed. This Little Dinas has several modern fortifications on its eastern point, which perhaps were erected at the time of the great rebellion. But nearer

to the village, which is more immediately called Condorah, it has an old vallum stretching from sea to sea, which is the remainder of a very ancient fortification, that is probably of Roman origin.

This Little Dinas is " a bold promontory," says Mr. Polwhele, " now converted into a warren. Measuring the Dinas from the west, as I entered at the warren gate, I found that from this gate to the remains of an encampment, the space was 800 feet. Here we have a single ditch, deep and bold; and from the entrance of the camp, descending on each side to the water; that is, on the south side to the river Durra, and on the north to the river Hele; the south side of the foss to the Durra, measured 486 feet; the north to the Hele 189; the breadth of the foss at a medium 20 feet, the depth 15. The length of the camp from its western entrance to its eastern declivity towards the sea was 640 feet; from that declivity down to the sea, 180 feet. Its width from cliff to cliff was 730 feet. The plane of the Dinas is in length about a quarter of a mile. To the south of the Durra, on the side of the hill at Gullybowls, stands an old intrenchment called the Round, or the Castle. It is an enclosure containing about half an acre. Corresponding with the Little Dinas, it commands the Durra. About half a mile to the west of the Little Dinas, we approach the village of Condurra, where in a field on the left hand side of the road were found a large quantity of Roman coins in a knapsack. They were found within the enclosure of a small garden in a ditch. The hedge and ditch have since been levelled with the field."

Proceeding still more westwardly, we find several ancient fortifications and remains of them, which might lead our views into deep antiquity; but no marks are of so decided a nature, as to induce us to ascribe to them a Roman origin. The Romans no doubt frequented these parts, and occasionally took up their abode in them; but it does not appear that their establishment was so permanent in the remote western district, as in other parts of the county. In Manaccan, St. Martin, Gunwalloe, the vicinity of Helston, Breage, St. Hillary, Penzance, Mousehole, and St. Buryan, some vestiges of ancient fortifications appear. All these have been at times ascribed to the Romans; but the evidence appears to be too slender to justify the opinion which it is brought to support.

If we pass to the northern side of the county, we trace no certain footsteps of the Romans until we reach the parish of St. Agnes. " There is however in this parish, a vast intrenchment, which is nearly two miles in length, extending from Porthchapel-Coom, to Breanik-Coom. In the west, where the sides of Porthchapel-Coom are steep and easily defensible, the ditch is shallow and the vallum low; but as the Coom wears out into a plain, it grows proportionably larger, and about 200 yards above, a cot called Gun-vrê, appears of its full size, where the ditch I found to be 17 feet 6 inches wide, and from the bottom of the

ditch the perpendicular of the vallum is at least 20 feet; from this place I traced and dialled it more than a mile. The work throughout I judge to have been executed uniformly, according to the measurement above expressed, but in some parts it is now much altered; the ditch has been widened in some places, and levelled in others, to make gardens; and the vallum has been carried off, where it was of clay, to make bricks; and levelled to make room for houses in other places; it is also much defaced by tin-works, but is still a great work.

"From the westernmost point it runs in a straight line due east; then makes another line somewhat to the north of the east to a village called Bolster, for a quarter of a mile; about 500 yards beyond which it comes into Polbrêan Common, running east by north, down to the vicarage; about 100 yards below which it appears again, keeping very judiciously the brow of the hill, bearing north-east by north, till it reaches the coom, or bottom, below the church-town, called Breanik-Coom, which descends to the sea. A work, surely, of equal skill and labour, intended for the defence of St. Agnes beacon, and its rich bal or cluster of mines, enclosing some thousands of acres, by making a line of intrenchment from Porthchapel-Coom, which lies on the west, and Breanik-Coom, which runs down to the sea on the east of this promontory.

"Within this intrenchment the late Mr. Tonkin (whose paternal seat makes a part of the land enclosed) says, (in a letter to the late learned Brown Willis, Esq.) that his father's servant, in the year 1684, plowing, turned up a gold coin of Valentinian, and thinks verily that this was a Roman work; but this single coin is the only reason which he gives, as far as I am at present informed. However, there are much better reasons to be drawn from the work itself. The grandeur of the undertaking, the judgment and conduct of the design, the straightness of the lines, the uniformity of the work in all its parts, the vallum where not injured, being of one height, the ditch of one breadth, the judicious diminution of the labour, in proportion as the Cooms grow deep, and able of themselves to form some defence; all these are circumstances intimating too much art and military science for either Britons, Saxons, or Danes. Add to this, that to the west of the beacon, on the top of the enclosed hill, are still to be seen the remains of a small square fortification, adjacent to which are three sepulchral barrows, which if one may judge by the labour of erecting them on such an eminence, must have been the monuments of some great persons. It is called the Kledh, which in Cornish signifies the trench or foss, and by the vulgar said to be the work of a giant called Bolster."*

* Borlase's Antiquities, pp. 313, 314.

Near Stratton there are two small square forts, or rather the remains of them, which, from their proximity to an ancient causeway, and from some brass coins found near them, have been supposed Roman forts; these having the characteristic marks by which others in different parts of the kingdom have been distinguished. One of these forts is at Binnomay, in the parish of Stratton, and the other is at Whalesborow, or Wallsborow, in the parish of Marhamchurch. In themselves these forts have nothing to command attention; but their nearness to some remains which have every appearance of being Roman, pleads strongly in behalf of their great antiquity.

Of the architecture displayed in the buildings of Launceston Castle, some notice has already been taken. In this venerable pile there is a round tower still remaining on the angle, now called the Witches' Tower; which, together with a squareness discoverable in some other parts that savour much of the Roman shape, suggest the idea of Roman workmanship. That the Romans might have possessed this fortress and have added to its buildings, we are justified in believing, from its great antiquity and importance. And when to this we add the architecture which is still visible in some of its parts, we are furnished with all the evidence that we can reasonably expect in favour of its being once a fortification possessed and repaired by the Romans.

These are the principal, and perhaps almost the only fortified places in Cornwall that are of Roman original. And perhaps among those, some are not entitled to the high antiquity assigned them by historians. At this distant period of time, our only guides are analogical resemblance, and distant collateral evidence; and we can hardly expect any thing better, when due allowances are made for the wastes of time, and the depredations of the Saxons and Danes. The Romans have left behind them undoubted evidences of their power, which we may find in their sepulchral urns and barrows.

SECTION V.

Sepulchral Remains of the Romans discovered in Cornwall.

As sepulchral barrows are very numerous in Cornwall, and the custom of burying the dead under such tumuli, prevailed among all the nations that visited this county in the early periods of its history, it is exceedingly difficult to select those which are Roman from such as belong to other nations. Of these barrows some distinguishing characteristics have been noticed in a former chapter; but these notices have also been accompanied with observations which more than intimate,

that little or no dependence can be placed on any form which they may assume, or any external decorations they may exhibit. Their contents will however furnish a more distinguishing criterion, and enable us on many occasions to gather from the coins which have been found in them, and from the workmanship of the urns which they contain, the nation to which the bodies belonged, whose mouldering ashes they enclose.

In the year 1700, some tinners, who were employed in opening a barrow of stones in the parish of Wendron, came to some large stones, that seemed to be disposed in the nature of a vault, in which they discovered an urn full of ashes, which without all doubt were the remains of a human body. It does not appear that the urn had any thing particular, either in its workmanship or form, to excite any distinct notice. Beneath this urn they found a fine chequered pavement of brick; which, together with the urn, they instantly and ignorantly broke to pieces. In the same barrow and near the same place, they also found several Roman brass coins, and a small instrument of brass set in ivory, which it was supposed the Roman ladies made use of about their hair. The coins were easily known by their inscriptions to be Roman; and the chequered pavement of brick contained an evidence not less decisive. The conclusion therefore is, that the whole is of Roman origin.

"Within ten years before I was in Cornwall, a quantity of Roman coins, some of which by the brightness of their colour seemed to resemble gold, were dug up in one of the barrows in the parish of Illogan. I have seen a great number of the coins found here in searching barrows, but none later than Lucilla and Faustina found in those urns and barrows, but in other places down to Valentinian III."*

Near the mansion-house at Kerris, in the parish of Paul, as some workmen were removing an old hedge in the year 1723, they discovered a vault about eight feet long and six feet high, the floor paved with stone, and the roof arched over with the same materials. Within this vault was a plain fair urn of the finest red clay, full of earth. By the largeness and strength of this vault, the smallness of the urn, and the earth without any bones, this urn must have contained the ashes of some considerable person. By the delicate shape of this urn, the fineness of its clay, and from some coins found with it, this, says Dr. Borlase, "may be justly ranked among the Roman urns."

In the parish of Sancreed an urn was found, of which Dr. Borlase has given a plate. This urn he conceives, from the lace-work which surrounds it, and from the neatness with which it was executed, to be of Roman manufacture.

* Carte's History of England, Vol. I. pp. 103, 104.

It was sometimes the case, that a whole family were interred in the same vault; and when this was the case, many urns containing the ashes of individuals, were placed by the sides of one another. "The most remarkable monument of this kind which Cornwall can produce, was discovered by Mr. Ralph Williams, a farmer, at a place called Chikarn, in St. Just, Penwith, in 1733, when removing a barrow. As he approached towards the central parts of the barrow, he found a great many urns, of which he took not much notice. But as he came to the centre, he discovered a square stone chest or cell, in which he also found an urn finely carved and full of human bones. According to the best of his recollection, the number of urns amounted to about fifty. These were ranged around the central one, and had within them some remains of bones and earth. All however, were either broken or thrown away as of no consequence, excepting the principal one, which Mr. Williams carefully preserved on account of its neat carvings, and carried to his house to exhibit to the inspection of the curious."* From the workmanship of the urn, scarcely any doubt can remain of its being Roman; and consequently, this being decided, we cannot but determine all the others to belong to the same nation.

About a furlong from Golvadnek Barrow, in the parish of Wendron, there are two barrows on a hill called Karnmenelez; which, from one of them having been walled at the edge no less than five feet high, suggest the idea of their being Roman. In one of these it has been reported that some coins of Julius Cesar have been found; which, if true, adds a strong circumstance in favour of their Roman origin. Whether any urns or human bones were discovered within these barrows, when they were opened, we have no account. But from the improved state in which they appeared, when compared with the shapeless heaps in many other places promiscuously thrown together, Dr. Borlase thinks it more likely that these should have proceeded from the Romans than from any other people.

Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, mentions a large urn discovered in the year 1600. "I have received credible information, that some three years sithence, certaine hedgers deviding a closse on the sea side, on the side of Tywardreath Bay, where Mr. Rashleigh's Roman coins were found, chanced in their digging, upon a great chest of stone, artificially joined, whose cover, they, over greedy for booty, rudely brake, and therewithall a great earthen pot enclosed, which was gilded and graved with letters, defaced by this misadventure, and full of black earth; the ashes doubtless as that the *urna* of some famous personage." This urn, the gilding and lettering plainly carry to the Romans; and the Roman coins that

* Mr. Polwhele's History of Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 139.

were discovered in its vicinity, seem to place the fact on a foundation not easily to be removed.

At a place called Treath, not far from Helford, a very ancient burying-place was discovered not many years since. On the removal of part of a garden terrace, there appeared about forty feet distant from the house, and about five feet deep, some rude moorstones, which, as they were laid open, had some resemblance, both in shape and size, of a modern coffin. These stones were put together without any cement, in such a manner as to form the sides, the ends, and the covering; but the bottom was nothing more than the bare ground. Upon this bottom lay a black unctuous substance, like that contained in urns. This was about three inches deep, but there was no appearance of any bones. The moorstone was black, and the earth around it red, as if it had passed through the fire. Of this the moorstone exhibited some signs, it being in some places almost in a decomposed state. Six or seven feet from this coffin was found another of nearly the same form and dimensions. A third was also discovered, and soon after a fourth, and a fifth; but nothing could be gathered from either of them to determine either their age or nation. In another part of the garden there is some very old stone-work, but there is not a sufficient quantity standing to enable us to discover whether it belonged to the walls of some temple, chapel, or other building. And what adds to the obscurity is, that no tradition concerning this burial-place prevails among the neighbouring inhabitants, nor can any thing satisfactory be inferred from the name which it bears. The utmost that can be said, is, that this place must be very ancient; but whether it contains the ashes of British or Roman inhabitants, it is impossible to say.

Of a nature equally doubtful were the contents of an urn found in a cavity in the parish of Gwithian in 1741. In this parish, about half a mile to the south-west of the church-town, the sea having washed away a piece of the cliff, discovered, about three feet under the common surface of the land, a small cavity about twenty inches wide, nearly the same in height, and covered over with stone. The bottom was only one flat stone, on which was placed an urn with its mouth downwards, which, on being taken up, was found to be full of human bones, of which the vertebræ were very distinct. Round the urn was found a small quantity of dust or earth, which had all the appearance of human ashes, and filled the lower part of the cavity about four inches high from the bottom. That these were human remains no doubt can be entertained; but to what nation they belonged is very uncertain.

Carew mentions a little village called Trebeyan, or, *the town of the giant's grave*, not far from the Land's End, "near which, and within memory, certain

workmen searching for tynne, discovered a long square vault, which contayned the bones of an excessive big carkas, and verefied this etymology of the name."

Besides these sepulchral remains, some of which are evidently Roman, though others are of a doubtful origin, we have several relics of antiquity which have been discovered in this county, that can hardly be referred to any other people than the Romans. Of this description are the head of an animal in brass, a hinge belonging to some ancient cover, and a thin plate of brass of a concave form, full of holes. These were all found, with about a pint of Roman coins, at the foot of Carnbre Hill. The head, which is hollow, Dr. Borlase conjectures to have been designed to represent that of a ram, and to have been used as the pommel of the handle of an ancient sword or dagger. The concave plate he conceives to have been either to besprinkle the sacrificers with holy water, or to have been the cover of an incense-pot, through the holes of which the sacred fumes ascended to the gods. He admits however, that the form is so doubtful, that the use must remain undetermined. But since these were found with coins known to be Roman, and in a place from which Roman coins had been taken some time before, these evidences are thought sufficient to determine these antiquities to belong to the same people.

Of a Roman patera discovered in the parish of Ludgvan, Dr. Borlase has given a minute description, so far as the existing parts could enable him to form an accurate idea of the whole. "The harmony which appears in its measurement, produces the proportion and beauty of this vase; and this agreement is so far from being accidental, that it can be no other than the result of the maturest judgment, and what is most likely, of Roman elegance. I take it to be a sacrificial patera, to receive the blood of the victim, and convey it as an offering to the altar. The vase is of fine granite, turned and polished, and was found in an old hedge belonging to the glebe of Ludgvan." Of this vase a fragment only remains.

Another patera, less elegant than the preceding, but entire in itself, was found in the parish of St. Just. This also was of stone, and turned and ornamented. Dr. Borlase thinks it to be that kind of patera from which they poured out the libations of wine, either upon the altar or between the horns of the victim. It is made of a particular kind of talky moorstone or granite, commonly called Ludgvan stone, from the parish in which it most plentifully abounds.

In the same parish of St. Just, in nearly the same place with the preceding, another patera was discovered, formed of the same kind of stone, and finished in nearly the same manner. With this patera was found an urn; but this being made of more brittle materials, was broken in pieces and its fragments were lost. As the patera was Roman, no doubt can be entertained that the urn was Roman

also; but to what specific purpose the pateræ were respectively applied, it is impossible to determine. That some of them, and particularly those of the larger sort were used in their religious rites, is unquestionable; and of this description it is probable the largest was, of those already described. But besides this, they were applied to other purposes in seasons of festivity, and even in domestic life. Varro says, that the patera was a sort of cup to drink out of, and even to his age, in festival times, they carried drink in the pateræ, and used them also in sacrifices to pour out wine and blood in honour of the god sacrificed unto. The sacrifices of heathens and even of Jews, required blood; but under the mild and luminous dispensation of the Gospel, "the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."—*Psalm* li. 17.

CHAP. IX.

The Saxons, invited by Vortigern, assist, oppress, and finally subdue the Britons.

SECTION I.

The Saxons, invited by the Britons, turn their arms against them; and after having subdued their enemies, become victorious and oppressive.

THE Romans having totally abandoned Britain, restored its inhabitants to that independence which their ancestors had originally enjoyed; and which now, if it had been wisely used, might have led them to benefit their condition, even by their past disasters; but to these advantages they were unfortunately strangers.

The Scots and Picts no sooner heard that the Romans had taken their final departure, than they prepared to renew their former depredations. Instead, however, of making an immediate attack upon the wall that had been built to fix their boundaries, they embarked in small vessels made of leather, and poured their hordes upon the British shores. The Britons astonished at their daring intrepidity and ferocious manners, fled in all directions, abandoning their deserted territories to these barbarous invaders, who wasted the country with fire, and slaughtered the inhabitants.

Perceiving the Britons to fly before them in every direction, the invaders turned their attention to the wall, whose defenders they had feared to attack; and finding them equally timid with the rest of their countrymen, they began by pulling some from its summit with long iron hooks, and by assailing the remainder with showers of arrows. This so terrified the defenders, that they fled in all directions, leaving the wall in the enemy's possession, and seeking refuge in flight alone. But this inglorious flight was insufficient to save the fugitives. Their enemies watching their timid movements, pursued them with eagerness, putting such to the sword as they overtook, and laying their country waste. In this state of wild disorder, several of their frontier towns fell into the enemy's hands.

To give new horrors to the situation of the suffering Britons, the devastations that had been committed led all to neglect the cultivation of the soil; and as a natural consequence, a dreadful famine ensued. The distress which this produced, led to a neglect of all social order, and they began to prey upon one another; thus

taking from their natural friends that little which the rapacity of the common enemy had left. Finding themselves unable to subsist as communities, they next betook themselves to hunting, and continued to live chiefly by the doubtful succours of the chase for several years, until despair inspired them with new resolution, and once more induced them to combine their individual powers for the benefit of all.

It was before the Romans took their final leave of our coasts, that the Britons had elected for themselves a king; and although in the midst of their present disasters anarchy had succeeded to subordination and law, his power was acknowledged, though it was insufficient to restrain them from acts of mutual depredation. Gildas indeed complains, that his countrymen were generally forward in raising to the throne, men who were chiefly remarkable for their cruelties; and that they soon caused those to be murdered whom they had thus exalted, that they might find a fair occasion to raise up others still more signalized for their brutality and wickedness. When subjects are robbers, a barbarian may be a proper king.

The Britons knowing from former ineffectual applications, that it would be in vain to solicit the assistance of their old conquerors and protectors the Romans, they turned their attention to their own resources, and resolved if possible to revive subordination, to muster their common energies, and turn their whole genius and force against their triumphant invaders.

Previous to this resolution being formed, many among them, urged by the miseries of an increasing famine, and perceiving no termination to their miseries, had submitted to the Picts and Scots, and thus bartered for ever their liberty and independence, for a scanty sustenance to be measured by the caprice of a barbarous foe. In this distress, although many submitted to their invaders, a much greater number embarked for Armorica, in Gaul, to which place some of their countrymen had already retired, and in which they had found a settlement before the Romans had forsaken our shores. The remainder betook themselves to arms; and sallying out from their caves and forests upon the common enemy, who wandered about in small parties, cut multitudes of them to pieces. These acts of desperate courage had such an effect upon their barbarous plunderers, who had long triumphed in security, that a general panic succeeded, and they began to retire. The Britons pursuing them closely, compelled them to return to their respective homes.

Animated with these successes, the Britons once more began to cultivate their lands; which having lain fallow for several seasons, produced an abundance, which could only be contrasted with that scarcity which the suffering inhabitants had so long endured. Delivered from their invaders, and abounding in plenty, luxury and licentiousness soon prevailed, where the horrors of famine had triumphed only a few months before. Gratitude to God for his mercies was unknown; vice was

triumphant; and iniquity, like a terrible inundation, deluged the land. Gildas says, "The clergy, who should have reclaimed the laity with their example, proved the ringleaders to every vice; being generally addicted to drunkenness, envy, contention, &c. and incapable of discerning between good and evil."

In the midst of this train of dissipation, the Britons were alarmed with the intelligence that their old invaders, the Scots and Picts, were preparing to return with an accumulation of forces, to extirpate the natives altogether, and to plant themselves in their stead, from one end of the island to the other. This report created a momentary consternation; but it produced no reformation. They were terrified, but not reclaimed; they were threatened, but while the impending calamity remained suspended, they continued in their vices, and bade defiance to danger. There was however, another foe still nearer than the Picts and Scots, which they were not prepared to expect; this was a dreadful plague, which seemed to overtake them as a judgment for their iniquities. The disease raged with unexampled violence, sweeping away many thousands. But this calamity proved as ineffectual to reclaim the survivors, as their plentiful crops had been to beget gratitude, or the threatened invasion of their enemies, to urge them to provide for their own defence.

Scarcely had the violence of the contagion ceased, before the enemy, returning with incredible fury, and an accumulation of numbers, overran the country with destruction. Vortigern, who, according to Speed, was a native of Cornwall, was at this time the chief, if not the only king in Britain. He has been represented as a proud, covetous, and debauched tyrant, regardless of the public welfare, and equally incapable of promoting it, both in the cabinet and in the field. This chief, being awakened from his excesses by the clamours of the people, and finding it necessary to repulse the enemy, even for his own preservation, summoned a council to deliberate on the state of the nation, and to devise some measures to deliver the inhabitants from the calamity which threatened them with inevitable destruction. In this council they adopted that dreadful expedient which finally terminated in their own subjugation; namely, to invite the Saxons, who had hitherto hovered as pirates on their shores, to espouse their cause, and drive back the Picts and Scots from the English territories. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched in haste to Germany, to represent to the Saxons the request of the Britons, and to offer them advantageous terms, provided they would hasten to their assistance.

The Saxons received this invitation with joy; and they were the more eager to embark in this enterprise, from the predictions of their soothsayers, which said, that they should plunder the country for the space of 250 years, and then quietly possess it during twice that period. They therefore fitted out three long ships,

under the command of Hengist and Horsa, who pretended to trace their pedigree up to Woden. These, arriving at the Isle of Thanet, were received both by the prince and people, whom they ultimately enslaved, with every expression of joy.

It is generally supposed, that the three Saxon vessels could not contain more than three hundred men each; which appears a very inconsiderable number for such an undertaking. "The first Saxon troops are said by most historians to have landed in the year 449; though by some this event is placed a few years sooner; by others a few years later. Tyro Prosper supposes the Saxons to have been masters of the island in 444, and consequently to have landed many years before. But that writer was therein grossly mistaking, as is manifest from Gildas, Bede, and all the historians who speak of that event. Bede places the arrival of the Saxons and Angles in the reign of Marcian, before the death of Valentinian III.; that is, between the year 450, and 455, and seems to suppose the resolution of the Britons to call them in, to have been taken before the reign of Marcian; so that according to Bede, their arrival may be well placed in 450, and in that year it is accordingly, by the learned Usher, supposed to have happened."*

The terms on which the Saxons came into this country, is not involved in less uncertainty than the time of their arrival. Witichind, a Saxon historian, who lived in the ninth century, introduces the British ambassadors making the following speech before the assembly of the Saxons:—"Illustrious Saxons! the fame of your victories having reached our ears, the distressed Britons, harassed by the continual inroads of a neighbouring enemy, send us to implore your assistance. We have a fertile and spacious country, which we are commanded to submit to you. We have hitherto lived under the protection of the Roman empire; but our ancient masters having abandoned us, we know no nation more powerful than you, and better able to protect us. We therefore recur to your valour. Forsake us not in our distress, and we shall readily submit to what terms you shall think fit to prescribe to us."†

That the Britons, though brought into a state of consummate wretchedness, should make such an abject and unconditional surrender of themselves and their country, to a people whose piracies and cruelties they both knew and detested, is hardly to be credited; and many circumstances concur to render it more doubtful. Neither Bede nor Ethelwerd, though both Saxons, and therefore we might suppose interested in the honour of their countrymen, mentions any such surrender; but on the contrary the latter tells us, that the Britons promised to live in perpetual friendship and amity with the Saxons; a promise which seems inconsistent with the nature of absolute subjection. In addition to this, when the Saxons, having

* Ancient Universal History, Vol. XIX. p. 173. † Ibid.

gained a permanent footing in this country, began to oppress the inhabitants, although they gladly availed themselves of every petty subterfuge to vindicate their conduct and palliate their enormities, they never once adverted to any surrender of the country that had been made by the first ambassadors who visited the continent to implore their assistance. Instead of this, they pleaded in defence of their depredations, that their provisions, which the Britons had promised to supply, were bad, and that their pay had been irregular, and occasionally withholden. These facts have been attested by Gildas, so that it appears they evidently came into this country to fight for pay, and a maintenance.

In their manners the Saxons were courageous, daring, and inured to the toils of war; ferocious and cruel to their enemies, sacrificing such as fell into their hands, to the god of battles. In their persons they were athletic, robust, and fitted to bear fatigue; and were more formidable to their enemies than any other of the northern nations. In their religion, before they embraced Christianity, they were idolaters; and the spirit of their theology served to keep alive that savage ferocity, for which their dispositions were peculiarly remarkable.

Of the objects of their superstitious veneration, the names of several have been transmitted to us, and we still retain them in the names of the days of the week. The two first days were consecrated to the sun and moon; and hence our Sunday and Monday. The third and fourth were sacred to Tuisto, or Tuisco, the goddess of justice, and wife of Thor, and Woden the god of war; and hence the names of our Tuesday and Wednesday. From another of their idols named Thor, our Thursday receives its nomination. Friga, or Frigga, who was a goddess, and supposed also to be the wife of Thor, has imparted her name to the sixth day of our week, which we hence call Friday. Croda, which was also called Saeter, claimed for his worship the seventh day, which name we have also preserved in our Saturday. It is thus we stand indebted to Saxon idolatry for those names, which, though professors of Christianity, we have retained, and which none but the people called Quakers have had the fortitude to abandon.

Besides these, the Saxons had many other deities, to which they paid the most profound but ferocious veneration. Among these they had a goddess which they named Eostre, to which they offered sacrifices in the month of April; which from this circumstance, was denominated *Eostur monath*, or the *month of Eostre*. It is from this idol that the word Easter is derived; the Saxons retaining it after their embracing Christianity; thus transferring the name to that solemn festival which at the common season of the year, we celebrate in commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection from the dead.

Mara, among the Saxons, was a frightful but ill-defined spectre or being, which was supposed to visit the haunts of repose, to terrify and oppress those who were asleep. To this Saxon phantom we are indebted for the term *Nightmare*, and for the original of all that embodied form with which the imaginations of thousands still continue to supply it. The Elvæ, or Elfs, which were the same as the fairies, of which we have before spoken, were viewed by the Saxons with much veneration; and at certain seasons of the year were honoured with a kind of sacrifice, which they called *Alf-blot*.

To sooth the ferocious spirits, and to keep alive the fierce and savage passions, their theology taught them to believe, that certain goddesses named Dysæ, were appointed by Woden to convey the souls of such as died in battle, to *the hall of slaughter*, which was his abode, and was called *Valhall;* where they were to drink with him and other gods and heroes a certain liquor called *Cerevisia*, out of the skulls of their slaughtered foes. Those on the contrary, who did not die in the field of glory, were by the same Dysæ conveyed to *Hela*, the goddess of torment, in whose presence they were destined to be afflicted with perpetual thirst and hunger, and all their concomitant evils. It is easy to conceive what kind of influence this barbarous theology must have had upon the savage dispositions of these rapacious and bloody plunderers. It was displayed in their conduct towards our British ancestors whom they came to assist, and felt by them with an acuteness that extorted groans, which are heard even to the present hour.

The Saxons having obtained firm footing in the Isle of Thanet, soon found it necessary to engage in active service. The Picts and Scots, it was incumbent on them to repel, in order to free the country from their depredations, to satisfy Vortigern and his council, and to throw a decent veil over their future designs. The Picts and Scots were assembled in considerable force in Lincolnshire. The Saxons marched towards them, and after a desperate battle, put them to flight, leaving all the booty which they had acquired in the hands of their conquerors. Vortigern was so pleased with the service of his new allies, that he rewarded Hengist and his brother with ample possessions in the territory which they had won by their valour.

The Saxons having thus had an opportunity of surveying the country, and of noticing the fertility of the soil, soon found means to transmit the information to their countrymen, who, with the consent of Vortigern, soon poured their additional ferocious hordes upon the British shores. A still more formidable party having landed on the Orcades, and ravaged the northern coasts, the country of the Picts and Scots, and made themselves masters of the Friths, finally obtained leave of

Vortigern to settle in Northumberland, to guard the country from the future incursions of their former enemies.

Their numbers being now thought sufficient, they began to quarrel with the natives, demanding from them more corn and other provisions than had been stipulated; and threatening, in case their demands were resisted, to break the league which had formerly been made; to appeal to arms, and to lay waste the country. Though alarmed at these menaces, and at the increasing number of their forces, the Britons refused to comply; alleging that they were unable to support them, as their number far exceeded the original stipulation; and therefore they desired them to quit the island and return home. Secretly pleased with a reply at which they pretended to be exasperated, the Saxons seized it as a pretext for commencing those hostilities for which they had been artfully preparing. They accordingly concluded a peace with the Picts and Scots with expedition and secrecy, and then turned the whole force of their military power against those whom they came to defend. In their various operations they were too successful; and their barbarous severity kept pace with the progress of their conquests.

The Britons, unable to withstand their power, either fled from the terror of their arms in all directions, or fell victims to their barbarous success; so that the whole island was again desolated. "The public as well as private buildings, were laid level with the ground; the cities pillaged and burnt; the priests slain at the altars; the bishops cruelly massacred, without the least respect to their dignity; and the people, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, butchered in such multitudes, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead. Some of the unhappy Britons, who escaped the general slaughter, took refuge among the inaccessible rocks and mountains; but great numbers of them perishing by hunger, were forced by the extremity of famine, to abandon their asylum, and deliver themselves up to their merciless enemies, to preserve their lives at the expence of their liberties. Some, crossing the sea, took shelter among foreign nations; settling either in Holland, where the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old castle, built, it is supposed, by them, are still to be seen, or among their countrymen in Armorica."

Vortigern, in the midst of these calamities, having provided for his own personal safety, was so regardless of the miseries of his subjects, that he continued in the same course of licentiousness and dissipation which had marked his reign. The Britons provoked at his wickedness, and disregard of the common welfare, rose against him, and hurling him from his throne, raised his son Vortimer in his stead. Totally unlike his dissipated father, this gallant youth immediately called forth the resources of the country. His people, animated with a sense of their wrongs,

entered seriously on the defence of their liberties, and influenced by the example of their leader, performed prodigies of valour. They defeated the Saxons in four pitched battles, and finally compelled them to embark for their native land. In this state, things continued for five years, when the death of Vortimer induced the Saxons to attempt a new invasion. Vortigern, on the death of his son, was recalled to the throne. A battle was soon fought between the returning Saxons and the Britons, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of 4000 men. The Saxons to turn this victory to the best advantage, had recourse to treachery. They pretended a wish to put a stop to hostilities, and to renew the primitive league; and in order to adjust all points of difference, it was agreed that the contending parties should meet at an entertainment without arms. On a signal given, the Saxons in an instant slew 300 of the British nobility with daggers which they had concealed beneath their garments, and took Vortigern prisoner. For his ransom, the British surrendered those provinces which are since called Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex; by which means the Saxons obtained a settlement in Britain, from which they could never be wholly dislodged. Vortigern having procured his liberty, retired into Radnorshire, where he was some time afterwards killed by lightning. He was succeeded by Aurelius Ambrosius, of Roman extraction, and the only one of noble descent in the island. He was the reverse of his predecessor. On taking the command of the British forces, he immediately attacked the Saxons, and rescued a considerable portion of his country from them. Peace was once more partially restored, and the harassed Britons began to enjoy a gleam of hope and tranquillity. Immediately after his splendid victory, Ambrosius assembled the British nobility at York, and there resolved that the churches, which had been demolished or injured by the barbarians, should be instantly built and repaired; and that their utmost exertions should be used to restore the vigour of the kingdom which had been suffered to decline in every part. His attention was unfortunately called off by a rebellion which a son of Vortigern had raised. Of this the Saxons took the advantage, and the unhappy Britons were compelled to endure the horrors of war, which lasted until the death of Ambrosius, about thirteen, according to some nineteen years. He was succeeded by Uter Pendragon, a man of great renown, both for his personal strength and valour; who found his country involved in all the calamities of war. The contests between the Britons and Saxons were unremitting, and their successes as various as formerly. But the Saxons receiving fresh supplies from the continent, continued to keep their ground, and on the whole to enlarge their dominions. The death of Uter Pendragon left the throne to his matchless son Prince Arthur, whose just renown is so blended with fable,

that his genuine history can scarcely be traced. Mr. Whitaker has taken great pains to separate the fabulous from the true; and, although several branches of this history still remain involved in difficulties, he has been more successful than most of his cotemporaries and predecessors. The history of this prince is closely connected with that of Cornwall; we shall therefore introduce the most prominent circumstances that have been recorded of his character and achievements.

SECTION II.

History of Prince Arthur.

It appears from the accounts that have been transmitted to us, however disfigured with romantic fable, that Prince Arthur owes his birth to an intrigue, which the monkish writers have ascribed to the power of magic.

After a great victory which Uter Pendragon had obtained over the Saxons, a day was appointed to celebrate it with a magnificent entertainment. To this banquet he invited his subordinate princes and nobility, with their wives, daughters, and other female relations, to grace the triumphs of the day. At this time Gothlois was prince, duke, earl, or king of Cornwall; who with his consort Igerna, came to swell the magnificence of this feast. It was the misfortune of this lady to captivate Pendragon with her charms, and to draw from him such marked attention, as at once excited the notice of the spectators, her husband's suspicions, and her own apprehensions. Continuing to act towards her with a degree of familiarity that prudence and decorum could no longer bear, Gothlois seized the first opportunity to withdraw from this scene of danger and uneasiness, and to seek for himself and his lady a secure asylum in those territories of Danmonium which he had been accustomed to command. He accordingly withdrew from Winchester, the scene of festivity, and hastened towards his native county, without taking that leave of Pendragon, which, if ceremony required, prudence would not permit.

Intelligence of their abrupt departure was no sooner communicated to her intended seducer, than he resolved to pursue them; making the caution of the husband the plausible pretext for those villanies which he was preparing to perpetrate. But before he resorted to violent measures, he resolved to try the effect of stratagem. He dispatched messengers after Gothlois, commanding his immediate return, as his advice and counsel were required in affairs of national interest. Gothlois was however too well aware of the intention of Pendragon, to be seduced by this shallow artifice, and accordingly sent in reply that he would not

return. Exasperated at this refusal, and influenced by other passions, another messenger was sent to threaten him with war, and the loss of all his territories. But these menaces only procured the following reply:—"That he was, as his predecessors had been from time immemorial, a free prince, and on the present occasion owed him neither homage nor allegiance. That as kings, their compact only implied a confederacy on certain occasions, against a foreign foe; and to this agreement he would vigorously adhere. But that if Pendragon determined to invade his territories, he would endeavour to defend his rights against him and all his adherents."

Provoked beyond the bounds of moderation at this reply, which seemed to set his power at defiance, Pendragon mustered his forces, and marched immediately towards his territories, which at this time extended as far as Axminster. On the arrival of his troops they began immediately to commit depredations, which the brutality of the Saxons only could have equalled, by plundering the inhabitants, and desolating their country with fire. Astonished at this unexpected attack, the people fled in all directions. Such as were overtaken, submitted to the victor's mercy, and others more fortunate retired to places of security.

Gothlois, on hearing of the advance of his enemies, quitted Caer-Iske, (Exeter) and retired to his impregnable fortress of Tintagel. Having there deposited his lady in safety, he marched his army to another castle called Dameliock, in St. Tudy, or St. Kew, there to wait the arrival of his arrogant pursuer. In this place he lay intrenched within a double walled fortification of earth, which is still extant, and still retains its name, in which he had laid up a sufficient quantity of provisions to hold out a long siege.

Pendragon no sooner learned that Gothlois had secured himself in his fortress at Dameliock, than he marched his army thither, and immediately laid siege to it. Confident of success, he sent a herald to Gothlois, commanding him to surrender, and threatening the severest vengeance in case of a refusal. Gothlois however, instead of being intimidated, returned for answer, "That he gave to Pendragon no just cause for war, or for violating that league which had subsisted between them; much less had he furnished him with an occasion for invading his country, and committing the depredations which had marked his progress. That being a free and independent prince, he neither could nor would betray his trust, or give up his country and people to the mercy of an unjust invader."

Enraged at this reply, Pendragon, after investing the fortress for some time, made several efforts to subdue it by storm. But in all these exertions he was as boldly repulsed by the besieged, who maintained their ground with invincible firmness. While things were in this state, he was informed that the wife of Gothlois

was securely lodged in the fortress of Tintagel. This information caused an alteration in his plans; for being more powerfully impelled by lust than by a love of military glory, he left the management of the siege of Dameliock to his officers, while he repaired to Tintagel at the head of a body of troops, to seize upon the valuable prize, for which alone he had been induced to contend.

On his arrival at this fortress, he found it more formidable and tremendous than even fame had reported, or than he had been led to conceive. Perceiving from its situation and means of defence, that it was invincible against all such arms as were then in use, he concluded that nothing but famine or treachery could induce it to surrender. From famine he had not much hope, as the island abounded with sheep, goats, rabbits, and fowls, and had a spring of water in it, and the shores furnished with fish, which the besieged could always take. In addition to this, Gothlois, anticipating this assault, had stored it with other provisions in great plenty, and expected more from Ireland, which the besiegers could not prevent them from landing.

Finding the castle invincible against assault or famine, nothing remained but to try the force of treachery; but having no access to any one who could betray their trust, he was so overwhelmed with shame, disappointment and disgrace, that he sunk into a state of despair, became ill, was confined to his bed, and seemed to tremble on the verge of departing life. His physicians alarmed for his safety, advised him to send instantly into Wales, for an old British prophet, whose name was Merlin, to consult him on this critical occasion, and try whether by the power of magic he could accomplish what neither arts nor arms could hitherto perform.

Merlin on being introduced to Pendragon, was made acquainted with the cause of his complaint; and being far advanced in the stratagems of iniquity, he assured the king that he would soon lead him to the gratification of his unlawful passion. Pendragon on hearing this, speedily recovered, and consented to adopt any plan that Merlin might suggest. The plan was soon concerted; the king assumed the habit and appearance of Gothlois, and Merlin and Ursan those of his constant attendants. In this disguise, when it grew dark, they appeared at the drawbridge; which, on their declaring themselves to be Gothlois and his faithful attendants, was was let down, and they entered accordingly; when Pendragon in his assumed character, favoured by the darkness of the night, and aided by the incantations of Merlin, was introduced into the apartment of Igerna, the great object of his brutal desires.

In the mean while the siege of Dameliock was carried on with unabating vigour, and with various success. The besiegers, determined to subdue the fortress, encircled it with camps, fortifications, aud intrenchments, of which the remains

are still visible in these parts, and are respectively known by the names of Castle Killy Biry, Castle Kynock, &c. During this time several efforts were made by them with their scaling-ladders to enter the castle, and these were as often defeated. But Gothlois, unwilling to continue thus pent up, made at the head of his men a dreadful sortie, at a moment, they thought, when the besiegers least expected them, resolved either to conquer or die. Unhappily, Pendragon's soldiers were prepared for their reception. The issue of this contest was determined in favour of brutality and injustice. Gothlois was slain in the first encounter. His valiant adherents were either put to the sword or routed. The news of this catastrophe reached the castle of Tintagel the morning after Pendragon had entered it in disguise.

Having thus secured both fortresses, Pendragon hastened to Dameliock, to seek among the slain the body of Gothlois, that he might honour it with a splendid burial. It was interred with idle splendour, at which Pendragon and Igerna attended as principal mourners. Such was the compensation which Gothlois received, for the loss of his dominions, the slaughter of his men, the seduction of his lady, and the deprivation of his life! The abode of justice is rarely found with confederated kings. Soon after this, Pendragon married Igerna; and to this adulterous and legal intercourse the celebrated Arthur owes his birth.

But although this complicated display of tyranny, rapine and injustice, was successful against Gothlois, it was not so against the Saxons. Pendragon, whose celebration of his victories had furnished him with an occasion to commit these barbarous outrages, was permitted to triumph over them no more. In several battles his forces were defeated, and his territories diminished. Success seemed to abandon his arms, "and for the king's offence the people died." The judgments of heaven did not terminate even here. The Saxons had received information of a certain spring from which he drew his water, which they contrived secretly to impregnate with poison. He took from it his customary supplies, and was soon afterwards seized with intolerable pain, which terminated in his death in the fifteenth year of his reign.

Arthur, on the death of his nominal and real fathers, having arrived at the age of maturity, found himself in possession of more dominion than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. The kingdom of Cornwall he inherited both from his nominal father Gothlois, and the conquest of it by Pendragon; and the dominion of the remaining part of Britain, which the Saxons had not subdued, he claimed as the descendant of Pendragon, who had first seduced, and then married his mother. The power of both parties was therefore concentrated in him; and, according to the legends of the day, the predictions of Merlin had foretold his future greatness.

KING ARTHUR DEFEATS THE SAXONS IN ELEVEN PITCHED BATTLES.

Arthur was no sooner seated on the throne of his ancestors, than he applied himself to the administration of justice, and to such acts of piety as were best calculated to procure the esteem of his people, and obliterate from their minds the fatal effects of Pendragon's baseness. His next care was to fortify strong holds against the Saxons, to recruit his armies for the defence of his territories, and recover a part of those which his ancestors had lost.

Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Wales, and Cornwall, at this time made up his dominion. This was in the year 515 or 518. All the other parts of the island had submitted to Saxon usurpation. Against these foreign invaders he marched a large and powerful army; and after encountering them in eleven pitched battles, completely routed their forces, obtained for the British the total dominion of the island, confining the Saxons to the kingdom of Kent, and compelling them to pay that tribute which they had been accustomed to exact from his ancestors. It was in one of these battles, as his annalists have recorded, that he slew eight hundred Saxons with his own hands.

To magnify the exploits of this valiant and victorious prince, the recorders of his heroism assert, that the Romans about this time, having made peace with the Vandals, sent messengers into Britain to demand the sum of £3000 per annum, due to them as the arrears of their tribute from the days of Julius Cesar to that period. These messengers he is said to have treated with the same contempt that we probably now should answer a messenger from his Holiness, who should come to this country to demand the arrears of all the Peter's Pence due from the time of the Reformation to the present hour, to the see of Rome. The indignity offered to their messengers so provoked the Roman senate, that they immediately voted a war against Arthur, and accordingly sent into this country a powerful army under the command of Lucius, their prince, or emperor, together with ten kings who had joined him in the confederacy. Against these Arthur marched his army, slew Lucius, routed the Roman legions, and put the greatest number to the sword, making the rest his feodors or vassals; from whence in all probability sprang the origin of knight-service tenure of lands in this kingdom; a feodary being an officer belonging to the court of wards and liveries, who surveyed the value of knight-service lands. It was from the same source that vassalage tenure land also arose; namely, that of a vassal or villain, who is a tenant in fee on condition.

Animated with these victories over the invading Romans at home, Arthur resolved to try the fortune of his arms in a foreign land, and embarked his troops accordingly. Success is said to have crowned his exertions; so that after subduing provinces, defeating armies, spreading terror through the continent, and rendering his name immortal, he returned to his native land, covered with military glory.

But while he was thus engaged in these foreign adventures, his more persevering enemies were gaining strength at home. The Saxons established in Britain, were always augmenting their hordes from their foreign hive; and, keeping in view the final subjugation of Britain, they lost no opportunity to turn every favourable incident to their own advantage. Among these was one, which if duly improved, seemed to promise them much success. Mordred, a nephew of Arthur, having found an occasion to quarrel with his uncle, proceeded with such forces as he could persuade to follow his fortunes, to join the Saxons and make war against him. For this rebellion distinct causes have been assigned. Some have asserted, that Mordred, questioning the legitimacy of Arthur's descent, laid claim to the crown and dominions which his uncle enjoyed. Others say, that having been actuated by a criminal passion for his uncle's wife, which was discovered, he was obliged to fly, and that his joining the Saxons was the effect of disappointed ambition and disgrace. Whatever the cause might have been, it is certain that he joined the Saxons; and that they thought this an opportunity too favourable to their interests to pass by unimproved.

Arthur was apprized of their designs, and collected his forces together to meet the insurgents. The armies met at a place called Worthyvale, near Camelford, and began a most dreadful encounter. In this battle such multitudes were slain, that the river is said to have been choked with their bodies, and its waters to have been apparently turned into blood. A bridge which still remains in the vale in which this battle was fought, retains to the present moment the name of ***Slaughter Bridge***, though sometimes in vulgar pronunciation it is styled ***Sloven's Bridge***. In the heat of this desperate battle Mordred and Arthur met in arms; Mordred was slain on the spot, and Arthur received his death wound. Of this melancholy fact Mr. Carew speaks as follows:—"Upon the river Camel, nere to Camelford, in 525, was the last dismal battel strooken betweene the noble king Arthur, and his treacherous nephew Mordred, wherein the one took his death, and the other his death wound. For testimony whereof, the olde folke thereabouts will shew you a stone bearing Arthur's name, though now depraved to Atry."*

The monumental stone of which Mr. Carew here speaks, is still extant, and the inscription on it is legible. It was originally erected near the spot where this mortal combat took place, near the side of the public road. From standing as a monument it became a bridge, being laid across a small rivulet, over which foot passengers were accustomed to pass. From this place it was removed about the middle of the last century, by the late Lady Dowager Falmouth, within some

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 122.

MONUMENTAL STONE NEAR CAMELFORD, COMMEMORATING KING ARTHUR'S DEATH.

grounds which she had improved, where, supported by masonry, at the foot of her improvements, in a natural solitary grot by the side of a murmuring stream, it still remains.

The stone itself is nine feet nine inches long, two feet three inches wide, is tolerably thick, and has a smooth but unpolished surface. "The inscription on this stone," says Dr. Borlase, "has been lately published in the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1745; but so incorrectly, that it may be still reckoned among the non-descripts. It is said there, that 'this stone lay at the very place where king Arthur received his mortal wound.'

"All this about king Arthur takes its rise from the five last letters of this inscription; which are by some thought to be *Maguri, (quasi Magni Arthuri)* and from thence others will have it that a son of Arthur was buried here; but though history as well as tradition affirms that Arthur fought his last battle in which he was mortally wounded, near this place, yet that this inscription retains any thing of his name is all a mistake. The letters are Roman, and are as follows:

CATIN HIC JACIT—FILIUS MAGARI—

By the I in *hic* being joined to the H, by the H wanting its cross link, the bad line of the writing, the distorted leaning of the letters, I conclude that this monument cannot be so ancient as the time of Arthur."

In deciding against the antiquity of this stone, and the import of its inscription, Dr. Borlase is rather singular. The voice of universal tradition is against him, and speaks in favour of Arthur. The finger of history points to this spot, as the place in which Arthur in his last battle received a wound that ended his days. This fact Dr. Borlase fully admits; and the form of the characters in which the inscription is engraven, evidently corresponds with the shape of those on other inscribed monuments, which the same author has attributed to the same age. That the stone has every mark of considerable antiquity about it, no one who views it can entertain a serious doubt; and from the coincidence of concurrent circumstances, it seems more reasonable to attribute it to the death of Arthur, than to that of any other character or person, of whom both ancient history and tradition are alike silent. It is to his memory accordingly, notwithstanding the dissenting voice of Dr. Borlase, that the general language of history continues to ascribe this stone, and the inscription which it bears.

When Arthur had received his mortal wound, the historians of those days assert, that he was removed immediately to the abbey of Glastonbury, in Somerset, in order if possible to obtain a cure. The Welsh bards declare that he was removed

thither by a great elfin lady, supposed to be his near relation. But his wound was incurable. He died there, and was buried near the spot.

The fame of Arthur is not more celebrated in Cornish traditions and history, than in the bardish songs in Wales. In Cornwall we have the castle in which he was born, the bed on which he slept, the hall in which he entertained his friends, the path on which he walked to his church, the plain on which he hunted, the impression of his horse's footsteps, and the enormous quoit with which he amused himself. In Wales, the highest hill is Arthur's Chair, and the largest cromleh is of Arthur's erection. With us indeed, the predictions of Merlin have ceased to gain credit, and his magical power has lost all its influence. But in Wales, "the enchantments of Merlin suffer no diminution from the lapse of time, or the defects of probability."*

The exact time of Arthur's death it is scarcely possible for us to ascertain. The accounts of this event are contradictory; they however concur in one general principle, so far as to rescue the general statements from radical inconsistencies, in much the same manner as the monumental stone of Arthur near Camelford may be rendered consistent with the accounts of his being interred at Glastonbury. On both of these points the language of Brown Willis is definite and expressive. He says, "Camelford was famous in the time of king Arthur, for a memorable battle fought here between him and his nephew Mordred, in which the latter was killed upon the spot, and the former mortally wounded; being conveyed to Glastonbury, there died May 21, 542." It is in allusion to this catastrophe that an eminent poet and antiquary has the following lines, which he has so decorated with poetic embellishments, that in the boldness of his figure, the river which flows near Camelford, is made crooked by the occasion, and become frantic through excess of grief.

"As frantic ever since her British Arthur's blood,
By Mordred's murderous hand was mingled with her flood;
For as that river best may boast that conqueror's breath,
So sadly she bemoans his too untimely death;
Who after twelve proud fields against the Saxons fought,
Yet back unto her banks by fate was lastly brought;
As though no other place on Britain's spacious earth
Were worthy of his end but where he had his birth." †

From the year 542, according to the date given by Brown Willis, until about the year 1172, the ashes of Arthur and his wife were permitted to repose in peace.

* Scenery and Antiquities of South Wales, by B. H. Malkin, Esq. p. 47. † Drayton's Polyolbion, p. 5.

THE BONES OF KING ARTHUR TAKEN UP BY ORDER OF HENRY II.

But about this time they were disturbed by order of Henry II. of which Selden gives the following account:—

Henry II. in his expedition towards Ireland, was entertained by the way in Wales with bardish songs. In these songs he heard it affirmed, that, in Glastonbury, made almost an island by the river's embracement, Arthur was buried between two pillars. On hearing this, he gave commandment to Henry of Blois, then abbot, to make search for the corpse. This, on digging, was discovered in a wooden coffin (Girald says oaken, but Leland thinks alder) about sixteen feet deep. In thus digging after the body, when they had sunk about nine feet, they found a stone, on the lower side of which was fixed a leaden cross (crosses fixed upon the tombs of old Christians were in all places ordinary) with his name encircled, and the lettered side of it turned towards the stone. He was then honoured with a sumptuous monument, and afterwards the skulls of him and his wife Guniver were taken out (to remain as separate relics and spectacles) by Edward Longshanks and Eleanor. Of this, Girald, Leland, Pryce, and divers others, have more copious testimony.

There is another account which records this fact, that differs from the preceding in some particulars, though in substance it is much the same. From this account we learn, that the body of Arthur was buried between two pyramids, at the Isle of Avallan, near Glastonbury. This place is said to be an isle, from its being insulated or nearly so, by the overflowings of the contiguous rivers; and it is said to be called Avallan, from its being a place in which apples grew in great abundance. It was in this place that Henry II. when in Wales, was informed by the songs of the bards that Arthur was interred; in consequence of which he issued orders that search should be made for his body. "Whereupon, as Geraldus Cambrensis, who was an eye-witness thereof, saith, after the pioneers had sunk about seven feet deep, they lighted upon a stone in the form of a cross; to the back part whereof was fastened a rude leaden cross, something broad, with letters, which signify in English, *Here lies interred, the glorious King Arthur, in the island of Avallan.* Two feet beneath this cross, they then also found two coffins made of hollow oak, wherein were the bones and skeletons of king Arthur, and Genevour, his wife; the hair of the said lady being then whole, and of fresh colour, as Fabian saith, but as soon as touched it fell to powder."* There is another record which says, that the body of Arthur when it was first discovered, was so entire, that the wounds which he had received in battle were still visible. These wounds were said to be ten in number, but no more than one among them was deemed mortal.

* See the Authors of this account cited by Mr. Polwhele, in his History of Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 2.

That every thing which the bards have sung, and the monks have recorded respecting Arthur, should be entitled to credit, it would be ridiculous to suppose. Among the extravagant tales of both, the more considerable part has been omitted. Those parts which have been retained, have the fairest claim to probability; but even this is insufficient to establish fact, or to amount to certainty. For some branches even of these, an apology may be necessary; particularly those which relate to his total overthrow of the Saxon power, and his conquests in foreign countries. It was however, necessary to give some statement of the foundation on which his extraordinary fame is supposed to be built, lest his unexampled celebrity, appearing without the occasions of it, should seem more extravagant than the causes and consequences when taken in connexion with each other.

That Arthur was a great warrior no one will presume to doubt, unless it be those who doubt his existence. This will furnish a sufficient reason why he should be extolled in the songs of the bards. The same evidence that supports his pretensions to valour, declares him to have been the undissembled friend of Christianity. The reason therefore, why the monks have celebrated his praises, is equally obvious. In those ages of superstition, nothing was deemed worthy of regard that did not partake of the marvellous. Christianity without miracles was scarcely the doctrine of the Catholic church. It was in this hot-bed that the character of Arthur grew. And his biographers and historians have so overloaded him with wonders, that the most simple features of his history are distorted, and the whole appears like the dreams of romance.

It is admitted on the testimony of Gildas, who lived in those times, that a great battle was fought on Bandon Hill, near Bath, in which the Saxons were utterly routed by the Britons. This battle is said by Nennius, who lived about the year 600, and after him by most of our historians, to be the last except one of twelve that were fought by king Arthur. We learn also from the same authority, that in this battle the Saxons received such a total overthrow, that they forbore to molest the Britons for many years. In what year this eventful battle was fought, is not exactly certain. The more respectable manuscripts place it in 520; but others at an earlier period. The effects however, of this battle, were experienced in the peace which continued, even to the days when Gildas wrote, no less than forty-four years after this decisive blow was given. And it is not improbable, if the Britons had followed up their victory, they might have realized that complete success over the Saxons, which it has been said king Arthur actually gained.

But another destiny awaited the unhappy Britons. The Saxons in seasons of peace prepared for future wars. They had fixed a resolution to subdue the country, and of this they never lost sight. Their countrymen on the continent

were ever ready to recruit their forces with new supplies of troops; so that while they thus endured these temporary defeats, they were actually gaining ground, though by slow and imperceptible degrees. It was during this peace that they founded another kingdom, which has been denominated the East Saxon. This took place about the year 527, about fifteen years before the death of Arthur.

SECTION III.

Progress of the Saxons.—Conquests in Cornwall during the reigns of Constantine, Cadvan, Cadwallo, and Cadwallader.—The Britons assisted with troops from Armorica.—Danes first appear.—The Cornish confederate with the Danes.—Egbert overruns all Cornwall.—Battle near Camelford in 823.—On Hengston Hill, in 835.—Alfred restores Peace.—Cornwall finally conquered by Athelstan, who subdues Scilly, and grants privileges to some Cornish Churches.

The death of Arthur was an eventful period in the history of the Britons. With the loss of a valiant leader, at whose name the Saxons were dismayed, they lost that confidence which his successors ought to have secured, by attending to those wise regulations which his precepts and example had set before them.

But paradoxical as it may appear, they did not ultimately suffer less from the victories which he had won, than from the death of their triumphant chief. For conquest produced peace, peace led to prosperity, prosperity introduced luxury, and luxury opened the door to almost every vice. It was thus that "the peace which they enjoyed, proved more destructive than any war; for although those who had felt the calamities that had befallen their nation, acknowledged themselves by their Christian and regular lives, indebted to Heaven for their deliverance, yet the next generation, unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease, abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and debauchery, to such a degree, that the principles of truth and justice being totally subverted, scarcely any footsteps of them remained, either in the clergy or laity, either in the people or their princes, so that it became odious to all the neighbouring nations."

Constantine the son of Cador half brother of Arthur, was made king of Cornwall by his uncle, and retained his power and dominion after Arthur's death. Gildas calls him "the tyrannical whelp of an impure Danmonian lioness;" and charges him with the murder of two innocent youths of royal blood, whom he assassinated in their mother's arms at the very altar, and under the cope of the very abbot. He likewise inveighs against this prince, as one that was polluted with many adulteries, and that had put away his lawful wife. But it was not through the whole course

of his life that this character was applicable to him. In 583 he is said to have resigned his kingdom, to have been converted to the Christian faith, and to have turned monk. In 590 he is said to have suffered martyrdom, and is therefore placed among the saints. In Cornwall we have a church dedicated to him, and the parish of Constantine still continues to perpetuate his name.

Gerennius is supposed by Usher to have been the immediate successor of Constantine, and to have been his grandson. Of his individual character nothing remarkable is said. His residence is supposed to have been at a place called Dingerein, which signifies the fort of Gerennius, which in all probability was not far from the church of Gerrans, which still perpetuates his name; and which gave name to the harbour called Dingerein Port. But of these facts and circumstances we shall speak in the history of that parish.

Gerennius appears to have been invested with royalty in Cornwall so early as 585, and to have retained his dominions till the year 600; his successor's name is not known, but he is supposed to have given lands at Glastonbury to the monks who resided there.

From the year 617, Cornwall appears to have been so connected with the dominion of the Britons throughout the island, that the right of dominion of the whole was vested in one person. Cadvan, who succeeded the prince that gave the lands to Glastonbury, is said to have reigned over the Britons, the western part of Wales, and Cornwall. The same is said of Cadwallo, who succeeded Cadvan, as appears by the assembly of Britons held in Exeter by his nephew Brian, when his uncle was obliged to fly to Armorica to implore succours against the Saxons.

Cadwallo was succeeded by his son Cadwallader, in whose days this public concentration of the British power was brought to a termination. This prince died in 690, and was buried at Rome; and with him fell, says Dr. Borlase, "that most ancient kingdom of the Britons, which, continuing from the time of Heli the high-priest to this time, during the space of 1825 years, may be justly reckoned to have exceeded in duration all the kingdoms of the world." The same author says, "From this time Wales became divided into two, and soon afterwards into more principalities, each of their petty governors having the name of king; Cornwall having no longer any king in common with the Welsh Britons, became a distinct principality, generally under one prince, and sometimes under more. Here ceased in a great measure that connexion which had subisted for so many years between the Welsh and the Cornish; and acting after this under different rulers, they were no longer able to act with that force against the Saxons which they had formerly done when more united."

ARMORICAN TROOPS CALLED IN TO ASSIST THE BRITONS AGAINST THE SAXONS.

While these changes were taking place among the kings of the Britons through the successions of time, from the death of Arthur to the days of Cadwallader, the Saxons were not idle. Between these contending nations many dreadful battles were fought; which, though attended with various successes, were ultimately favourable to the Saxons. Carew says, "In 590, Gurmund, an arch pirate of the Norwegians, was called by the Saxons out of his late conquered Ireland, to their aide, against Careticus, king of the Bretons, whom he overcame in battel, and inforced his subjects to seeke safegard by flight, some in Wales, some in Cornwall, and some in Little Breteigne: since which time they could never recover againe their auncient possession of the whole island." In 614, we are informed by the Saxon Chronicle, that the king of the West Saxons slew 2046 Britons in a battle that was fought at Beamdune, or Bamton, in Devon. By these defeats, though occasionally favoured with temporary conquests, the territories of the Britons, together with their power, became every day more and more contracted, while the dominions of the Saxons increased, and they menaced the retiring fugitives with a total overthrow.

It was while things were in this state, that Cadwallo repaired to Armorica, to implore succours against the encroachments of their invaders. His application appears to have been successful. The prospect of his arrival with military forces revived the spirits of the desponding Britons, who were convoked at Exeter by his nephew Brian, and exhorted to fortify their towns; as their king, on whose behalf he then acted, would soon return with considerable reinforcements, and lead them to successful combat. Every preparation that the exigence of their condition would allow, was instantly made; and Cadwallo arrived with Armorican troops accordingly, under the command of Ivor, their king, and his near relation Inor. With this assistance they began their military operations, and for some time success crowned their exertions. In these conflicts they recovered a considerable portion of their original country from the hands of their invaders, and once more seated themselves on the eastern parts of Devonshire, from which they had been previously driven.

But it was not the fortune of the Britons to retain for any considerable length of time, the territories which had descended from their progenitors, and which they had now regained by their victorious arms. In 710, we are informed by Rapin, that they found a severe scourge in Ina, king of the West Saxons, who gained much renown by his exploits in his wars with the Cornish. "In the year 720, Adelred, king of West Sex invaded the Cornish, but he was repulsed by Roderic Molwynoc, king or general of the Britons, in the west part of England, and prince of North Wales; who was afterwards however, driven by the Saxons to forsake

the west country, and to retire to his own inheritance in Wales. In 743, Cuthred, another Saxon king, is said to have obtained a considerable victory over the Cornish. And in 753, the same king is admitted to have conquered some of the eastern parts of Cornwall, and united it to his kingdom, with such confidence of retaining it, that from this period the Saxons considered such territories as lay to the east of the river Exe as their own property, and every attempt of the Cornish to regain them they viewed in the light of an invasion, and dispatched forces into Devonshire to repel such daring attempts. About the year 766, Kinewulf, king of West Sex, had some troublesome dealings with the Cornish, as appears by a charter bearing date in this year, in which he gave a certain portion of land to the church of Wells. In this charter he expresses himself in the following language: 'I, Kinewulf, king of the West Saxons, for the love of God, and some vexations of our Cornish enemies, do by the consent of my bishops and noblemen, make over by gift, a certain parcel of ground to the apostle and servant of God, St. Andrew, &c.'*

The Saxons from the period of their first visiting England to the present time, had established no less than seven distinct kingdoms in the heart of Britain; but having nothing at present which they deemed of sufficient moment to engross their attention, they turned their arms against one another. And, as though to commit murder were among the most exalted of human virtues, these seven kingdoms, which they had erected upon the ruins of the British empire, contended together for the supremacy over all. "The first and weakest of all the seven, (Kent) had a full right in reason to this honour: but how little does reason avail to convince, when power is prompt to decide. In that decision the kingdom of the West Saxons, the very neighbours of the Cornish, was finally successful. The honour so obtained rose into power; and Winchester, their capital, became the metropolis of all England. Thus did the whole weight of England appear to centre now in the very vicinity of Cornwall."† This memorable event took place under Egbert, about 400 years after the first arrival of the Saxons.

This consolidation of power was but barely effected, when the reduction of the little kingdom of Cornwall, which no doubt had been long meditated, and evidently menaced, was prevented for a season by a very extraordinary incident. A new swarm of those nations who had possessed the countries on the Baltic, appeared, under the names of Danes and Normans, to infest the western shores of Europe, and to fill with terror the inhabitants of those countries which they had wasted with their devastations. In these joint irruptions the Normans fell upon the northern parts of France, and the Danes directed their fury against England.

* See the Charter cited in Borlase's Antiquities, p. 41.

† Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. I. p. 3.

THE DANES FIRST LANDED IN ENGLAND, A. D. 787.

In the year 787 this new race of barbarians first made their appearance on the British shores. At this time they landed on the coasts apparently to learn the state of the country, the strength of its inhabitants, and its means of defence; and having committed a few depredations, retired to their ships and disappeared. About seven years after this, they made a more formidable descent upon the kingdom of Northumberland, and began their career by pillaging a monastery. While they were thus occupied, a violent storm overtook their fleet, and reduced it to a general wreck. The people of Northumberland taking advantage of their situation, put them to the sword. These depredations were renewed at convenient intervals; and being masters of the seas, the Danes retired to their ships with their booty, and as winter approached, sought safety in their own harbours. It was not until five years after the accession of Egbert to the throne of England, that their invasions created any national alarm. At this time they landed with a formidable force, and, as though they determined to imitate in acts of enormity the Saxons whom they came to subdue, wasted the regions through which they passed with fire and sword. In some places where their arms had been most successful, they manifested a disposition to gain a permanent settlement; and the swarms that were successively following, afforded a convincing evidence, that they were not to be diverted from their purpose by idle threats.

Fortunately for Egbert the power of England was at this time consolidated, and vested in him. Thus fortified, his genius struggled against the encroachments of these new invaders, and rose triumphant over their barbarous designs. The conquests which they had made were wrested from them by his valour; their warriors were compelled to take refuge in their ships, and their settlers to yield an unconditional submission to the victor. An immediate peace was the reward of this victory; and the arms of Egbert being now at liberty, Cornwall was once more menaced with a total reduction, from the reviving supremacy of England.

The Britons, who had witnessed these conflicts with joy, and had seen their late termination with sorrow, no sooner found the war concluded, than they trembled for the fate of that independence which their ancestors had cherished from the most distant ages, and now committed to their care. Overwhelmed with the blaze of this idea, and wholly forgetting that lesson which the conduct of their ancestors should have taught them, as well as neglecting to anticipate future consequences, they came to the desperate resolution to invite to their assistance those very Danes whom the Saxons had just driven from the shores of England. This measure was adopted within two years after those triumphs of Egbert just spoken of.

The Danes, who were enemies to the Saxons, without being friends to the Cornish, gladly received an invitation, which at once furnished them with the

prospects of a footing in the island, with the means of revenge for the defeats they had suffered, and with the united force of a warlike tribe, that was ready to co-operate in their general designs, without being able to foresee the consequences of those motives by which they were guided.

The league being formed, the Danes made vigorous preparations for their descent; and in the year 806 arrived with a formidable fleet on the coast of Cornwall. This was considered as a general call to arms. The Cornish instantly rose in a state of insurrection; or rather rose to prevent the sacred deposit of their ancestors from being wrested from them; and joining the Danish forces, presented to Egbert an aspect of war, which nothing but their avowed independence could induce them to terminate. This formidable alliance roused his attention, and he immediately directed his forces against them. This war continued six or seven years with various success; but the Saxon power finally prevailed, and Egbert for the first time overran all Cornwall.

This disaster, though ultimately fatal to the Cornish, was not final. The affairs of Egbert compelled him to draw off his forces from Cornwall, which, though conquered was still unsubdued; so that the war seemed rather suspended than terminated. The Cornish and Danes, availing themselves of the respite thus afforded them, once more rallied their forces, and directed their march towards the northern part of the county. The Saxons were prepared to meet them. The armies met at Camelford, which in some old writings is termed *Gaffleford*, and sometimes *Gauelford*, and a desperate battle ensued; many thousands fell on each side. "Florence declares that the Cornish were slaughtered." This is a fact which will readily be admitted. It is equally true that the Saxons were slaughtered also; but this does not determine victory to be on either side. The subsequent power of the Cornish pleads strongly in their favour; and if this battle had terminated against them, we cannot suppose that they would have penetrated beyond the Tamar within a few years after this event.

The battle fought at Camelford took place in the year 823, at which time the Saxons had secured to themselves considerable possessions in Devonshire. It was to drive them from these territories, that the Cornish and Danes marched eastward in the year 835. In their early efforts they were successful; but being finally repulsed, they were compelled to retreat beyond the Tamar; and being pursued by the Saxons, were overtaken and totally defeated on Hengston Hill, in the parish of Stokeclimsland. And so decisive was this battle, that to prevent the Cornish from making any future irruptions into England, (for by this name the Saxon territories were distinguished) Egbert enacted this severe law:—*That no Briton should pass the limits of his country, and set his foot on English ground, on pain of death.*

THE RIVER EXE FORMERLY THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF CORNWALL.

The territories of the Cornish extended at this time so far as the river Exe, which continued to fix their eastern boundary till the days of Athelstan. In this battle the Cornish must have suffered considerably from the Saxons, whose armies had penetrated into the heart of their country, and even defeated their forces on the west of the Tamar. For what reasons the Saxons proceeded no further west at this time, following their career of victory, we do not know. Perhaps the expedient was too dangerous. The combined inveteracy and power of the Cornish and Danes against the Saxons, were well known; but as their resources were concealed, the prudence of Egbert forbad him to risk the safety of his army on the precarious issue of a desperate adventure. The events which followed justified his discretion; for it was not more than sixteen years after this event, that we find the Danes and Cornish again engaged in a severe conflict with Cheorl, the Saxon chief who governed the eastern districts of Devonshire. The Cornish were again beaten; but their hostile spirits still remained unsubdued. The Danes fomented the discord that prevailed, by a cordial co-operation in war, though they concealed the motives by which they were actuated.

Ethelwolf, who was more attached to the cloister than the field, succeeded his father Egbert; but instead of following his example, he wasted in the rites of superstition, those energies and that time which should have been devoted to the good of his country. The Danes took an advantage of his supineness; and the Cornish were always ready to co-operate in their undertakings. Nothing however of consequence took place during his reign that materially affected the interests of Cornwall, except in that general accession of strength which the Danes acquired, and which the Cornish foolishly imagined to be the same as their own.

Alfred, who succeeded to the crown in 872, found himself involved in a serious war with the Danes, who had increased their hordes through the negligence of his predecessors, who had intrenched themselves in several impregnable fortresses, and who still continued to pour their myriads on the British shores. On almost every quarter he found himself surrounded with assailants, whose depredations he was but badly prepared to repel. But this was not a time for idle deliberation. The supreme power was in the hands of Alfred, and he well knew how to use it.

As the river Exe had for some considerable time formed the eastern boundary of the Cornish, the city of Exeter formed the point of union between them and the Saxons. In this city, the peaceable of both parties had been gradually approximating towards each other. Of this city the Saxons indeed claimed the dominion; but as their power was exercised without rigour, and without marking them with any invidious distinctions, the Cornish inhabitants considered their

superiority to be rather nominal than real, and yielded submission without being doomed to feel their own degradation.

The Danes, who had secured their retreats in Cornwall, soon found their way to Exeter; which being unwalled and unfortified, could make no resistance to their approaches. In the year 876 a considerable party wintered in this city, to which it is not improbable they were secretly invited by the Cornish, whose ardent wish was to free their country from the Saxons. In this place they intended to fix their abodes, and probably they would have been successful, if a violent storm had not intercepted their fleet, which was hastening to them with fresh supplies. In this tempest 120 ships were lost. This disaster was followed by another, that in no small degree may be considered as the natural consequence of the former. Their army, relying on the supplies which the ships were to bring, was marching towards Exeter, when it was met by Alfred, defeated, compelled to give hostages, and to retire with all possible dispatch. This sudden departure of the Danes gave a new ratification to the supreme dominion of the Saxons, though not to the utter expulsion of the Cornish; and although the Danes laid siege to this city in the twenty-first of Alfred's reign, on the approach of that monarch they were again compelled to retire, and abandon their design.

It was this circumstance that drew Alfred again into the west. He had been in Cornwall in the year 871; and from this visit in the character of a conqueror, though Cornwall was not yet subdued, he thought himself authorised to appoint a duke of Danmonium, which title included that of Cornwall as well as Devonshire. In the year 892 Alfred was again in Cornwall, accompanied by Edred, whom he had raised to the dukedom, and who appears to have been his companion in all his military expeditions.

Cornwall however still remained unconquered. It had been overrun, but the spirit of its bold inhabitants still retained all its primitive vigour. The attention and arms of Alfred were too much engrossed by the Danes to give him much time about the Cornish. He was well aware, that if his foreign invaders could be subdued, he could easily compel these to submission at his own discretion. The event justified his calculations. It was his lot to administer justice, to establish wholesome laws among his subjects, and to deliver his country from the Danish barbarians who infested it, and to introduce the various elegancies of life into his dominions. It was reserved for his grandson Athelstan to finish the conquest of Cornwall, and to put a period to those wars which had been continued by the Britons with unremitting vigour against the Saxons, during the long period of 500 years. Athelstan ascended the throne of his ancestors in the year 925, and soon

found an occasion to turn his arms against the Cornish. The legitimacy of his title being disputed, a formidable confederacy was formed against him in favour of Anlaff his rival, whose title was not questioned. This powerful combination was formed in the year 938, in which the Irish, the Scots, the Danes, the Welsh, and the Cornish, were all involved. But all their united efforts were in vain. These allied nations having collected their forces together in the north, Athelstan marched his forces immediately against them. In this encounter he was successful. The allies lost in one battle, Constantine, king of Scotland, six Irish or Welsh kings, and twelve earls, or general officers. He then turned his arms against the Welsh, and having defeated them, marched against the Cornish, expelled them from Exeter for ever, pursued them beyond the Tamar, which thenceforward became their eastern boundary, as it still continues, and which contracted the limits of Cornwall, as we have already related in the first chapter.

This was a stroke which proved at once both fatal and final to the independence of the Cornish. This, amidst all the struggles that Cornwall made to preserve her liberty untainted, and that her enemies made to rob her of that inestimable jewel, this was the era of the first subjugation of the Cornish by the English. "Yet this subjugation was little more than nominal in its efficacy. It affected the sovereign, but reached not the subject. It deprived the former of that independence which is generally so dear to the heart of every individual, and so material in its consequences to a sovereign. But such an independence is only a feather of glass, glittering in the cap of a subject, and ready at every motion to drop into pieces. Yet national pride considers it in an important light; thinks it as solid as it is glittering, and frequently exerts itself with a virtuous energy to preserve or to recover it."*

Howel, who was at this time king in Cornwall, was actuated by this principle. His subjects caught his spirit. The flame became universal, and *one and all* rose in arms against the destiny of their condition. When the forces of Athelstan had first awed the Cornish into submission, tribute the badge of conquest, immediately followed. Carew says, "On this *reguli* (as Vincentius delivereth) he imposed an yearly tribute of 20 li. in gold, 300 li. in silver, 25 oxen, and hunting hounds and hawks at discretion."† Nothing could be more irritating to the feelings of Howel than the payment of these imposts, which haunted him like the ghost of departed independence. It was this probably induced the Cornish to make another effort in behalf of their expiring liberty; and the suspension of payment was a good signal for revolt.

* Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 20.

† Carew's Survey, p. 96.

Whatever the cause might have been, something of this kind must have taken place; since Athelstan no more than nine years after his first conquest of the county, again entered it at the head of his army, and traversed it with his troops from one extremity to the other. From the western shores he embarked his forces, and succeeded in the reduction of the Scilly Isles. "These were an appendage to Cornwall, and must always have belonged to its domain. These therefore had submitted in 927 or 928, with the rest of Cornwall; and could only be in arms against Athelstan at present, because all Cornwall was. The Cornish had thrown off their constrained submission to the English. Athelstan had entered their country to reduce them. Then their Howel, like the kings of Wales and Scotland, found all resistance vain. For that reason, no battles were fought by him at this invasion. Had there been any, history must have noticed them, as it notices the one before.* History in general, and the history of this period in particular, is nothing more than a narration of battles. The Cornish, like the Cumbrians and Northumbrians submitted every where without opposition."

In this expedition, as Athelstan was proceeding through Cornwall, when he was "about four miles from the Land's End, but directly in the present road to it, as he was equally pious and brave, he went into an oratory, which had been erected by a holy woman of the name of Burien, that came from Ireland, and was buried in her own chapel. He knelt down in prayer to God, full of his coming expedition against the Sylley Isles, and supplicating for success to it; then in a strain of devoutness that is little thought of now, but was very natural to a mind like his, at once munificent and religious, he vowed, if God blessed his expedition with success, to erect a college of clergy where the oratory stood, and to endow it with a large income. So at least said the tradition at St. Burien's itself, no less than two centuries and a half ago! And a tradition like this, with all the congruities of history upon it, and with that collateral support from history in the main point, which I shall soon produce, becomes history itself."

Athelstan thus prepared, "sat out with his armament for Sylley." Success crowned his enterprise. He reduced the Scilly Islands, and returned victorious to the Land's End. "He had thus completed the conquest of Cornwall. He suffered indeed, the sovereign of it to retain the name of sovereign for life; as, in a charter given by Athelstan in 938, and dated at Dorchester, the names of some *sub-reguli*, or subordinate kings who subscribed it are 'Eugenius' the king of the Cumbrians before, and 'Howel' the preceding king of the Cornish. But Athelstan exercised all the rights of sovereignty himself. This he did in intention, when he

* This battle was fought near Exeter, probably upon Haldon Hill. See p. 13 of this Volume.

vowed the college to St. Burien, and this he did in act, when he ordered it to be erected on his return."

On his arrival at the oratory, he presented thanks to God for his success, where he had prayed for it before; and ordering a church to be erected on the spot for the use of the parish, and a college of clergy to minister in it, assigned to it a quantity of lands that had fallen to him by right of conquest, for its endowment, and gave it the privileges of a sanctuary. "But what forms a strong proof of the general justness of the tradition, the church is actually noticed in Doomsday Book, about 130 years only after this period, as a college of canons even then possessing an estate denominated *Eglos Burien*, from its attachment to their church, yet exempt from all assessments whatever. This even continues to the present moment a *royal free chapel*, in the patronage of the crown; and with a jurisdiction so independent of the ordinary, that the only remaining member of the whole body, its head the dean, receives his institution and takes his oaths before the king himself as his ordinary."

The munificence of Athelstan was not confined to St. Buryan. Padstow partook of his bounty; and Leland has mentioned him as the chief giver of privileges unto it. The town of Bodmin also is indebted to the same prince for some of its ancient privileges, perhaps for its existence. Its religious edifice claims Athelstan as its founder; and consequently all the advantages which have resulted from that establishment, may be attributed to the same cause. In the history of St. Germans the same species of bounty may be traced, though perhaps in a higher degree; but these facts will appear hereafter, when we proceed to notice the various parishes in which the memorials of his generosity still remain. From what we have already seen of his conduct, Athelstan appears to have been warmly attached to the interests of Christianity; and to his fostering care as an instrument in the hands of God, its infancy must be acknowledged to be indebted for its support.

SECTION IV.

Progress and ascendancy of Christianity in Cornwall under the Saxons.

Already have we seen the introduction of Christianity into Cornwall, during the period in which the Romans held the dominion in this island. We have seen it taking root in various parts, have recorded the names of several holy men who were made instrumental in first erecting the cross, and have seen the power of the Druids begin to decline. It was the lot of Christianity on its first appearance

to suffer persecution; but even in this unpromising soil it has been known to flourish; and we have perceived it rising in triumphant superiority, and gaining a complete establishment, under circumstances that would lead us to expect its total annihilation.

From the paganism of the Druids, many of its early advocates had already suffered death in Cornwall; and when the Romans withdrew their legions from our shores, and consigned our ancestors to the mercy of barbarians, the same detestable spirit of persecution appeared in a variety of forms. From the Picts and Scots the christianized Britons had nothing but persecution to expect, in case they prevailed; and even from the Saxons they had little reason to entertain more sanguine hopes. It is however pleasing to reflect, that from great persecutors the Saxons became friends, and finally advocated the cause of that religion which they had in vain attempted to destroy.

When the Saxons first obtained a footing in Britain, paganism prevailed among them; and perhaps Christianity never suffered more persecution from its numerous enemies, than it underwent in this island from their barbarities. They demolished the churches, polluted the altars with the blood of the clergy, and massacred indiscriminately all who fell into their hands, who professed Christianity.

Arthur, the celebrated prince whose history has been given, had warmly espoused the Christian cause; and besides cherishing in his subjects an attachment to its interests, he defended them from the rapacity of their invaders by the power of his arms. The death of this prince broke down the principal barrier which had hitherto defended the Christian cause in Britain, and opened the door that seemed to invite its enemies to enter. The Saxons availed themselves of his death, as a signal to renew their assaults, and made use of every exertion in their power to extirpate Christianity from the island. The effects of their persecuting spirit were felt in all their force, and Christianity, like its British professors, was compelled to retire into Wales and Cornwall.

It was in the year 597, that Theonus, archbishop of London, and Thadiocus, archbishop of York, on perceiving that their churches were destroyed, their congregations dispersed, and their clergy either massacred or compelled to find an asylum in Wales or Armorica, retired from these scenes of desolation, and with other bishops repaired to Wales and Cornwall. In these districts, the Gospel through their means received many powerful advocates; and Cornwall in particular acquired that assistance which the eastern counties had lost. Hence it is, that our annals abound with saints, that their names are preserved in the names of our parishes, and that Christianity obtained a permanency which the papal hierarchy found it so difficult to shake.

In other parts of the island over which the Saxons extended their dominion, their barbarous fierceness not only raged against religion, but against learning also. Such books and monuments as they could find, they either mutilated or destroyed; and the effects of their depredations are still felt in the imperfections of our ecclesiastical histories that relate to these periods.

But through the overruling providence of God, even the rage of persecution has its limits. The Saxons, wearied with their own exertions in opposing a system which they found themselves unable to destroy, began, after some time, to examine those principles against which they had directed their ineffectual vengeance; and at length, by slow and imperceptible degrees, they embraced that Gospel which they could not suppress. A combination of favourable circumstances led them to this issue.

The deplorable state of Christianity in Britain, was first taken into consideration by Gregory, who about the year 597 was seated in the papal chair. His first intentions were to visit this unenlightened nation in person; but from this he was deterred by the attachment of his people. His next effort was to send Augustine to the Saxon kingdoms then established in England, to propagate Christianity. It was with some difficulty that this monk could be prevailed upon to engage in this arduous undertaking; he however at last consented, and with forty others reached England, and landed on the Isle of Thanet. On their arrival, they sent a message to the king of Kent, informing him that they were come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation to himself and people.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, had prior to this time married Bertha, only daughter of Caribet, king of Paris, who was a professed Christian. Prior to this marriage it had been stipulated between the contracting parties, that this princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion. On her arrival in England, she was attended to Canterbury, the place of her residence, by a Gaulish prelate whose name was Luidhard. This prelate had officiated without molestation in an old church dedicated to St. Martin, which had been erected by the Romans near the walls of Canterbury. The exemplary conduct and powerful preaching of this primitive Christian, had made a deep impression on the mind of Ethelbert, who out of mere complaisance to the queen, had occasionally attended with her, so that his mind began to fluctuate in a state of indecision.

The zeal and learning of his queen, the powerful preaching of Luidhard, the progress which Christianity was making on the continent, the fear of offending Gregory, and the general disposition of his subjects, all conspired to induce him to give a favourable reception to the overtures of Augustine. He accordingly

issued orders that Augustine and his associates should be immediately supplied with every necessary; and, by a personal visit gave them to understand, that he viewed their religion in a favourable light, without declaring himself to be a convert to Christianity. Encouraged by these favourable indications, Augustine began to preach to the people with such earnestness, that the power of his address, the austerity of his life, and the uniform conduct and powerful co-operation of all his associates so fully prevailed, that the king soon made an open profession of the Christian religion. His subjects soon followed his example. Multitudes were instantly baptized. The pagan idols were removed. Their temples were purified, and turned into places of Christian worship. The churches which had been consumed with fire were rebuilt, and others that had been injured were repaired. A revolution took place in the professions of the people, and Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.

Edwin, king of Northumberland, who had married the daughter of Ethelbert, soon followed the example of his father-in-law. He had married his daughter on nearly the same conditions that Ethelbert had married her mother. The wife of Edwin, glorying in the example of her illustrious mother, carried with her into Northumberland, a learned bishop whose name was Paulinus. His preaching and conduct were too powerful to be withstood. Edwin examined his doctrines and principles with much attention, and exercised much deliberate caution before he made an open avowal of his choice. At length, publicly declaring himself a Christian, and being joined by the former high-priest of their pagan worship, he was soon followed by the people, and the pagan idols were again dethroned. The remaining kingdoms of the heptarchy followed in succession, till the powers of all were concentrated under Egbert, and Christianity became the prevailing religion of England.

But the condition of those Britons who had previously received the Gospel, derived little benefit, either from the preaching of Augustine or the conversion of the Saxons. Pagan persecution had indeed been banished; but papal persecution immediately succeeded it, and left the unhappy sufferers in doubt whether the change that had taken place ought to be considered in the light of a blessing or a severe affliction. The Christianity which Augustine and his companions had imparted to the Saxons, was viewed by the Britons as of a temporizing kind; and therefore considered as differing widely from their own in a very inauspicious light.

The Pope, to facilitate the reception of Christianity, and to render it palatable to the Saxons, had given orders, that though the idols were to be removed, their altars were not to be thrown down. He also directed them to indulge the people in

those feasts and entertainments to which they had been accustomed, and permitted them to celebrate their rites near those places which had been consecrated to idolatrous worship.

But it was not merely in the toleration of these heathen indulgences, that the Christianity of the Saxons deviated from that of the ancient Britons. The reign of superstition was established among them; and credulity lost not a single votary by the change which had taken place. An eclipse was recorded by their historians as an omen of some serious calamity; and the power of magic was not only believed, but some actually thought themselves to be magicians. Even the clergy were not altogether hostile to these opinions; as they served to increase their authority, in proportion as it advanced them in the scale of public estimation, for their acquaintance with the secrets of an invisible world. "From this blind attachment the social and even the military virtues began to decline among them. The reverence towards saints and relics served to supplant the adoration of the Supreme Being. Monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than active virtues; and bounty to the church atoned for all the violences done to society. The nobility, whose duty it was to preserve the military spirit from declining, began to prefer the sloth and security of a cloister; and those rewards which should have gone to encourage the soldier, were lavished in maintaining the credulous indolence of monastic superstition."*

As the Britons, who had received Christianity before it became thus degenerate, and manifested an attachment to those principles which they had embraced nearly 400 years before, Augustine and his missionaries, not content with the conversion of the Saxons, thought it high time to correct the heresies of less adulterated Christianity. The particular time of celebrating Easter was deemed a subject of sufficient importance at this period to involve whole nations in war. On this point Augustine and the Britons were at issue. To settle this *very serious point*, a synod was appointed in 601, and seven British bishops from the monastery of Bangor attended. But the Saxons and Britons had been so long irritated by their preceding wars, that no amicable termination of their disputes ensued.

It is melancholy to reflect, that although the zeal of Augustine and his monks to propagate Christianity, formed a distinguishing feature in their characters, the genuine piety which accompanied it should have so little influence on their ferocious passions, that they seemed to acquire vigour from causes which ought to have deprived them of their force. As multitudes of the Saxons still remained in a state of pagan darkness, Augustine expressed his wish that the British bishops

* Goldsmith's History of England, p. 23.

should receive from him a commission to preach the Gospel among them, under his immediate authority. To this the latter refused to accede; for as they had received the Gospel through a different medium, and hitherto acted independently of his innovations, they viewed a compliance with his mandates as a dereliction of their established principles.

Irritated at this refusal, the exasperated monk replied, that "Since they refused peace as brethren, they must accept of war as enemies; and that as they would not preach the way of life to the English, by the English they must expect to suffer death for such barbarity." These menaces were only a prelude to an appeal to the sword. To this therefore both parties soon resorted. A battle was fought, in which the Saxons were victorious. The monks of Bangor, who attended to pray for the British army, were slain, to the number of 1200; and the Welsh, who had the principal share in this engagement, were compelled to retire. The Cornish, on hearing of their defeat, immediately sent assistance to their fellow Britons of Wales. Another engagement ensued, in which the Saxons were totally defeated by the Cornish and Welsh.

But the rancour which prevailed, was not merely confined to those who handled the sword; it was transferred from the field to the closet, and it gave a tincture to the histories which have transmitted to us the accounts of these transactions. Huntington calls the Britons "a perfidious nation;" Malmsbury denominates the Cornish "a most defiled people;" and Bede characterizes the British as "a wicked and cursed nation." All these wars, these abusive epithets, and this rancour, were occasioned professedly in consequence of a difference in opinion about the exact time of Easter! The dispute was carried on about a hundred years; till the contending parties, wearied with their brutality, and ashamed of their animosity, discovered they had been contending for a trifle which they were glad to abandon.

During these commotions, and others which followed, the religious aversion of the contending parties continued with unabating rigour. The Cornish and Welsh adhered together, and both were as unwilling to receive orders from a Saxon bishop, as they were to receive laws from a Saxon prince. The Christianity of the Saxons, the Cornish viewed in a contemptible light, on account of the innovations with which it was accompanied. Themselves and the Welsh they considered as the only genuine possessors of its principles and doctrines; and though persecuted and reviled, they were determined to preserve their independence. It is the opinion of Rowland, that during these disputes and hostilities, the Cornish held a constant communion with their fellow Christians in Wales; and that from the intercourse which subsisted between them, the pious individuals which passed from place to place, gave names to several churches in both countries.

THE CORNISH AFTER A LONG STRUGGLE COMPELLED TO SUBMIT TO POPISH USURPATION.

"All this while," says Dr. Borlase, "there had been no fixed episcopal see in Cornwall that I can learn; and never was, till the time of Edward the Elder, in 905. Sherburn continued the episcopal see of the western parts of Britain, without any material accident or alteration, so far as I have read, till the year 897; when Alfred being old, and the confusions of the Danish wars increasing in these parts, there was no bishop in all West Saxony from that time till the year 905, which the Pope of Rome being informed of, excommunicated (*i. e.* threatened to excommunicate) Edward, then on the throne of his deceased father Alfred, and all his subjects. Edward upon this, convenes a synod, in which it was determined to add three bishops to the two, which were before at Winchester and Sherburn. The Pope approved of the proposal, and five bishops were ordained in one day."

Among these bishops, Eidulph was appointed for Crediton, and Adelstan for Cornwall. The reason why this county was kept so particularly in view was, what an ancient record in the priory of Canterbury declares—"to recover the Cornish from their errors." On this record Rapin observes, that "By the errors of the Cornish, we are to understand their refusing to acknowledge the papal authority." This was an error of no common magnitude. Where this Cornish see was fixed, is a point that has been much disputed. Most of our historians who wrote before Mr. Whitaker published his Cathedral of Cornwall, seem to have been unanimous in placing it at Bodmin. But the evidence which this veteran historian has adduced against Bodmin, and in favour of St. Germans, seems to have shaken the former hypothesis to its foundation, and to have confirmed St. Germans in the possession of an honour, of which it cannot easily be deprived. On the pretensions of these claimants we shall make some remarks hereafter.

To the appointment of this bishop, whether his see were at Bodmin or St. Germans, the Cornish appear to have submitted with much reluctance. But the power of the papal authority was not then to be resisted. It is to the honour of our ancestors, that they resisted the innovating usurpations of the church of Rome, till resistance was no longer practicable; and when all others had given way, they were awed by her power, without being deluded by her sorceries. To this fact Rowland bears an ample testimony. "The Britons in Cornwall resisted the Romish usurpations much longer than the rest of the Britons, till about the year 905; when Edward the Elder, with the Pope's consent, settled a bishop's see among them; which by the Pope's power, then greatly prevailing, in a short time reduced them, much against their will, to submit their ancient faith to the conduct of papal discipline, as most of the Britons were before forced to do."

The effects of papal usurpation and superstition, soon followed the establishment of papal dominion. An age of ignorance succeeded! the mental energies were

no longer called into exercise; a gloomy tyranny froze the stream of intellect; the stagnant mass became putrid; and, instead of adding new life to the tree of science, even wealth and honour promoted the growth of poisonous vegetation. The monks and secular clergy disputed, and fiercely contended with each other about trifles too contemptible to be named; the people grew more ignorant than before; the sun of learning became retrograde; and the furious Danes preyed upon these devotees of superstition without any distinction.

The bishop's see, according to Dr. Borlase and others, continued at Bodmin until the year 981; when that town and monastery being burnt down by the Danes, the bishop removed his see to St. Germans, where it continued till the year 1049, and in both places there sat twelve bishops in regular succession.

Against these facts, so far as the see is presumed to be connected with Bodmin, Mr. Whitaker argues with much force of reasoning, and much ingenuity. The controversy however chiefly relates to the see being established at Bodmin before it was removed to St. Germans. That it was established at the latter place is admitted by all, who entertain different opinions respecting the situation of its origin. About the year 1049, in consequence of the ravages committed by the Danes and other pirates, Canute was prevailed upon to unite the bishoprick of St. Germans to that of Crediton; after which they were both carried to Exeter in the reign of Edward the Confessor, as to a place of greater security; and in this city the episcopal see for the counties of Devon and Cornwall have continued ever since.

It was during this period, while the Saxons were acquiring the dominion in Britain, and establishing themselves in it, that Cornwall was divided into hundreds and tythings, and that county courts were erected. It was also during the same time these hundreds were divided into parishes, that parishes were included in deanries, deanries in archdeaconries, and these again occasionally in a diocese. These divisions have in general been attributed to Alfred. No doubt can exist that he was the founder of these regulations; but his succesors completed what he left unfinished. It was during this period also, that many religious edifices were established, of which the memorials are still visible. Among these, Bodmin, St. Germans, St. Neots, Probus, St. Keverne, Perran, St. Michael's Mount, and some others, hold a distinguishing rank. Of these places the precise dates, so far as they can be ascertained, will be noticed, when we proceed to a parochial examination of each.

SECTION V.

Remains of the Saxons still visible in several parts of Cornwall, particularly in its religious Architecture.

Although the Saxons subdued Cornwall in the manner that has been related, there is, perhaps not a county in the kingdom, more destitute of Saxon memorials than this. To this deficiency, the shortness of their continuance after they had obtained the dominion of it, their total neglect of the mines, and the incursions of the Danes, may, in a principal degree, have contributed. Some few of their vestiges however, still remain among us; but they are so scattered and detached, that the insulated notices can hardly be sufficiently connected to produce one combined effect.

It has been conjectured by Morton, from some observations of Wormius, that the Saxons and Danes had abandoned the custom of burning their dead, before they visited this island; but that they still continued to bury them under hillocks or barrows. If this be true, we may then be assured, that all such sepulchral remains as furnish either urns or indications of fire, and are at a distance from our shores, are of Roman origin; as neither the Phenicians nor the Greeks ventured far from the coasts which they frequented. We cannot however, determine all the others to be either Saxon, Danish, or British; for as their modes of interment bore a strong resemblance to each other in many respects, the want of distinguishing marks will leave us without the power of discrimination. Dr. Borlase seems to be of opinion, that where barrows have neither urns, nor little repositories instead of them, but human skeletons, without any sign of their having passed through the fire, these are more likely to have been the sepulchres of such unsettled strangers as the Saxons were, than of the fixed natives. Of this kind of barrows we have many scattered over the county in the more inland parts, and it is not improbable that several others in which no remains of a human body are to be found, are of the same description; it being reasonable to suppose, that, where nothing was placed in the barrow to preserve the body, or the remains of it from decay, the whole would moulder into dust, and, mixing with common earth, leave no vestige of its origin behind.

Among the numerous castles that have been erected in Cornwall, and of which the remains are still visible, there is not one that is known with certainty to be Saxon. Several of these fortifications are of a circular form; which some have supposed to be an indication of their Saxon origin, because many in other parts of the kingdom, evidently known to be so, are of this figure. This appearance would have been an unquestionable guide, if none but the Saxons had finished their

A SAXON CASTLE FORMERLY AT HELSTON, FROM WHICH THE TOWN DERIVES ITS NAME.

fortifications after this manner. But to this circular form, the British and the Danes were strongly attached, and even the Romans in several instances proceeded on this plan. Nothing therefore can be gathered with certainty, from the mere appearance which these old fortifications exhibit.

Leland indeed mentions a place in which a castle had been before his time; but it seems to have been demolished at the period of his writing. This old castle he describes as having stood in the vicinity of Helston, and Mr. Whitaker thinks it to have been Saxon. "It was not in existence when Leland wrote. Even then it only had been. It was therefore erected at a very early period. The castle therefore was built by the Saxons, on their reduction of the country, and called, from the constructor or commandant of it *Ella's* or *Ella's ton*, Britonized by the Cornish into *Helas-ton*. The remains of this castle, still retaining the name of *Castle*, are I think close to the very end of the town, and at the very angle of a square eminence there, having a brook I believe under one of its sides."*

The names of our places and ports in Cornwall, that are known to be of Saxon original, are scarcely more numerous than their fortifications. Dunheved, the ancient name of Launceston, Dr. Borlase thinks to be Saxon; and the term Hamoaze, which signifies the wet oozy habitation, circuit, or enclosure, he ascribes to the same people. At the mouth of the Helford river, says the same author, "there is a creek still called Porth Saussen, or Saxon Port; thereby shewing itself to have formerly been frequented by the Saxons." On this short passage Mr. Whitaker makes the following observations:—

"Dr. Borlase is the only person who has observed, that the mouth of Heylford river, which peninsulates the region of Menege from the rest of Cornwall, and issues into the sea a little to the south-west of Falmouth, 'there is a creek still called Porth Saussen, or Saxon's Port.' Yet this creek does not, as the Doctor argues, thereby shew itself to have been formerly frequented by the Saxons, as it proves itself to have been merely used by them. Much less does it appear to have been frequented in the time of Constantius and his brothers. This is much too early a date for the Saxons frequenting a creek so remote and western as a Cornish one. It was in fact used by them, about 300 years later. Then they were landed here, were here attacked, and here defeated with a great slaughter, so memorable as to fix the name of the Saxon Port for ever upon the place, and to be recorded with two other defeats of the Saxons in the same reign, even by the pen of a Welsh chronicler. The historical notice comes with a decisive sway to mark the signification of the name; and the name comes with a striking propriety to

* Polwhele's History of Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 221.

indicate the sense of the notice. The port lies at the northern side of the Heyl, but in the great map of Cornwall it has no denomination at all; it has none even in Dr. Borlase's own abstract of that map: it is marked however, in the former, as a nameless creek a little east of Durgan."

If the name Porth Saussen may be deemed as indicating a Saxon port, no reason can be fairly assigned, why others which are applied to places at some distance from the shore, may not indicate the situation of Saxon camps. In the vicinity of Truro we have Carsaussen, which may signify *the Saxon Castle.* In the parish of Lanreath we have Tresaussen, or *the dwelling of the Saxons;* Carsaussen in the parish of Mylor, and Bosausack in the parish of Constantine; with several others of similar sound and import; but nothing certain can be inferred from such doubtful premises.

Of religious architecture, the remains still visible in Cornwall are perhaps more numerous and more conspicuous than in any other department. Mr. Whitaker says, "On St. Michael's Mount, the whole church remains at this day, beaten by the winds, or buffeted by the rains, a venerable monument of Saxon architecture, yet equally unadmired by the gaze of the vulgar, and the inspection of the curious."

This author supposes, that in the vicinity of Buryan several memorials of the Saxons may be found; and to these he attributes some monumental pillars which have in general been ascribed to the British. None, certainly known to be Saxon, have indeed actually been discovered in Cornwall; but several of this description, with characters engraven on them, have been found in Wales. These are monuments of victory; their inscriptions implying, "HERE HAROLD WAS VICTORIOUS." "Such," says Mr. Whitaker, "were the extemporaneous trophies of the Saxons, in a country very similar to Cornwall, and at a still later period of the empire. Such accordingly, we have reason to expect, on the final reduction of Cornwall by the Saxons. Such we actually find on that very estate, Bollait, which we have singled out before for the scene of slaughter!"

Bede observes, that there was a time when "there was not a stone church in all the land, but the custom was to build them all of wood. Finan, the second bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, built a church in that island, in the year 652, for a cathedral; which yet was not of stone, but of oak, and covered with reeds; and so it continued till Eadbert the successor of St. Cuthbert, and seventh bishop of Lindisfarne, took away the reeds, and covered it all over with sheets of lead." Under the regulations of the Saxons, our churches were rebuilt with stone. And they were square or oblong buildings, generally turned semicircular at one end. Towers at first scarcely rose higher than the roof; intended chiefly as a kind of

lantern for the admittance of light. An addition to the height of our towers was suggested, on the more common use of bells; and it was probably about the time of Alfred, that high towers and cross aisles were introduced.

Among the distinguishing characteristics of Saxon architecture, the following peculiarities may generally be discovered. The walls are very thick, and frequently supported with buttresses. The arches, both within and without, as well as those over the doors and windows are semicircular, and supported by very solid columns with a regular base and capital, but exhibiting on the whole a very heavy and dull appearance. The capital, notwithstanding this appearance, was frequently ornamented with carvings of foliage, and of various animals; and the massive column was decorated with the small half column, or overspread with a kind of lozenge net-work. To the Saxon or Norman buildings we find neither pinnacles nor spires, nor indeed any statues on the outside."

Perfectly corresponding with the preceding description, we find several ancient churches in Cornwall; but in no one instance can these distinct characteristics be considered so combined, as in St. Germans church. This church was conventual originally; and was included within the body of a priory, which, according to the most ancient records, was founded by king Athelstan, and dedicated to St. Germaine, bishop of Auxerre; who being a famous preacher against the heresy of Pelagius, came into Britain to oppose its progress, so early as the year 429. It was in this place that Athelstan is said to have appointed Conan to the bishoprick of Cornwall, in the year 936. In this church there is an ancient Saxon font, which is probably as old as the most ancient part of the edifice. But it is thrown aside, and lies in a dark corner under one of the towers.

In the town of Launceston no remains of its Saxon antiquities are extant, except a curious arch or door-way, which now forms the entrance to the White Hart Inn, and which displays some very neat and ornamental carvings. This piece of Saxon antiquity is supposed to have been removed from the castle, or else to have been part of an ancient priory of the Augustine order, originally established here by Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, but afterwards removed to the opposide side of the river which flows under the hill.

In the church of St. Martin, near Looe, there are some small remains of Saxon architecture, but they are not sufficient to merit a particular description. The font in the church of St. Austell bears all the marks of a Saxon origin. It is curiously carved, and covered over with figures of crocodiles and various animals; but the workmanship is rather rudely executed.

There are not many of our Cornish churches as they at present exist, that can be even referred to the Saxon period; and not one perhaps, that in its present state

can be attributed to the Saxon builders, although memorials may be discovered in many, which shew that they formerly appeared differently from what they appear at present. The lapse of time, which has rendered repairs and rebuilding necessary, has given to the architecture of many a comparatively modern cast, and only permitted a few Saxon vestiges to be interspersed, which serve to sprinkle these venerable edifices with the hoar of antiquity. But it is highly probable, that most of our ancient chapels, of which the site and ruins are only visible, include more of Saxon workmanship, or at least of the architecture of those times, than any which have survived the desolating hand of time, through the assistance which they have received from more modern art.

The instances that have been mentioned, are however sufficient evidences that the Saxons were in Cornwall, independently of the attestations of history. But at the same time as they are comparatively but few, they serve to convince us that the dominion of the Saxons was only transient, that conquest and subjugation were their primary objects; and that Cornwall resisted the papal usurpations which they introduced, much longer than any other county.

SECTION VI.

Conduct of the Danes towards the Cornish, after they were conquered by Athelstan.—Encampments and Fortifications generally ascribed to the Danes in Cornwall.—Particular Description of Castle an Dinas, near St. Columb.

We have already had an occasion to observe, that the Danes first made their appearance on the British shores, so early as the year 787, but that little notice was taken of their exploits till more than half a century afterwards. During these early visits it was their custom to retire on the approach of winter, and seek for shelter from the storms of that inclement season in the harbours of the Baltic, and to return again with the returning spring.

The Cornish finding them warlike and formidable, invited them to land on their shores to oppose the Saxons, in much the same manner that the Saxons had been invited before them, to oppose the Picts and Scots. The Danes, like the Saxons, readily availed themselves of the opportunity; and, being actuated by nearly the same motives, instantly brought their ships into our seas and harbours, and threw their troops upon our shores.

As the Danes had frequented the Cornish coasts, and occasionally stationed their troops upon our hills for more than a hundred years, during which period they

assisted the Cornish in opposing the Saxons—fought their battles—promoted their interests—and acted towards them as friends, they were well acquainted with the various inlets and harbours of the county. It appears however, from the Danish remains which are still visible, that it was the western extremity which they most generally frequented. In these districts they contrived to secure themselves by fortifications, against the accidents of war, and the changes that time might occasion, in the dispositions of their Cornish friends.

The supposition of the Danes landing in the west, and fortifying themselves on the hills of Penwith, while their design was to march beyond the Tamar to fight the Saxons in the east, has been treated as an idle and visionary romance. And in proportion as these arguments have been supposed to operate against the propriety of their conduct, they have been urged to discredit the fact. But policy might have dictated what speculative prudence may now condemn. It must have been their interest to conceal from the Saxons the total amount of their forces, to secure their landing-places from the attacks of their enemies, and to lodge their resources at a distance from the frontier, which was the seat of war. But of all these advantages they would have been deprived, if they had uniformly landed on the banks of the Tamar, and fixed their encampments in the vicinity of Plymouth. In addition to this, as the conquest of the country was an object which they kept constantly in view, although it became necessary to conceal their intentions from those whom they assisted, as well as those whom they opposed, prudence directed them to retire behind the friendship of the Cornish, in order that they might secure their confidence, while they made them instrumental in their own subjugation. In this situation, if through any unforeseen event their real motives had been developed, they had nothing to fear but from the Cornish, against whom they were able to defend themselves, as the attention of the latter must then have been divided between the Saxons and Danes; and while watching the progress of hostilities, they might prepare to embark from a country which they could no longer defend. But if on the contrary, they had taken their station on the Saxon frontier, they would have been exposed to perpetual alarm and danger; and in case their real motives had been discovered by the Cornish, they would have been placed between two hostile powers, whose mutual interests, though arising from different motives, would have been to accomplish their destruction, and whose accidental co-operation must have effected it. It was therefore, neither more wild nor visionary, for the Danes to land and fortify themselves in the west, although they had to march beyond the Tamar to attack the Saxons, than it is for our historians to mark their retreats on those hills where the remains of their ancient security are still extant.

But it was not merely to the shores of Cornwall that the Danish ships resorted; the eastern harbours were frequented by them, to co-operate with their troops in the reduction of the Saxon possessions. In the year 875, we learn from a Saxon chronicle, that a Danish commander of twenty-three ships, was slain in Devonshire, with 840 of his men. In the year 894, we are informed by the same authority, that the Danes attacked a fortification in the north of Devonshire, with forty ships. This fortification is supposed to have been Appledore; and the name of the Danish commander, Hubba. Of this attack Stowe gives the following account:—

The Danish captain, Hubba, after having wasted South Wales with fire and sword, landed at Appledore, in the days of Alfred, with eighty-three sail of ships, and laid siege to the castle of Kenwith. He was slain in the assault, with 1200 of his men, who long fought for their banner *Rufan*, in which they reposed their hopes of victory. In this enchanted banner was the figure of a raven, wrought in needle-work by the daughters of Lodbrog. This was taken, and the Danes were defeated. They buried their captain on shore; and, according to the custom of the northern nations, piled upon him a heap of stones as a monument to his memory. From this circumstance, and from that day, this burial-place is said to have been called Hubbastone.

About the same time the Danes with a hundred ships, landed and laid siege to Exeter, then partially occupied, and perhaps wholly governed by the Saxons. Alfred marched thither in person, and compelled them to retire, obliging their land forces to fall back on their friends in Cornwall.

In the year 937, seven Danish kings, for by this name the Saxons called such as had the principal command, are said to have landed at the mouth of the river Axe, at a place called Seaton, to have marched about two miles in a vale, then to have encamped on a little hill called Bremeldon; from whence, after marching about three miles towards Axminster they fell in with the Saxon army under Athelstan. An engagement instantly ensued. The battle was long and bloody. The Danes were compelled to retire across the river, with the loss of 6000 men. The Saxon army suffered considerably; since among their distinguished leaders, two dukes and a bishop fell.

The Danes retained their apparent friendship for the Cornish, no longer than they could make them subservient to their ultimate designs. This continued until Athelstan subdued Cornwall, and the Scilly Islands. From that period they seem to have considered them as under the Saxon yoke; and from being blended with their public enemies, as objects on whom they might prey with impunity.

Dr. Borlase says, "Plunder and power were the sole and darling objects of the Danes; and by degrees they came to use the Cornish as bad as the rest of the

kingdom; and, to establish the one that they might glut themselves with the other, they practised every severity, unprovoked, and upon common occasions; fire, sword, and desolation attending them wherever they marched; so that Cornwall is supposed to have been at last utterly ruined by them, and to have continued as a forest uncultivated, and thinly peopled for several ages."

In the year 981, the Danes, who were well acquainted with the Cornish harbours, landed at Padstow, and burnt the monastery, if not all the other dwellings. From this place they are said to have marched to Bodmin; then generally, but perhaps erroneously, thought to be a bishop's see; where they repeated their depredations. In 997, the Danish fleet sailing round the west of Cornwall, entered the mouth of the Severn, and in their career the crews plundered successively the coasts of North Wales, Devon, and Cornwall. During these depredations they landed at a place called Weced-port, (now Bideford) where they burned many villages, and put considerable numbers of the inhabitants to the sword.

Having accomplished these deeds of blood and fire, they returned round the Land's End, and advanced along the southern shore towards the east. On reaching the Hamoaze, they ascended the Tamar, laying the country waste both on the Devonshire and the Cornish side. In this expedition they burnt the town of Lidford, and then proceeded to Tavistock; and having plundered the abbey, both this and the town underwent the same fate.

About the year 1000, it is recorded in our ancient chronicles, that Swano, the king of Denmark, having resolved to invade England, sent a private messenger to Hugh, a Norman, who then governed at Cornwall, but resided at Exeter, offering him a great reward in case he would permit the Danish ships to enter his ports, and their troops to land without opposition. Hugh had not fortitude to resist the temptation. The Danes arrived accordingly with 300 ships, and landed a numerous army in Cornwall. Meeting with no opposition, they directed their march towards Exeter; and having laid siege to the city, they took it by storm, and demolished the church. Soon after this, they made a second attack upon the city; but the exasperated inhabitants defended themselves with so much valour, that the assailants were compelled to withdraw. But their troops were afterwards victorious over the Devonian army, which was defeated with considerable slaughter. This was for them a signal to renew their attack. "Accordingly," says Baker, "when time served, the year following, viz. 1003, he (Swano) took to the sea, and landed upon the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, marching directly to this city, and laid siege against it in the beginning of August, and continued the same until the kalends of the month of September. During which time many fierce and cruel assaults were given by the Danes, and as valiantly resisted by the citizens.

But, in continuance of time, when they saw themselves daily more and more weakened, victuals begin to fail, the fire round about them, their walls beaten down, themselves slaughtered, the enemy to increase, and become stronger and stronger, and Eldred their king fled into Normandy, taking no care about them, nor affording them any succour or relief; it is not to be wondered at, if in such dreadful calamity they appeared as people deprived of all motion, so great was their astonishment. But considering with themselves that Swano was a Dane, a most cruel enemy, a bloody murderer, a usurping tyrant, and had no other title to the crown than what the sword gave him, they resolved never to yield to him, nor to give over whilst any were left living able to bear arms; choosing rather manfully to die for their common wealth, and by death reap an immortal fame, than by life to become infamous, and to be miserable slaves of a usurping tyrant. When therefore, after many assaults, all, or most of the ablest men being spent and consumed, and few left behind to withstand so mighty and so many enemies, the Dane on the 27th of August by force entered the city; and after he had gratified his lust in deflowering of women, and glutted his bloody appetite in causing men women and children to be put to the sword, he spoiled the city, burnt the houses, razed the (remainder of the) walls, beat down the temples, and left nothing standing, which might by fire, sword, or spoil, be consumed. Sir Richard Baker writes, that the city was valiantly defended for the space of two months; but at length, through the treachery of one Hugh, a Norman, entrusted by queen Emma as governor, was given up." *

Such was the state of tumult, confusion, massacre, and fire, in which Cornwall and Devon were kept, from the conquests of Athelstan, until the Danes ascended the throne of England. This event took place in the year 1017; and from this period, they began to consider as subjects the people whom they had originally treated as allies, and recently as enemies, and exercised towards them a greater degree of humanity accordingly. To this happy effect, another cause in no small degree contributed. The Danes had embraced the Christian religion, which like the Saxons, they had attempted in vain to destroy. Its sacred influence had therefore, by insensible degrees, softened the ferocious passions of their nature, and broken many among them, " from fierce barbarians into men."

Considering the natives of Cornwall as a branch of their common family, their vessels were now fitted out to protect those shores which they had been accustomed to infest. And the pirates of other nations, who had been encouraged to ravage

* Baker's Chronicle, fol. 13. Polwhele's History of Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 20.

the Cornish coasts, instead of finding themselves supported as formerly, by the example of the Danes, were compelled to retire from the shores which they had been long accustomed to plunder, being driven by the superior force of those ships with which they had hitherto acted in concert. Thus protected and delivered, Cornwall enjoyed a degree of tranquillity to which it had long been a stranger, and had but little concern in the succeeding military transactions in which England was engaged for nearly 300 years. What actual advantages the county might have derived in other respects from the Danish monarchy, if it had become permanent, it is impossible to say. Its continuance was too short to admit of calculation. Within half a century, the Normans took possession of the throne. England was conquered by William, A. D. 1066; and Cornwall, now no longer independent, followed its fate and fortune; so that a new aspect was once more put on the face of public affairs. Such is the instability of all human grandeur, and such the imbecility of national power, and dominion, and glory, of which statesmen, heroes, and monarchs, make their idle boasts.

From the long and motley mode of residence of the Danes in Cornwall, we might naturally expect to find many of their monuments still remaining among us. Great numbers have accordingly been pointed out by antiquarians, and without hesitation ascribed to these conquerors. To these Dr. Borlase has attributed many of our Cornish barrows, as sepulchral monuments of their commanders; to these he has delivered up several of our circles; and to these some of our pillars have been assigned. "Here, they fortified with a ditch and vallum, their several landing-places, and as they advanced, they fortified the hills with such propriety and judgment, that no less than eight castles as they are called (though they are rather strong intrenchments) are to be seen within five miles round the town of Penzance, all of a circular form, and so placed on the hills, that they are in sight of each other, about two miles asunder, so as to be able to communicate proper signals; the most distant not being more than eight miles from each other."

Some of these castles Dr. Borlase represents as enclosed with very thick walls of masonry, with wide ditches, and as having such other works around them as bespeak leisure, security, and the quiet permission of the natives, on whose friendship they contrived to impose. These works also sufficiently prove, that in proportion as their power was considerable, their desires were strong to keep the perpetual possession of what they had acquired.

Dr. Borlase has given particular descriptions of Bartine Hill, Caerbran, Castle an Dinas, and Castle Chûn; and although he admits that the Britons, the Romans, and the Saxons, constructed their fortifications in several instances, in a manner

similar to those which he has described, yet on the whole he was led to conclude that these hill castles were of Danish erection, and for this opinion he assigns the following reasons.

In the narrowest and westernmost part of the county, there are no less than seven or eight, crouded so thickly together, that from the top of every one some other is to be seen. " Now, why," he asks, " should the natives croud them together in a heap, and in such a corner of the county where they could be of no service to defend the most valuable parts of it, and where there could not be room enough for the numerous inhabitants of a county so well peopled as Cornwall was, (before it was depopulated, and in a manner ruined by the Danes) to retreat into ?

" These castles have no houses within them, as most certainly they would have had if erected by the natives, but only some low huts for soldiers.

" The Danes chose this western part of Cornwall for disembarking their troops, and planting their garrisons, because small parties, as doubtless they were at first, were not so easily surrounded, forced, and cut off here, as they would have been in a more extended country.

" They placed their forts on hills in sight of one another, that the alarm might reach from one castle to another; that signals of distress, or assembling and making ready, might be communicated in a minute.

" They placed them near the sea, to give notice to their fleet, receive notice from it, and discover the ships of the enemy; and all these are so many express testimonies that the Danes understood their business well. The castles indeed had only temporary shelters, because the Danes, accustomed to a much colder climate, wanted no more. The outer parts of them were left unfinished, because the general, either satisfied with plunder, or because of the advanced season, carried off the garrison. Lastly, they are all laid in ruins, probably by the Britons, who, as soon as the Danes were gone, had reason sufficient to wreak their spite, and demolish them, remembering how bitterly they had smarted by the garrisons they contained.

" It may be asked, why should these castles have British names, if of Danish erection ? British names they have, it is true ; but the single circumstance of a name cannot overbalance the reasons which go before. What the Danes called them we cannot tell ; though for distinction sake, the garrisons had doubtless different names for the different hills; but the Danish name expired with the possession, and of the Danish language we find no traces, which were owing to the intercourse of the Cornish and Danes of these times. When the Danes left Cornwall, the natives named the forsaken castle, in consequence of some exploit for which it had been distinguished, or from the nature of the ground on which it

was situated. But we can no more conclude that the Britons erected these castles because they have British names, than that the Saxons built Exeter or Salisbury, because these cities have Saxon names."

Whatever cogency there may be in the preceding reasonings of Dr. Borlase, he has by no means been universally successful in proselyting others to his opinion. Mr. Polwhele argues, that the piratical Irish have a far better claim to the greater part of the camps which have been thought of Danish origin, than the Danes to whom they have been ascribed. Mr. Whitaker rejects the supposition of their being Danish with contempt, and animadverts upon Dr. Borlase's reasonings with much point and energy, ascribing to these intrenchments and fortifications, an origin more distant than the arrival of the Danes can furnish. And as nothing can be discovered in any of these castles, by which the nation that erected them can be distinguished, they furnish occasions for endless disquisitions, without promising a satisfactory termination to antiquarian researches.

It appears however, very natural to conclude, from the character which the Danes assumed when they first visited Cornwall, from the object which they kept constantly in view, from their marauding dispositions, from their avowed hostility to the Saxons, and their secret designs against the Cornish, that they would intrench themselves wherever they could secure a landing, without trusting wholly to the magnanimity of a people they intended to subdue. These considerations induce us to conclude, that some of those fortifications with which the western part of this county abounds, are of Danish origin; and it is not improbable that several of those intrenchments which have been the occasion of much dispute, may be of this description, though some may be of a still more ancient date.

Of this doubtful character is an ancient intrenchment or fortified camp, called Castle an Dinas, situated in the eastern part of the parish of St. Columb. Of this ancient fortification Mr. Hals gives the following account:—"In this parish stands *Castell-an-Danis*, alias *Castell-an-Dynes*, *Castell-an-Denis*, synonymous words; *i. e.* is the Men's Castle, or is the Castle of Men; otherwise *Castell-an-Dunes*, *Castell-an-Dunis;* that is to say, is the castle, fenced fort, or fortress, or is the fort or fortress castle. It consists of about six acres of ground, within three circles or intrenchments, upon the top of a pyramidical hill, built of turf and unwrought rough stones, after the British manner, without lime, comparatively a hedge; each of these circles or ramparts rising about eight feet above each other towards the centre of the castle, which consists of about an acre and half of land, in the midst whereof appear the ruins of some old dilapidated houses. Near which is a flat vallum, pit, or tank, wherein rain or cloud water that falls, abides, more or less in quantity as it falls, one half of the year. Which I suppose supplied the soldiers'

occasions, as no fountain, spring, or river water, is within a thousand paces thereof. There are two gates or portals leading to this fort, the one on the east, the other on the west side thereof, which on a stony causey, now covered with grass, conduct you up and down the hill towards *Trekyning;* that is to say, the king, prince, or ruler's town. Moreover, contiguous with this castle are tenements of land, or fields, named *Tre-saddarne;* that is to say, the god Saturn's town; a place where the god Saturn was worshipped by the heathen soldiers, who probably had their temple or chapel there, before Christianity. Now, from the British name thereof, and contiguous lands, it plainly shews that this castle was erected by the Britons or Saxons, not Danes, though by the affinity of the name of this castle, it hath given occasion to such as are ignorant of the British language so to conjecture."

On the 23d of September, 1815, the writer of this paragraph, in company with three others, visited this venerable fortification, and made on the spot a few observations, of which the following is the amount. Castle an Dinas is situated on the summit of a commanding hill, that seems to swell by a regular ascent towards one common point. It is about three miles north-west of Roach, and about four south-east of St. Columb, and affords to the eye of the spectator a very extensive prospect in almost every direction. We ascended the hill on the eastern side, having for a considerable time the ramparts full in our view before us. As we approached the outer intrenchment, we found the entrance just such as Mr. Hals has described. On descending into it, the turn which it took appeared to be nearly circular; winding round the other intrenchments, and enclosing the summit of the hill. The circumference of this circle, I found to be 964 paces. The depth of this intrenchment appeared on an average to be about four feet below the outward edge of the declining hill, on which part, none of the rubbish taken from the intrenchment appears to have ever been thrown; so that from this intrenchment, the country, as well as the sloping sides of the hill, lies open in every direction. All the materials taken from this circular excavation, being piled on the higher ground within, have, with the natural elevation of the ground, raised this rampart nearly twelve feet, from the bed of the intrenchment to its summit.

On leaving this intrenchment, and passing within the outer rampart, the summit of which is twelve feet from the bottom, its elevation, above the rising of the hill, appeared on an average to be about four feet. But as nothing was excavated immediately within, this elevation could only be occasioned by the rubbish that had been taken from the intrenchment without. The distance from the summit of this rampart to the edge of the next intrenchment, amounted to 34 paces; and this appears to be the regular width of the area between the two intrenchments. This area is carried round near the summit of the hill on which the camp was formed.

DESCRIPTION OF CASTLE AN DINAS, NEAR ST. COLUMB.

The second intrenchment is at the upper extremity of the circular area, bordering on a high rampart, raised by the materials which this excavation, and that which is immediately within, in part afforded. This second or middle intrenchment is not deep, nor does it appear ever to have been so. It seems to have been left in an unfinished state. No part of it appears to be more than three feet deep. In some places it disappears entirely; and then, after we had passed over many fathoms, it again re-appeared; but in no part could any appearance of materials taken from it, and thrown on the outer side towards the declivity of the hill be discerned. In this respect it resembled the exterior intrenchment which has been described. Its circumference is about 750 paces. One thing between these two intrenchments appears remarkable; and that is, that the area which is enclosed between them, is divided into two parts nearly in the middle, by a kind of step, that winds also round the hill. This seems to have been occasioned by the workmen reducing the outer part more nearly to a level, and leaving the inner part stand on the natural elevation of the rising ground. This circular step does not appear to have been more than twelve or fourteen inches in elevation, and at present in few places only can it reach the lowest amount. In some degree it seems to have been regulated by the second intrenchment; for where this breaks off and disappears, the circular step becomes invisible, while the restoration of the former generally brings again the latter into view. It is on the southern side of the encampment, that this circular step is most conspicuous.

Having examined this area, this circular step, and these ramparts, we proceeded to the third or innermost. This is an excavation both deep and wide; and the materials which it furnished, have been thrown on each side, so as to raise a rampart both without and within. This intrenchment is about 700 paces in circumference, and is sufficiently wide for six or eight men to walk abreast without any inconvenience. Passing through this intrenchment, we found ourselves totally concealed from the country without, and from every thing that does not overlook the ramparts either within or without. Beneath the natural surface of the hill, this intrenchment appears to have been sunk about eight feet. But as the materials taken from it have been piled on each side, the summits of the ramparts thus formed are at a considerable distance from the bottom. That which lies towards the second intrenchment is probably about twelve feet, and that within about sixteen. All these intrenchments are covered with grass, and appear level in the bottom, except where they are intersected by the roads of entrance, and may be traversed without any difficulty.

On mounting the inner rampart, we found ourselves on an extended area, on the summit of a high hill, encircled by a triple fortification, and enlivened by an

extensive prospect of the country round us, on which the eyes of departed heroes had often gazed from the same spot in the former ages of the world. The circumference of this area may be known by that of the inner intrenchment by which it is bounded, namely, about 700 paces. The area itself is nearly level, particularly where it approaches towards its extremities, which are edged with the rampart raised from the intrenchment without. This edging of the rampart within, is about four feet above the area, but it is not regular. Not far from the centre, but somewhat towards the west, the ground is elevated, and on one part there is a small barrow; but no " ruins of old dilapidated houses" are to be distinguished, the unevenness of the surface evidently arising from another cause.

Near this irregular elevation, is the pit or tank of which Mr. Hals speaks. It has lately been opened as a quarry, and the natural stone, which in texture appears to bear some resemblance to the free stone, rises near the surface. It is not improbable that this has occasioned the protuberances on the surface, which have been taken for the ruins of ancient buildings. Verging towards the south, another elevation appears on the surface; but from an opening that has been made, nothing but loose fragments of stone, resembling that of the quarry, are visible. Close by the quarry two large rocks are elevated on the surface, nearly alike in size, position, quality, and appearance. They appear to have been artificially fixed in their present station, as they are totally distinct from the strata of the quarry below. These rocks are unhewn, and about ten paces asunder.

In none of these intrenchments and ramparts are any appearances of masonry visible. The ramparts seem to have been raised solely with the rubbish taken from the excavations, and thrown in a promiscuous manner upon the edges of the intrenchments where they were to be raised. The whole is now so completely covered with sod and verdure, that no traces of workmanship are visible. The hill itself seems to have naturalized the ramparts and the intrenchments, incorporating them in the common family of hillocks and vallies, without destroying the shape which art and labour had imposed upon both. The form which they have assumed seems to ensure their perpetuity; for it is scarcely probable that any natural cause can destroy either, that would not overthrow the hill itself.

To this fortified camp there are two principal entrances, passing in a straight direction from the ascent of the hill, through the intrenchments and ramparts, immediately into the area within. One of these is on the eastern side, and the other verges towards the west. It is this latter, which is much larger than the former, that has the stone causeway which is covered with grass. In the place in which this enters the encampment, neither rampart nor intrenchment appears; both being evidently suspended to make room for the road. Besides these which

Mr. Hals has noticed, there are two others, but they are neither large, nor made with regularity. Nothing is to be discovered near these entrances, to denote any particular fortifications that were designed to secure them; so that it was for the soldiers to defend these passes, as well as all other parts of their camp, against the attacks of the assailants.

How far this road extended beyond the precincts of the camp we did not examine. It descended in a straight line from the entrance on which we stood, so far as the eye could trace, till it became lost beneath the heaths that overspread the surface of the hill, and all was absorbed in one indiscriminate declivity.

SECTION VII.

Solitary monumental Stones, with Inscriptions on them, still extant in different parts of Cornwall.

As these monuments of antiquity have been frequently noticed and as frequently described, it is not to be expected that they should furnish materials for any variety in description, or discovery in point of fact. The present account will therefore be little more than a repetition in substance of what others have already published, with occasional observations on the variations of opinion which sometimes occur.

The ancient solitary stones with monumental inscriptions on them, hitherto discovered, are eleven in number, and are scattered about in different parts of the county. Many more no doubt originally existed, which are now destroyed, or incorporated in buildings, that have concealed their lettered surfaces from the eye of observation. And it is not improbable, that several others still remain visible, though they have hitherto attracted no attention; and they may remain for ages unknown, till some fortunate accident shall call them into notice.

I.—Among the most ancient of these inscribed stones that Cornwall has hitherto been permitted to boast, is a large stone in the vicinity of Truro, generally known in the language of antiquaries, by the name of *Isnioc*, from a principal word in its inscription. This stone has been removed from its primitive position, and is at present a post on which the vicarage gate is hung, leading to St. Clement's Church. The inscription is in one line, and is read from the top to the bottom. The words are abbreviated, but when fully written would run as follows:—

ISNIOCUS VITALIS FILIUS TORRICI.

Dr. Borlase says, "By the purity of the character, I judge it to be one of the most ancient sepulchral Christian monuments in this county. There is not the

least deviation from the Roman capitals, but only that the under dexter stroke of the R in Torrici is too short, and too horizontal."

In favour of the great antiquity of this monument, it is argued, that it contains two names of the person who was interred, which was a thing so common with the Romans, and so rarely discovered while the glory of their empire continued, among the monuments of other nations, that in conjunction with the Roman characters, this circumstance may be considered as decisive, that it was erected in the times of the Romans. In addition to this, it appears that Vitalis is actually a Roman name, though Isniocus is British. The import of this monumental inscription is, that it was erected to *the memory of Isniocus Vitalis, the son of Torrici.* Vitalis and Torrici were both Romans, and it is not improbable that they were both Christians. Mr. Polwhele mentions, in his Historical Views of Devon, a monumental stone of a similar kind in the churchyard at Yealmpton, of which the inscription is, that Toreus or Torrici the father of Vitalis, was buried there. That both were Christians, is inferred from the circumstance of their being both near spots consecrated to religious worship at a very early period, and which perhaps might have been established in both places, on spots where heathen temples once stood.

Whether any relationship can be traced between the ashes which the stones in Yealmpton and St. Clement's respectively guard and consecrate, is uncertain and unimportant. But in either case, the happy concurrence of Roman characters, of double appellations, and of Roman names, carry back our views to that period when the Romans held the dominion of Britain. If therefore we suppose them to have taken their final leave of this kingdom so early as the year 426, 435, or 437, this venerable monumental stone at St. Clement's cannot be less probably than 1300 years old.

On the top of this stone, within a kind of circular excavation which the tools of the sculptor have made, there is a cross raised in bas-relief. This is a decisive symbol of the Christian religion, and if coeval with the inscription, will prove that Christianity had made its public appearance in this county at a very early period, and was then countenanced by men whose monuments have defied the disasters of thirteen centuries. Dr. Borlase however, seems to question whether the cross on this stone be not of a later date than the inscription on it; but for this supposition he assigns no reason, only that in those early days it might have been cut, when it was none of the meanest part of religion to erect crosses in every churchyard, and at the meeting of highways. This conclusion he nevertheless admits to be doubtful, acknowledging that it was a very early custom among Christians, to adorn and dignify their memorials with the sign of the cross.

II.—Another stone nearly equal in antiquity to the former, lies on its side, in a croft of furze, about half a mile to the north-west of Lanyon, in the parish of Madern. This stone was formerly erect, and was known in the Cornish language, by the general name of *Mên-Skryfa*, which signifies the inscribed stone, or the written stone. The dimensions of this stone are nine feet ten inches long, one foot eight inches wide, and one foot seven inches deep or thick. In favour of its antiquity it is to be observed, that the inscription which adorns its surface, begins at the top, as all inscriptions in Cornwall that are very ancient do, and is to be read downwards; quite opposite to the Runic inscriptions, which begin at the bottom and end at the top.

The words on this stone, like those on the preceding, are evidently contracted; but the marks of contraction are preserved with considerable care. When these contractions are supplied, the inscription itself will run as follows:

RIALOBRANUS CUNOVALI FILIUS;

And the import is, that Rialobran, the son of Cunoval, was interred beneath the spot on which it stood.

As these ancient sepulchral monuments have no dates, their age can only be known from the form of the letters, the manner in which they are joined, or some historical knowledge of the individual whose name the memorial has preserved. It is only by adverting to these circumstances, that the age of this monument can become an object even of rational conjecture.

From the relation in which these letters stand to one another, it seems plain that this inscription was written before the alphabet was corrupted, by having its letters in the formation of words joined together by unnatural links, so that the down stroke of one should be made to serve for two. These corruptions crept into the Roman alphabet in a gradual manner, soon after the Romans forsook the island, and they continued to increase, until the Saxon letters were brought into use, about the time that Athelstan conquered Cornwall. These are circumstances which plead strongly in favour of its great antiquity.

In the formation of the letters, the principal deviation from the Roman manner is observable in the cross stroke of the N. This stroke is not diagonal as it is now drawn, nor yet quite horizontal, as the learned have noted it to be under the sixth century, but dipping on one side lower than the other, as we may imagine the transverse stroke of the letter H to be, when badly made. These facts have combined together to place this monument before the middle of the sixth century.

When we look to the history of these times, we learn from Usher, that after the Saxon invasion, while some of the Britons retired into Wales and Cornwall,

another party under the conduct of Rioval, repaired to Armorica. This emigration took place A. D. 454. Dr. Borlase informs us, that the first name is compounded of two British words; *rialo*, which signifies noble; and *bran*, signifying a prince. But perhaps, with this import of the etymology, the name, as it stands on the monument has no connexion. As to the other name, Cunoval, this also is a compound, *cun* or *kyn* signifying head, and metaphorically a prince; and *maul*, which the Cornish turn into *vawl*, which signifies praise or glory. In the latter days of the Saxons, Harold had a brother whose name was Rivallo or Rywalhon; but it cannot be supposed that this monument is of so modern a date. Its exact age it is impossible to ascertain. Mr. Lhuyd, in a letter to Mr. Tonkin, dated October 15, 1700, observes, that "in British (or Welsh) the reading of this inscription would be *Khiwalhvran map Kynwal;* names not uncommon in our old Welsh pedigrees. I take it to be about a thousand years standing; and do not much question but the neighbouring parish of Gulval is denominated from this Kynwal, because I found many such instances in Wales." Whether Riolabran were a Christian or a heathen, has been disputed. Dr. Borlase imagines the former, but Mr. Moyle supposes the latter. Mr. Polwhele coincides with Mr. Moyle; and even thinks that this monument was prior to the establishment of Christianity in Cornwall. But such a dubious point we have no means whatever of deciding.

III.—The monumental stone of Prince Arthur has been already described in the second section of this chapter; it being immediately connected with the history of that prince. The age of that monument no doubt coincides with the event which it commemorates; and if so, we must place it nearly where Brown Willis places the death of Arthur, in the year 542.

IV.—Another inscribed stone which lays claim to a very high antiquity, originally stood at a place where four cross roads meet, generally called Four Turnings, about a mile and half north-west of Fowey, and in the direct road between that place and Lostwithiel. This stone, which is generally called The Longstone, is between eight and nine feet in height, and is large in due proportion. On one of its sides there is an inscription, which has been variously read. Leland, speaking of this stone, observes, a mile from Castledor, is a broken cross thus inscribed:

CUNOMOR & FILIUS CUM DOMINA CLUSILLA.

But Mr. Lhuyd, who was better acquainted with the antiquated character in which it is written, reads the inscription thus:—*Cirusius hic jacet—Cunowori filius;* and so strongly has public confidence operated in favour of his judgment, that this reading has been regularly followed ever since; and in the latter editions of

Camden, the inscription has been corrected accordingly. Mr. Lhuyd furthermore remarks, that the W in Cunowori can be nothing more than an M reversed, since it was only till about the year 1200, that the W was introduced into the British alphabet, a period which is much too modern for this inscription.

In a letter to Mr. Tonkin, dated November 29, 1700, the same learned author says, it " is the tombstone of another Briton, which is known by the name of The Longstone, within a mile of Foy. This is probably of the fifth or sixth century. His name in British (*i. e.* in Welsh) is ***Kiris ap Kinvor***, and probably ***Polkiris***, within half a mile of this stone, is denominated from him." Mr. Moyle, another antiquarian, says, " the letters on this monument resemble those of the common inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries."

On the top of this stone, there is a little trough or pit sunk, about six inches long, three wide, and four deep. This was evidently designed for the reception of another stone, but of what kind cannot now be known. On the back part of the stone, towards its upper end, there is a cross in bas-relief; but whether this may be considered as coeval with the inscription on the opposite side or not, no evidence appears to decide. It is equally uncertain in what state the inscription appeared in the days of Leland, of Mr. Lhuyd, or of Dr. Borlase; for at present nothing remains visible but the two last words; nor are there any appearances that any other words were ever inscribed upon it. Indeed the perpendicular line in which the words ***Cunowori filius*** are written, is so near the edge of the stone, that no room appears for another line of letters on that side where ***Cirusius hic jacet*** is said to have been inserted; although Dr. Borlase's plate of this stone records both lines. The writer of this has many times examined the stone with much attention; and he is perfectly satisfied, that not a single vestige of any letter belonging to the first line remains; and had not the combined authority of these celebrated antiquarians assured us to the contrary, nothing that the stone offers to inspection, could induce us to believe that the first line ever existed.

This Longstone, which was originally erected at the Four Turnings, was, by some means or other, after a lapse of many ages, thrown down. From this place it was removed, about the year 1750, to a corner, by a hedge, about a furlong further towards the north, in the road leading from Fowey to Lostwithiel, in which place it lay in a ditch, when Dr. Borlase wrote his Antiquities. Since that time some friendly hand has again planted it near the ditch, with its venerable inscription facing the public road.

" Who this Cirusius was," says Dr. Borlase, " I do not pretend to say; perhaps the same who gave name to a little creek not far from this place, called Polkerys, as Mr. Lhuyd conjectures; but we have the name of Cerys in other parts of

Cornwall also, by which it may be concluded, that Cirusius was a name of note among the Cornish Britons.

" As to the name of Cunomorus, I find in Rowland, that Kinwary, son to Awy, a lord of Cornwall, gave name to a church in Anglesea, which was built A. D. 630. This seems to be the same as Cunomorus; which, as Mr. Lhuyd rightly observes, in Welsh, and so in Cornish, was written *Kynvor*, and the termination *wy* was assumed as denoting the father Awy, from whom he was descended. If the Kynvor mentioned by Rowland, was the same as here interred, this monument must be of the middle of the seventh century; unless the reputation of his sanctity may be supposed to have occasioned the nomination of the church after his decease, which might possibly be the case."* In a short note, the same author observes, that Conmor was a royal name among the ancient Scots; he was king of Inis huma.—" Cease, love of *Conmor* cease."†

Mr. Whitaker, in adverting to the most distinguished characters of Cornwall, about the middle of the sixth century, introduces to our notice a duke of the Danmonian region, whose name was Cunmor; and, losing sight altogether of the former part of the inscription, which now does not exist, connects this duke immediately with the monument before us.

In tracing the history of an ancient saint, whose name was Machutus, or Machu, he observes as follows :—" But let me now attach him in one period of his life to our own Cornwall. ' Machutus,' says his biographer, ' came to Corsult, where he restored a dead young man to life.' But where was this? The very next words will shew us. ' Cunmor,' adds the biographer, ' was at that time duke of the Danmonian region.' Nor let my readers be startled at my arguing Corsult to be in Cornwall, by proving it to be in the Danmonian region. That this region was actually inclusive of Cornwall, is plain from the very name of that prince of the region being found upon a sepulchral monument in Cornwall."‡

The sepulchral monument to which this learned antiquary thus alludes, is no other than the Longstone near Fowey, which we have been describing; and to it he expressly refers in a note at the bottom of the page.

There are two traditions which prevail in the neighbourhood, respecting this stone; both founded upon the word Cirusius. One of these traditions reports, that a son of Cyrus lay buried beneath it; and the other, that it was a Phenician merchant who died at Polkiris, and that from him that village derives its name. But if it should appear, that the reading of Leland, of Mr. Lhuyd, and even of

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 392. † Fingal. ‡ Whitaker's Cathedral, Vol. I. p. 307.

Dr. Borlase himself, respecting the word Conomor, or Conowori, which includes an M inverted, should be correct, and that this, rather than Cirusius should be the name of the person interred; and to this the total absence of all the former part of the inscription seems to give some degree of sanction, it will then follow, from the reasonings of Mr. Whitaker, that it is a monumental stone erected over the ashes of Conomer, a duke of the Danmonian region, who was visited in his life-time by Machutus, who died in the year 554 or 570. And consequently this stone must have repelled the storms of nearly thirteen centuries.

Nor must we imagine that it was any way degrading to the dignity of such an exalted personage, to be interred near the public road, even though we admit Christianity to have been established at this period. The origin of burying the dead in churchyards, is ascribed by Spelman, Kennet, and others, to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who is said to have introduced the custom about the year 753. Prior to this period, funeral solitude had its grandeur; and hence the monuments of the mighty dead, which we discover in Cornwall, appear thus scattered and forlorn, to guard the ashes committed to their trust, to remind passengers of their mortality, and, in the midst of gloomy silence, to expostulate with the winds of heaven.

V.—In a vale or bottom called Barlowena, in a road that leads from the church of Gulval to that of Madern, in the western part of this county, there is another monumental stone with an inscription on it. This stone is seven feet nine inches long, one foot thick, and one foot eight inches wide. It is at present laid across a brook, and serves as a bridge for foot passengers, and is generally known by the name of Blue Bridge. The inscription on this stone, like that of several others, is also contracted. The words at full length would run thus:

QUENATAVUS ICDINUI FILIUS.

Mr. Lhuyd says, that this was once the tomb-stone of a Briton, whose name in Welsh would have been ***Kynadav ap Ichdinow.*** From what spot this stone was brought, or at what particular time, is not known. It never seems to have been noticed by any one as a monumental stone, until it became a bridge, so that the place of interment remains unknown.

The age of this stone can only be gathered from the form of the letters, and from their combinations with one another. In these particulars several things excite attention; and from the result of all, we are taught to believe, that from the manner in which the letters are linked together, the alphabet then in use was farther departing from the Roman exactness, observable on other monuments; and

consequently, that this inscription is more distant from the Roman times. Mr. Lhuyd places the age of this monument near the end of the sixth century. This stone therefore must be about 1200 years old, if his conjecture be correct.

VI.—In the parish of St. Cleer, about 200 paces from a place called Redgate, there are two monumental stones, but both of them appear to be imperfect; some parts having been broken from each, which are not at present to be discovered. It seems plain however, that the parts which remain are of such a nature, that they never could have borne such a relation to each other, as to form one monument by their combination. Of their state, when they were perfect, and of the full inscriptions which they might have borne, it is impossible to form any conjecture.

One of these stones, which is at present without any inscription, has all the appearance of the spill of a cross. It is about seven feet six inches high, two feet six inches wide in its under part, and two feet in the upper part, and about one foot thick. This stone has evidently been carved with great care, as the front of the shaft is ornamented with some diaper work on its margin, and is covered over with about fifty asterisks or stars. The lower part however, in which the stone widens, is wholly destitute of all such ornamental workmanship. On the top of this shaft there is part of a mortise, which appears to have been cut for the insertion of some other stone. The complexion and character of the age in which it is presumed to have been erected, induces a belief that it was a transverse stone, which gave to the whole the form of a cross; but even this is uncertain. In the formation of this mortise, an accident seems to have befallen the workmen; for the stone has evidently been shattered; and the large piece thus cloven off, and now nowhere to be found, has given to this which remains the name of *The Other Half Stone*. It seems also uncertain whether this monument was deserted in its unfinished state, through the accident that has been supposed, or having been completed, was injured through some subsequent misfortune, after it had stood for a considerable time. The shaft and the apparent pedestal on which it stands, are all that at present remain, and are all that have ever been recorded, either by history or tradition.

In the vicinity of this stone, the ground has evidently been much broken and disordered by digging; this was noticed by Dr. Borlase; but how it happened he gives no account. He only mentions the fact, and says, that in one of these hollows thus occasioned, the other monument with an inscription on it was found. Mr. Hals however, has supplied this defect, and furnished us with the following account:—"On the open downs by the high road, or street way, formerly stood a flat moorstone about eight feet long, in a perpendicular manner, whereon is still to

be seen an inscription in a kind of Roman Saxon letters, in use here doubtless when it was set up.

" In the latter end of the reign of king Charles II. I, with some gentlemen, went to view this (at that time thought) barbarous inscription. Which the tinners of the contiguous country taking notice of, they presently apprehended we went thither in quest of some hidden treasure; whereupon some of them, wiser than the rest, laid their heads together, and resolved to be beforehand with us; and accordingly went with pickaxes and shovels, and opened the earth round about the monument, to the depth of about six feet, when they discovered a spacious vault, walled round and arched over with stones, having on the sides thereof two stone seats, not unlike those in churches for auricular confession. The sight of all which struck them with consternation, or a kind of horror, that they incontinently gave over the search, and with the utmost hurry and dread, throwing earth and turf to fill up the pit they made, they departed, having neither of them the courage to enter, or even to inspect into the further circumstances of the place. This account I had from the mouths of some of the fellows themselves. Some short while after, the loose earth, by reason of some heavy rains which fell, sunk away into the vault, which occasioning a sort of *terræ motus*, and concussion of the earth adjoining, the said monument was at length so undermined thereby, that it fell to the ground, where it still remains. Would some gentlemen of ability and curiosity be at the charge of again opening and cleansing this underground chapel, or whatever else it may be denominated, it might probably afford matter of pleasing amusement, if not of grand speculation, to the learned searchers into matters of antiquity."

The part of this monument which remains is a block of granite, nearly square; and on this the inscription appears. On the uppermost part of this stone are the remains of a square socket, sunk with much regularity, and made smooth on the sides and top. The upper brim rises into a thin edge, and ranges round the whole surface. This shews it to have been a pedestal, on which some other stone was fixed, and which, when entire, gave the whole monument that appearance which Mr. Hals has described, namely, " a flat moorstone about eight feet long, in a perpendicular manner.

On one of the squares of this block, some diaper work appears on the margin; and the middle of the surface is covered with asterisks, like the uninscribed monument that stands close by it. On another face or square, the inscription appears engraven on the stone in four horizontal lines; a circumstance which proves this monument to be less ancient than those which have been already

described. The workmanship is however, much superior to that of the former: though, from their resemblance to each other in ornamental decoration, it has been conjectured, that one of these stones was placed at the head and the other at the foot of the same grave. Or if this was not the case, there can be no doubt that they are nearly of the same age. The inscription on this monument is as follows:

DONIERT ROGAVIT PRO ANIMA.

Of the person here named and interred, Dr. Borlase and others think there can be no reasonable dispute. It records the name, and guards the remains of *Doniert* or *Dungerth*, who was king of Cornwall about the middle of the ninth century, and as such he is ranked in the list of Cornish kings. Dungerth or Donjerth is said to have been drowned in the year 872 or 873; but in what place is uncertain. On the change of I or J into A G, in the orthography, which might be thought to affect the pronunciation, Dr. Borlase observes, that "G before an E was sometimes pronounced as a J consonant; as *Geon*, a giant;" so that no objection can arise from this consideration. These circumstances being admitted, they inform us, that this monument must be more than 900 years old.

The name itself, according to Cressy, is a name of dignity; and from the import of the inscription, it is to be inferred, that Donjert was a man of some piety, how much soever his views might have been enveloped in the clouds of papal ignorance. The words themselves have been variously interpreted; but all concur in this, that the monument was erected to induce strangers to pray for the soul of the deceased. Camden interprets the inscription in this vague and indefinite manner. Cressy calls it "an ancient monument, with this imperfect inscription; Doniert gave for the benefit of his soul certain lands." But as he was drowned, and could not have made this assignment immediately before his death, the same author concludes, that the solicitude here expressed, was published long before he fell a victim to his fatal misfortune. Others have thought, that the plain on which this monument stands, was a place of devotion, and that it was frequented by Donjert, who prayed here for the good of his soul, and erected this monument on the spot, that his name and piety, descending together to posterity, might stimulate others to emulation, by his own illustrious example.

"When praying for the dead came into use, it was the general custom (as in the Catholic countries it is at present) to intreat all comers to pray for the soul of the person interred there; and that they might after death, have, as they thought, the benefit of frequent prayers, sometimes a church or oratory was erected; at other times it was only an altar. Sometimes it was a tombstone that desired the

prayers of the reader, and sometimes a real cross of stone. All these memorials were said to be erected *pro anima*, for the good of their souls, because their intent was to excite the devotion of persons that passed by, in favour of the dead.

"I rather think that Doniert desired in his life-time, that a cross might be erected in the place where he should be interred, in order to put people in mind to pray for his soul. So that this is, in my opinion, a sepulchral monument; and if we take it in this sense, the word *Rogavit* is proper, and the whole inscription intelligible, and according to the usage of ancient times."*

Of a vault, or underground chapel, Mr. Hals has hinted in a former quotation, taken from his work. But in his Dictionary, the same author speaks still more explicitly. "At the pedestal of the stone monument of Doniert, called *The Half Stone*, is yet extant a vaulted and arched chapel under ground, wherein were lately seen certain seats in stone, or coffins, within which, pots or urns, dead men's bones, and ashes, were usually put by the Britons and Romans."†

To Doniert Mr. Hals assigns a much greater antiquity than most others are willing to allow. He makes him to be the immediate successor of Solomon, the father of St. Kebius, or Cuby, and who was duke of Cornwall in the year 350. According to this calculation, Doniert is the same as Dionotus, who was duke of Cornwall in the year 383, and was the person who sent from Britain, under the direction of his daughter Ursula, 11,000 virgins of noble extraction, and 60,000 of inferior rank, at the request of Conan Meriadoc, in order to furnish wives for his officers and soldiers. But all these being either dispersed by storms, drowned, or taken prisoners by the barbarians, perished in the attempt, and furnished the well known Romish legend of Ursula and her 11,000 virgins, to whom the crown of martyrdom was assigned.

In this opinion Mr. Hals is supported by Matthew of Westminster, and even Carew records the tale; though he has not attempted to give any interpretation of the inscription. According to this statement, this monument cannot be less than 1400 years old.

This conclusion is however, solely founded upon the sameness of person, called on the monument Doniert, and in the catalogue of Cornish kings or dukes, Dionotus; but this distant resemblance in orthography at the best can only be said to furnish a feeble link. Against this supposition the formation of the letters, and the horizontal lines, furnish a commanding evidence. These particulars will coincide with Dungerth, because his reign brings us down to the ninth century, at

* Borlase's Antiquities, p. 398.

† Tonkin's Extracts from Hals's Dictionary.

which period these forms were given to the letters, and these horizontal lines were introduced on monuments. We must therefore rest in a former decision; namely, that this inscription cannot be much more than 900 years old.

VII.—In the south-west part of this county, in the parish of Mawgan, there is an ancient inscribed stone, known by the name of Mawgan Cross. It stands near the church, on the side of the public road, leading from thence to Helston. The letters of this inscription are verging to decay; they are preserved in several publications, and are read by Dr. Borlase as follows:

CNEGUMI FIL. ENANS.

It is understood to be a sepulchral monument; but the same author observes, that the inscription is erroneously published, both in Camden, and in Moyle's works.

In a letter to Sir Richard Vyvyan, dated May 12, 1715, Mr. Moyle says, that "By the characters in which this inscription is written, it must be above 1200 years standing." But from this opinion Dr. Borlase dissents, for the following reason: namely, that the first E is joined to the first N, and that the form of the G in *Gumi* is precisely similar to that which we have in *Rogavit* of the preceding monument, which is evidently of the ninth century. These circumstances induce him to bring down the date of this monument to the same period.

As to the person interred, little more is known, than is ascertained respecting the period of interment. The name appears to be British, for Mr. Lhuyd informs us, that "Enans is still a common name in Wales, where this inscription would run thus:—*Knegwm ap Ennian.*" Ennian is also a royal name, and is found in the list of the kings of Brittany, the fourth king of that province being so called.

To these historical remarks Mr. Polwhele adds the following, from Peard's Manuscript:—"An antiquary once visited Cornwall, and was introduced to Mr. Basset, then residing at Meneage, who accompanied him to the stone commonly called Mawgan Cross. On clearing the stone from the moss, the inscription was found to be *Nagui ye ena;* which Mr. Basset, who was well informed in the Cornish language, thus translated:—*What lieth here is not the soul.* I had this anecdote from Mr. Grose, of St. Anthony, great grandson to Mr. Basset."

From these diversified opinions, nothing can be inferred that will fix with precision either the date of the inscription, or the quality of the person interred. The only guide which can be followed with safety, is the formation and joining of the letters; and even these are fading from our sight. Relying however, on the observation and learning of those who inspected them when they were more legible, we are led by Dr. Borlase to conclude, that this monument must be about 900 years old.

VIII.—At the eastern end of the almshouse, close by the turnpike gate in the parish of St. Blazey, there is a tall slender stone, on which some remains of an inscription are still visible; but the characters in which it was written, are now too much effaced to be decyphered. This stone is seven feet six inches high, one foot six inches wide, and eight inches thick. It seems to have been hewn with great care, and to have much labour bestowed on its surface; although we are told, that the characters must have been at first barbarously written.

Different from most other ancient monuments in this county, this stone is inscribed on both sides. The inscription is not to be read from top to bottom, or from bottom to top; but horizontally, or from side to side. This circumstance determines it to be much less ancient than that which is near Fowey, although the characters are by no means so legible on this as on that. In addition to this, as some of the Saxon letters appear in the inscription, particularly the letters A R and S, but more especially the first, it is concluded, that the monument must have been erected after the Saxons had diffused their power, and extended the influence of their language over some parts of this county. It is remarkable, that this is the only ancient monument hitherto discovered in the county, in which the Saxon A is introduced. These facts have led our antiquaries to conclude, that this monument cannot be so ancient as the year 900. Dr. Borlase estimates it to be about fifty years below the monument in St. Cleer, generally denominated Doniert. If therefore his calculations were right with respect to the age of that monument, this stone in St. Blazey must be about 850 years old. The words which stand on this inscription are three in number, namely,

ALRORON VILICI (or ULLICI) FILIUS.

The manner in which this inscription is inserted on the stone is somewhat singular. The flat surfaces of the stone face nearly north and south. On the southern side we have the word Alroron written in three lines according to its syllables, *Al-ro-ron*. The first letter is preceded by a cross. Above this word some ornamental net-work appears, and above this there is a plain rectangular compartment, the whole of which is encircled by a border that runs parallel with the edges of the stone, and terminates below the inscription, where a projecting line bounds the workmanship.

On the northern side which faces the turnpike road, the stone preserves its distinct compartments both for ornament and inscription. There is however this difference; *Vilici filius* is not parallel with *Alroron* on the opposite side, which is on the lowest compartment, but on the middle, that is parallel with the net-work that has been pointed out; and on this northern side the net-work is on the

lowest, that is parallel with *Alroron*. The ornamental work on this side is different from that on the other, so that variety was evidently designed in these decorations, and the places allotted for the distinct parts of the inscription were purposely counterchanged, but for what reason it is impossible to say.

A tradition long prevailed in the neighbourhood, that the stone was set up to mark the boundaries of the Saxon conquests in Cornwall, and that this was expressed by the characters on its surface. The literal interpretation given by tradition is, "Hitherto came the Saxons, but no further." What has given rise to this opinion is, an interpretation given by a gentleman many years since, to John Hicks, Esq. of Trevithick, in whose knowledge of antiquity the public placed great confidence. On the southern side he thought he discovered the words *Cil* or *Civl Soson*, which he said imported *Hucusque Saxones*, "So far came the Saxons;" but the words on the northern side he did not attempt to explain. Mr. Lhuyd in a letter to Mr. Tonkin, dated November 29, 1700, says, "The first figure is of a cross by the almshouse at St. Blazey, but the inscription I do not at all understand." He afterwards adds, "I have endeavoured by some other help to explain this inscription, which you will find, and the draught of it likewise, inserted in the new edition of Camden."

On the inscription on this northern side, Dr. Borlase observes, "The last word is plainly *filius*, which will decide this monument to be no trophy, nor to have any relation to the Saxon invasion of Cornwall; but that its design and style is one and the same with those described before, representing first the name of the person interred, and then that of his father. The monument is sepulchral. The inscription on the south side contains the name of the person interred, *Alroron*, and that on the north side the name of the father of *Alroron*, in one line, which is either *Vilici* or *Ullici*, for the second letter is somewhat defaced. I judge it to be the former. The next line has a cross, and most certainly *filius*. The characters are much worn, and must have been at first very barbarously written."

But although this monument has been determined to have stood about 850 years, and the inscription is said to record the name of Alroron the son of Vilici, the language of history is far from marking these names with precision, or explicitly informing us who they were. Among the Welsh nobility, the name *Euroron* has been discovered; but among the recorded individuals of Cornwall, no such name is to be found. Among the kings of Armorica there is also *Aldroen* or *Auldran*, who was of British descent, and who ranks as the fourth from Conan Merodac. Dr. Borlase imagines that this monument might be erected to the memory of some one called *Aldren*, but in a rough and barbarous age pronounced *Alrorn*, and as ignorantly written *Alroron*.

That this monument was sepulchral, may be gathered, not only from the expressions of its inscription, and the resemblance which it bears to others that confessedly are so, but from the situation in which it stands. In a little meadow which lies to the south of this stone, many human bones have been found; and this not in a solitary spot, but in several places; which plainly shews that they could not all belong to one body. On some of these the stone might have been originally erected; and perhaps, when this meadow first began to be cultivated, it might have been removed to the place where it now stands, close by a hedge, where it could furnish no obstruction to cultivation. The meadow itself, or at least a certain portion of it, was evidently a cemetery in some distant age, and as such it was considered by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Some faint memorials of the tradition indeed still exist, but they are dying fast away. It is now only reported that there once was a tradition, that human beings were buried here; so that instead of the tradition, it is rather the ghost of the tradition that survives.

IX.—About four miles east from Mitchel, in the parish of St. Enoder, Dr. Borlase describes another inscribed stone, which he accidentally discovered. It is totally unlike the preceding, being rough and unhewn. It is about six feet high, irregular in its dimensions, but much larger in the bottom than in the top. The inscription is read from the top to the bottom, and is contained in one line. The characters are much worn, but they bear in appearance some resemblance to those of the monument in St. Blazey. This resemblance is most conspicuous in the letter R, which occurs in both inscriptions. The words are

RUANI HIC JACIT.

In Cornwall there are three parishes known by the name of Ruan. These derive their name from St. Rumon, to whom they were dedicated. Mr. Whitaker says, "Near the church of Grade is an estate which is known from tradition to have been the particular residence of St. Rumon, and is therefore denominated Saint Ruan at present." This hermit however, in all probability, died in his cell, and was buried in his oratory near it, until his remains were taken from thence, and carried to Tavistock about the year 961. The monument in question cannot therefore be supposed to guard the ashes of St. Rumon, although Ruan is in three instances denominated from him.

The name Ruan occurs also among the princes, in no less than four instances. One prince of this name was the son of Maglocunus, who reigned in the latter end of the sixth century. And there were three others of the name of Rûn, who flourished between the years 808 and 1020, but to which of these the monument

ought to be attributed, it is hard to say. *Rouan*, or *Rouanes*, is a name of dignity among the Britons, and signifies royal; and it was probably derived from the name by which they distinguished the Romans who resided among them.

Amidst these uncertain but numerous claimants, it is impossible to fix the date of this monument with precision. The letter R being formed in the Saxon manner, necessarily reduces it to a lower period than its general appearance seems to indicate. It has therefore been thought by Dr. Borlase to be about 850 years old, or perhaps something more.

X.—Another stone, which has an equal claim to be reckoned among the antiques of this county, lay, in the days of Dr. Borlase, a little without the churchyard at Camborne, and probably it still continues there. This is a flat stone of an oblong square, three feet five inches long, by two feet nine inches wide. Near the margin of the stone there is a running wreath carried on with much regularity, by which the inscription is enclosed. The inscription is engraven in a similar manner. It is within the wreath, but is continued on each superficial square of the stone; and because the room was not sufficient to receive the whole in one quadrature, a few letters are introduced under the first line, to give completion to the inscription. Near the longitudinal centre of this stone, but inclining towards one end, there is a cross. It is however, very heavy in its appearance, the transverse stroke crossing the shaft nearly at right angles.

From the face of this monument it seems plain, that it was never designed to be placed in an erect position, since no part of it could be inserted in the ground, without partially burying the inscription. It must therefore have been intended as a covering for some other parts, so that the whole might finally resemble the altar tombs of modern days. The inscription on this stone runs as follows:

LEVIUT JUSIT HEC ALTARE PRO ANIMA SUA.

This inscription, like that in St. Cleer, requires prayers to be said for the soul of that man whose name it bears. It was probably for the accommodation of those who were required to pray, that this stone was placed in an horizontal position. And though thrown aside at present, through the revolutions which have taken place in the religious world, it is not unlikely, that it once covered an altar in some oratory or chantry now demolished, not far from the spot where it at present lies; on which such prayers were offered for the soul of the departed, as the inscription requires, and as were sanctioned by the prevailing profession of these superstitious days.

It is only from the appearance of the letters, and the manner in which this inscription is written, that any idea of its age can be gathered; and these unite to

bring it down very near to the Norman conquest. The character is so mixed with Saxon, the Latin is so barbarous, the writing so bad, and the letter R so exactly similar to that which the monument in St. Blazey exhibits, that Dr. Borlase is decidedly of opinion, that this stone must be nearly of the same age; about 850 years old.

From the name itself, *Leviut*, nothing can be inferred, that will serve to inform us whose soul it is that required an interest in the prayers of the passengers. The name is Cornish; and in that language signifies *pilot*, or *sailor*. But in giving to it an individual application, we have no guide from history, since it is not to be found, either in the calendar of saints, in the list of heroes, or in the dynasty of kings.

XI.—Mr. Lysons informs us, that among all the ancient inscriptions on upright stones in Cornwall, that which has been best preserved, appears on a stone in the parish of St. Columb Minor, where it supports a shed in a back court at Rialton House. It was discovered accidentally, and as the author has justly observed, it seems never to have been noticed by any writer before. It is very probable, that several such stones still remain in a state of concealment in different parts of the county. This stone is five feet high, and twenty inches wide. The inscription on it consists only of two words, and even these are contracted.

HONEMIMOR— TRIBVN.

(Honemimorus Tribunus) stand inserted on its face, in a perpendicular line. But from the form of the characters in which the inscription is written, Mr. Lysons concludes, that this may be considered as one of the most ancient monuments of this kind in the county.

These are the only solitary stones with inscriptions on them, the date of which is evidently prior to the Norman conquest, that have hitherto been discovered in Cornwall. Some few may be found that approximate towards that period, but none can be said with certainty to reach it, unless they are such stones as are enclosed in some of our churches.

In the church at Berian, or Buryan, there is an ancient sepulchral monument, which has excited the notice of the curious; and though not falling immediately under the character of those stones that have been described, may not improperly be introduced in this place, since its age carries our views evidently back near to this period. It is a large flat marble of an oblong square, having a decorated cross extending from one extremity to the other, with its transverse stroke towards the widest end of the stone. Parallel with its margin, there are two lines which surround the cross, and between these lines is a long inscription, written in an

antiquated character. Of this monument Mr. Hals gives the following history: "About twenty years ago, (*i. e.* about 1665) the sexton of this parish sinking a grave four feet in the ground, met with a large flat marble or other stone, which he lifted up out of the earth; and thereon was cut or engraved, a long plain cross, surmounted on four grieces or steps. On the border of which stone was an inscription in an ancient character, and difficult to be read; which the curious have found to be in Norman French, running in English thus:—*Jane, the wife of Geffery de Bolait, lies here. Whosoever shall pray for her soul shall have five days pardon.* M. LX: IX."

Morden says, that the numerals at the end of the inscription are not correctly stated; since not only the year, but even the month and the day of the month, are both inserted. He says, "At the bottom are these figures, which may be supposed to mean March 16, 1101."

Brice, who printed the work of Hals, says that a learned gentleman observed to him, that this tomb was set up soon after the Conquest, when they used not to put the date; and that in English the inscription runs thus:—*The wife of Henry de Bollen lies here. God of her soul have mercy. They that pray for her soul shall have —— days pardon.*"

Another version of this singular inscription has been given by Mr. Lhuyd, who copied it on the spot. He notices, that prior to his days, it had been erroneously inserted in Camden. To this we may add, that in the new editions of that work, it has been amended according to Mr. Lhuyd's corrections; and most succeeding writers have adopted his interpretation, which is as follows:—*Clarice, the wife of Geffrey de Bolleit lies here: God on her soul have mercy: And whoever shall pray for her soul, shall have ten days pardon.*"

There is still in the parish of Buryan, a place which bears the name of Bolleit, or Bollait; and there can be little doubt, that the person interred, had when living, her residence near this spot; and perhaps the family communicated the name which it still retains. Among the families which came in at the time of the Norman conquest, we find the name of Bellot or Bellet. But to this family it is doubtful if the monument belongs. At present there is no vestige either in history or tradition that can enable us to trace such a relation. The same remarks, with a little variation, may be made on all those sepulchres we have surveyed.

"O'er them and o'er their deeds the billows close."

Of their actions and exploits of renown, very little or nothing is known with certainty. No more than eleven or twelve names have been preserved in what may be termed a tangible manner, out of all the myriads who have inhabited

Cornwall, from the days which approximate to the Deluge, down to the Norman conquest; and what we behold of these, is

"Like the flag floating when the bark's ingulphed."

Even of prince Arthur, whose name the trumpet of fame proclaimed with its loudest blast, the genuine history is so obscured by fable, that we hesitate to believe what is true, lest we should receive fictions for realities, and embrace those absurdities which we endeavour to detect. To be neglected and forgotten, is stamped upon all the appendages of mortality; and the ambition which heroism, renown, and mundane glory, is calculated to inspire, may learn a useful lesson at the solitary monuments and shrines of dust and ashes, which seem to say—

"One Cesar lives, a thousand are forgot!"

To a contemplative mind, there is something mournfully pleasing in the review of departed years. The ages that have been lost in the ocean of eternity, seem once more to revisit the stream of time, and to bring back the vicissitudes and great events which have marked the revolutions of the world. The shadows of our unknown progenitors, of distinguished personages, of tyrants and slaves, glide before us in awful silence and majestic pomp; and by the solemnity of their speechless admonitions, they teach us wisdom, without exposing us to the danger of learning it from experiment. Even the monuments themselves, that have been charged with the names of those whose ashes they were appointed to guard, are sinking beneath the accumulation of centuries, and falling victims to the same powerful agent that has reduced the tenant of the sepulchre to common dust. Corroded by the action of the elements, and rendered obsolete by the revolutions of characters, alphabets, and languages, the letters appear too indistinctly to be sufficiently legible for the purposes of accurate description. In the regions of time every thing is in a state of fluctuation. The earth trembles beneath the feet of its inhabitants; and nothing is permanent but that which is lodged in eternity.

CHAP. X.

Effects of the Norman Conquest in Cornwall.

SECTION I.

England conquered by William the Norman.—Inhabitants of Exeter refuse to submit to his authority.—Condorus, last Earl of Cornwall, deposed, and succeeded by Robert Earl of Moreton, in dignity, wealth, and power.—Cornish Families before the Conquest, and Families that came in with the Conqueror.

IT was the unhappy lot of England, about this period of its history, to present a theatre to foreign kings, in which they contended for empire; to fall a prey successively to the reigning faction; and, under every change that took place, to drink the blood of its own inhabitants. Against the dominion of their Saxon invaders, the primitive Britons had perseveringly struggled during 500 years; but they were finally compelled to submit. The Danes had pretended to assist them; but they had raised themselves to the throne by the exercise of those arts with which most conquerors are but too well acquainted. The tempest however, which lifted them to the pinnacle, was too violent to permit them to preserve their stations. They were successively hurled from the point of elevation, to make way for a more fortunate rival, and to feel in their turns the pangs of disappointed ambition. Within the short space of fifty years, the crown was possessed by a Saxon, a Dane, another Saxon, and (as Harold could lay no claim to royal blood, either through the Saxons or the Danes) by the private family of Godwin, and finally by a new conqueror from Normandy. "Thus was the throne in one generation filled by five families, each distinct from the preceding one, and each king, if we except Harold, of a different nation from his predecessor."

The battle of Hastings, in which more than 30,000 men were slain, terminated in favour of William duke of Normandy, and seated him on the throne of England, from which both Saxons and Danes were now hurled, and excluded for ever. This memorable event took place on the 14th of October, 1066.

Prior to this time, Cornwall, the independence of which had been shaken by Egbert, wounded by Alfred, and destroyed by Athelstan, had been consigned over to the destiny that awaited England; and, as a part of the island, this county

participated in its fate. The conquest was complete. The vanquished competitors had no armies to oppose to those of William, who well knew how to reap the fruits of that signal victory which his valour had procured.

No sooner was the new conqueror seated on the throne, than he began to devise means for the preservation of his power. His first step was to procure from those whom he had subdued, a sanction to that crown which he had seized by violence, and which he might have retained by right of conquest. He was accordingly crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of York, and took those oaths which the established laws of the country had exacted from preceding monarchs, and expected from every new king on his inauguration. He swore to protect the church, to observe the laws of the realm, and to govern the people impartially. How far he adhered to these principles, his future conduct bears ample testimony.

Having thus, by his being a professed Christian, by the oaths he had taken, and by the early measures he had adopted, suppressed the apprehensions of his new subjects, and in some measure procured their confidence, he next proceeded to turn these preliminaries to his own account. To reward the adventurers that had followed his fortune, and now expected to share in its consequences, he divided among them, first the lands of those English barons who had most vigorously opposed his power. These were chiefly bestowed on his Norman barons, that the feudal inheritance might change its master, without undergoing any degradation. To many others who could not be thus supplied, he gave money; and when these resources failed, he appointed others to such vacancies as happened either in church or state. All these were indeed insufficient; and to supply the defect, he quartered the remainder on those wealthy abbies which had contrived to fatten amidst the general commotions. This measure offended the clergy; but in the same proportion as it conciliated the people, who were so unreasonable as to think that the shoulders best able to sustain the load, ought in justice to bear it, they counterbalanced each other, and left him nothing to fear from a generating faction.

In the counties of Cornwall and Devon, where the embers of independence were not wholly extinguished, the partiality with which William rewarded his countrymen, was watched with jealous circumspection, and secretly resented with the most indignant feelings. The inhabitants saw with anger, that to make way for his Norman favourites, he displaced many of the natives from offices of honour and emolument; and with a spirit that was still unsubdued, they resolved to oppose his power. Actuated by this principle, the people of Exeter refused to submit to his authority. The nobility and gentry of the neighbouring country sanctioned their conduct; and to give effectual support to a measure which favoured their designs, they bound themselves by a solemn oath to stand or fall in

one general confederacy. William was soon made acquainted with the seeds of insurrection that were thus beginning to shoot; and aware of consequences that would ensue, if these were permitted to ripen, he resolved to crush them in their bud. He accordingly forwarded a detachment of his army, with orders to invest the city, to suppress the spirit of revolt that had begun to appear, and to reduce the inhabitants to an unconditional submission. The siege was conducted with resolution, and the city was defended with obstinacy and valour. Much time was wasted in this contest; and being doubtful of the issue, William resolved to repair in person to the scene of action, to inspire his army by his own example, and intimidate the insurgents with his presence. He had reached so far as Salisbury when he received intelligence that the citizens had sued for peace.

What part the Cornish bore in these transactions, we do not know. There can however, be no doubt, though separated from the inhabitants of Devonshire, that they were actuated by the same spirit, and wished well to the common cause, even while they remained inactive. Condorus, or Cadocus, was at this time the duke, earl, or king of Cornwall. He was of royal British blood, and had inherited his right of dominion from his distant ancestors; and neither the Saxons nor the Danes had presumed to dethrone him.

Affairs had now taken a different turn. Robert earl of Moreton, half brother to William, had waited for some great remuneration for his services. A favourable opportunity now presented itself; and William resolved by one act, in order to prevent future insurrections in Cornwall, to make him the promoter of his power, at the same time that he loaded him with riches and honours. To accomplish this, it was resolved that Condorus should be deposed, and that Robert Earl of Moreton should hold the dominion of Cornwall in his stead. To the honour of this exalted station, the prodigality of the Conqueror added 288 manors of land, the possession of all the ancient castles or royal houses in Cornwall, that had been occupied by the British princes during their partial subjugation, and ancient independence; and an almost unlimited dominion throughout the county.

The principal palaces or castles, of which the earl thus took possession, were Tintagel, Trematon, and Launceston; to which were afterwards added Restormel and Liskeard. Exeter was sometimes made the seat of residence to his successors, and other castles occasionally shared in these incidental honours. Trematon however, appears to have been their favourite spot, for in this place Richard king of the Romans held his court, and in this place his son Edmund also resided.

Robert on his arrival was attended by a train of gentlemen, who accompanied him from his native land, and found themselves rewarded by the munificence of William, for services which they had rendered to his cause, with riches and

honours; which many have transmitted to their distant posterity, and which continue to dignify their families even to the present day.

It is not however, to this source, that all the gentlemen of Cornwall pretend to trace their pedigree. Many are of more recent date; and several others are descendants of families that held considerable possessions here long before the Norman conquest took place. Among families of this description, most names, according to Mr. Carew, begin with *Tre*, *Pol*, or *Pen*, which signify a *town*, a *top*, and a *head*, and from hence has sprung the following distich:

"By Tre, Pol, and Pen,
You shall know the Cornish men."

Camden has expressed the same idea in a couplet still more comprehensive, by adding *Ros*, *Lan*, and *Caer*, to the preceding, which he has expressed as follows:

"By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer, and Pen,
You may know the most Cornish men."

How far the rule which these terms seem to express, may be deemed worthy of regard, has been a matter of dispute. Several names which thus begin, cannot be traced to this period of antiquity; while others, to which this rule will not apply, may boast of an equally distant ancestry with those who claim these prefixes to their names. It is nevertheless worthy of remark, that there are no less than fifteen hundred names of families and places in Cornwall that begin with Tre; and among the families whose names begin with Tre and Pol, many estates bearing their name, have descended down through all the intermediate ages, and remain unalienated from their posterity, even to the present hour.

But it is not all that have been borne on the tide of prosperity, through the long voyage of eight or nine centuries. Mr. Polwhele supposes that "Trefusis of Trefusis is almost the only family of the Tre's, that may be regarded as flourishing in Cornwall, both in ancient times and in the present day. The Trelawneys of Trelawney, indeed may trace their lineage to times before the Conquest. To Trevanion of Trevanion, the same claim of long transmitted inheritance might a few years since have been allowed; though the local name hath for ages been sunk in Caerhayes, and almost lost. Of the Trevylyans or Trevelyans, of Trevelyan, I should scarcely deem it an omission not to speak; as this family, though still holding a part of Trevelyan and other Cornish property, seems to derive all their importance from their place of residence in another county. For the Polwheles of Polwhele, though their ancient estate of a few hundred acres only, may have been deemed of small account, since the loss of circumjacent lands, which were of

considerable extent, and for many ages in the possession of the family; still is it the hereditary estate, transmitted to the present race from their British ancestors. Here in the Norman times stood the castle of Polwhele, which (as we shall see in the next period) William of Worcester describes as reduced to ruins. Yet the family was still possessed of large property.

"From Ros we have Roscarrock of Roscarrock; from Lan, Lanyon de Lanyon; and from Caer, Caerminow. But there are many other Cornish names of remote antiquity; such as Erisey of Erisey, Killigrew of Killigrew, Prideaux of Prideaux Castle, Godolphin of Godolphin, Kestle of Kestle; together with Scawen and Boscawen."

Among the families which came in with the Norman conquest, the following names appear to grace the list:—Arundel, St. Aubyn, Basset, Bluet, Beauchamp, Bray, Bellot or Bellet, Beville, Barret, Beaufort, Courtenay, Chamond, Chalons, Champernowne, Denis, Denham, Fortescue, Flamock, Greinvile, Karrow or Carew, Le Grosse, Levelis, Mohun, Malet, Miners, Maynard, Mahew, Noy, Pomeroy, Rouse, Saule or Sawle, Tibbot, Vacy, Vautort. To these might be added many other names equally illustrious, and equally known. Several families are extinct, and their paternal inheritances are transferred to others. To the individuals who are interested in the result, minute researches might be gratifying; but to all others it must be tedious, if not disgusting, to find our pages filled with proofs of what no man living doubts; namely, that we all had ancestors who lived about the time of the Norman conquest.

SECTION II.

Division of Cornwall into Hundreds and Parishes.—Reasons why Devon and Cornwall encroach on each other.—Principal Landholders at different periods, as appears from several ancient public Records.

If we lose sight of the primitive divisions of the country into clans, townships, and cantreds, by the aboriginal Britons, the first divisions of the kingdom bearing any resemblance to our own, were introduced by Honorius in the year 636. He was at this time archbishop of Canterbury; and in order to regulate the various charges committed to his care, began by dividing the kingdom into parishes, and assigning to the care of priests and presbyters, the management of those churches in which Christianity had begun to flourish. The plan upon which he proceeded, was adopted in imitation of the Roman pontiffs, who had already introduced some necessary regulations in other parts.

REASON WHY THE STANDARD MEASURE OF ENGLAND IS TERMED WINCHESTER MEASURE.

The ground on which these churches were originally erected, it has generally been supposed, was the site of some ancient pagan temple. These places were chosen for the double purpose of raising Christianity upon the ruins of paganism, and of accommodating the places of Christian worship to the prevailing prejudices of the people. It was not however, until some considerable time afterwards, that the enclosures surrounding the churches were consecrated as places of burial. This did not take place till the days of Cuthbert, in the year 753, who made an application to the Pope for this purpose. Prior to this time the dead were interred in fields, and in such forlorn and solitary wilds, as the sepulchral monuments which we have surveyed, declare.

It has been observed by Mr. Whitaker, that in these early times of danger and commotion, the church found an interest in securing the protection of the baron. And to accomplish this the more effectually, the latter was indulged with the liberty of recommending a clerk to the bishop. This power of recommendation soon settled into a right of nomination. And it retains to the present moment the reason of the original indulgence, in the continuing name of advowsons, patronage, or guardianship. Coeval with the commencement of the church, and granted to the baron for the better security of it, the right became annexed to the manor, with the power of patronage. And under all the revolutions of government, and all the extinction of families, it remained the appendant right of the barony even to the reign of queen Mary.

But these ecclesiastical divisions can only be considered as applying to Cornwall in a partial manner. It was not till the days of Egbert, that the civil power which ruled England, could pretend to any authority whatever in Cornwall; and even then Egbert's dominion was too transient, and his government too distracted to admit such an interposition as these divisions suppose. It is to Alfred that we are indebted for that division of the country into shires; and probably all Cornwall into hundreds, which the Normans discovered when William seized the throne.

To render those local divisions permanent, into which Alfred found it necessary to parcel out the country, he ordered an exact survey of all his territories to be taken, and the result to be recorded in a book at Winchester, which had continued the metropolis of all England, from the days of Egbert in 827, to the year 1046. It was from this circumstance that the standard measure, marked in his Majesty's exchequer is called Winchester measure. It contains eight gallons to the bushel, and is the only legal measure for corn throughout all England to the present day.

In this book was recorded the number and names of the shires into which the whole kingdom was divided; the number of inhabitants in each village, town, and

district, together with a description of the rivers, mountains, lakes and forests, for which each shire or district was remarkable. These shires bore some resemblance to our present counties; and though not precisely the same, they furnished the principle upon which the successors of Alfred acted, and which in the boundaries of our counties still continue to define their outlines.

These ancient shires were again divided into hundreds, and each hundred into districts, containing about ten families each. The earl or duke was considered the chief magistrate, to whom all subordinate officers were bound to yield obedience. He headed his troops in times of war, regulated the taxes in his own shire, and provided for the defence of his territory as the exigence of circumstances required. To defend the coasts against pirates, a large body of troops was kept in constant pay; and to defray this expence, a tax of one Saxon shilling was imposed on every given quantity of land, and on every house that fell under a certain description. This tax was soon augmented to several shillings; it was continued while the Danes held the dominion in the country; and was not abolished until nearly seventy years after the Norman conquest.

In this ancient survey of the kingdom, the county of Cornwall was divided into seven hundreds, the names of which were specified, and the quantity of land each contained, particularly described. 1. Conarton, which contained 33 hides of land. 2. Tibesta, or Tibesterna, now a dutchy manor, to which Grampound, and most of the parish of Creed, and other dependencies belong, contained 61½ hides. 3. Winneton, formerly a considerable manor belonging to the Arundels of Lanherne, contained 36½ hides. 4. Stratton, which contained 83 hides and 3 virgates of land. 5. Fauiton, which contained 44½ hides. 6. Rialton, which contained 69 hides, and 6 farthings* of land. 7. Pauton, 44 hides. Dr. Borlase says, "This was the ancient division probably made by Alfred the Great, who is said to have first divided the Saxon kingdom into hundreds."

William on his accession to the throne, found the kingdom in that state of division, in which in all probability it had been placed by Alfred; but not being satisfied with the survey that had been taken, he determined to commence a new one, that his reign might be marked in the records of posterity as forming a new era in the country. Having formed his resolution, he appointed several Norman commissioners to proceed into the distinct parts of the kingdom, to examine on the spot the districts that Alfred had described, and to present before him an accurate

* Agard says, that he found the measurement so variable and different in every county and shire, and all things so full of doubtfulness, that he could not reduce the question of the dimension of land into any certainty.

statement of all his territories. This minute investigation is said to have been begun in the year 1080, and to have been completed in the year 1086.

The commissioners thus appointed were authorized to exact oaths from all persons from whom they demanded information, and to claim the assistance of all orders, from the barons to the lowest orders of freemen, who cultivated the soil. The result of this inquiry was, a general survey of every county, of the several hundreds which each contained, an account of cities, boroughs, towns, and manors, and a statement of the number and value of the hides, carucates,* virgates, and farthings or ferlings, that each manor contained. To this was added a detailed account of the pasture, meadow, woods, forests, parks, wastes, houses, tenements, owners, and the number and condition of the men in each county and district. These arrangements were first made in each county; after which, the whole being sent to the king's exchequer, and combined together, constituted the celebrated Doomsday Book, which is still preserved with great care.

The returns made for Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall, were lodged in the archives of Exeter; and in those which belong to Cornwall, we find the names of those hundreds which still continue to distinguish the permanent divisions of the county. The divisions of the hundreds into parishes probably took place nearly about the same time that this more general survey was taken. Carew says, "It was about the time of our last conquest, that the country was sorted by a more orderly manner into parishes, and every parish committed to a spirituall father, called their parson, who stept into that room, not by election (as some imagine) but mostly by the nomination of him that either built the church, or endowed the same with some livlyhood, or was lord of the soyle where it stood."

On comparing the ancient divisions of Cornwall that had been made by Alfred, with those that were now made by William, some variations appear. Dr. Borlase says that it is not easy to discover the limits of the ancient division, and reconcile it with the present. But their general relationship can be traced with more accuracy than might have been expected, although it is insufficient to prevent a diversity of opinions.

"Conarton, it may be asserted with great probability, included the hundred of Penwith; for the lord of the manor of Conarton has been lord also of the hundred of Penwith, from the time of Henry II.; and there is but one court-leet held for

* A carucate of land was not more definite than a hide, virgate, or farthing. It has been said to contain so much land as might be cultivated or tilled with one plough and its team of cattle in one year. In the time of Richard I. 60 acres seem to have made a carucate, and for some purposes 80 or 100 were required.

both the honours, which implies some more than ordinary union. Among the rest there is not the like connexion; but what was anciently called Tibesta, included as I imagine the hundred of Powder. Winnenton included Kerrier. Stratton, formerly extensive, makes at present the three small hundreds of Stratton, Trigg, and Lesnewth. Fauiton contained the hundred of East, as I suppose, and the southern part of the hundred of West. Rialton contained most of Pyder. And Pauton contained the rest of Pyder, and of the hundred of West."

It has sometimes been thought, that the design of William in making this new survey, was to know in what manner he might most judiciously distribute the lands among his Norman followers. That this was kept in view, no doubt can be entertained; but he did not wait the returns of his commissioners to be guided solely in his distributions. Already had he obtained such a knowledge of the country, that several were rewarded with these permanent spoils of conquest. Many of the Norman gentlemen had fixed their places of residence in various counties; and when this survey was made, they were found in the actual possession of considerable landed property through the royal bounty. To augment and to regulate these acts of munificence, were doubtless objects which he kept in view, but his designs were more extensive. He was a tyrant at heart; could place confidence in no one; was always suspicious; and wanted to have every object continually in view, that he might be prepared on every occasion to make it subservient to the purposes of despotism.

We have already observed, that Athelstan made the Tamar the boundary of the county. But when the Normans were established, and the followers of William began to take possession of their respective inheritances, when the kingdom became subdivided into lordships and manors, these kings in miniature, the wealthy barons, became jealous of their respective rights, extent and honours, attached to their manors; and from their power and influence, procured their lands, which stood on the borders of the Tamar, to be annexed to either county, as the dictates of caprice, or the principal portion of their domains and places of residence urged them to choose.

Hence it has happened, that in no less than four instances this law of the Saxons has given way to the succeeding regulations of the Normans. For although the Tamar is reckoned in the county of Cornwall, as both Carew and Norden assert, yet Devonshire intrudes on the western side of this boundary, no less than seven miles in length, and three in breadth, at Werrington; and actually claims the two parishes of Werrington and North Petherwin. This deviation has been attributed to the interest and influence of the abbey of Tavistock, which as Leland observes, " had faire landes thereabouts," and probably had the property of Werrington.

At the mouth of the Tamar we find a similar encroachment. The mansion of Mount Edgecumbe, its park, its domains, the ground on which the town of Kingsand stands, and a district extending farther north, all belong to Devon. This encroachment on the general boundary, was probably owing to the powerful interest of the Valtorts, a noble family of large revenues in Cornwall, but usually resident in Devonshire. These were the ancient proprietors of that delightful place now called Mount Edgecumbe.

Cornwall has also violated the ancient boundary, and in two places made an inroad on Devonshire. Near the north of Tamerton there is a small slip of land about two miles square, which stretches on the eastern bank of the river; but through whose interest or influence this encroachment was made, it is not easy at present to determine.

Opposite to the ancient town of Saltash, there is also another encroachment, but it is less extensive than the former. This is something less than a mile square; the cause of the intrusion, Dr. Borlase supposes may be traced to the application of the lords of Saltash, and the castle of Trematon adjoining.

It appears from the statements recorded in Doomsday Survey, that, at the time when this was made, the landed property of Cornwall had but few proprietors. The king stood foremost. The earl with his 288 manors stood next. The bishop of Exeter claimed a share. The abbot and convent of Tavistock, and the priory and convent of Bodmin, together with a few other monasteries and colleges, nearly engrossed all the rest. It was from these primary sources that the subordinate proprietors derived their possessions.

Ample as the possessions of Robert Earl of Moreton were, they do not appear to have been equal to his ambition and rapacity. He is accused of having taken four manors of land from the abbot and convent of Tavistock, seven from Bodmin, and one from the prior of St. Michael's Mount. But the extent of his landed property Mr. Lysons thinks to have been somewhat exaggerated. On the authority of a copy of Doomsday Survey at Exeter, which includes all his usurpations from the church, and adds these to the land he had acquired from the bounty of the Conqueror, he states, that the whole of his possessions in this county did not exceed 285 manors. It is however, allowed that he had numerous manors in eighteen other counties, the total of which, if the statement of Kelham may be credited, amounted to 793; which, it is probable, included those held under him by subordinate proprietors. There must have been many of this description, since we are informed, that out of the whole which he claimed in Cornwall, either by the bounty of William, or by his own injustice, no more than thirty-six were held in his actual possession.

Next to the earl, the greatest individual landholder in Cornwall was Reginald; who, if we include the castle and manor of Trematon, held thirty-nine manors. Mr. Lysons says, "There can be no doubt that this was Reginald de Valletort, who is known to have possessed the honour of Trematon, at a period not much later. Dugdale mentions Reginald de Valletort as witnessing a deed in the reign of William Rufus, which he speaks of as the first mention he had found of his family. He does not seem to have been aware that his property is described in the Doomsday Survey."

Ricardus, who stood next on the list, held twenty-nine manors. Hamelin, who is supposed to have been the distant ancestor of the Trelawney family, and to have actually resided at Treloen, or Trelawn, held twenty-two manors. Turstin, who was sheriff, held twenty-seven; Nigell held eleven; Osferd held ten; Bernerus held twelve, and Joinus held thirteen. To these may be added a long catalogue of names, both of proprietors and manors; but the changes which subsequent years have introduced, shew us, that many of the former have become extinct, and that many of the latter have repeatedly changed their masters. It will be useless therefore to swell a catalogue with terms that can neither afford amusement nor confer advantage.

The next public record which notices the appropriation of landed property in Cornwall, is called the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*. This was drawn up in the year 1165. From this record it appears, that Ralph de Valletort, a grandson probably to Reginald, who was mentioned in Doomsday, held in Cornwall and Devon no less than fifty-nine knight's fees. At the same time Robert Fitz William, the descendant of Fitz Richard's and of Ricardus, who in Doomsday is said to have possessed twenty-nine manors, held fifty-one knight's fees. This latter family were all in their respective turns possessors of the manor of Tywardreath, and considerable benefactors and patrons of the monastery there. In this record many new landholders appear among the principal proprietors, of distinct families from those mentioned in the Doomsday Survey; and in others, who might justly claim a regular descent, many changes were become apparent.

About thirty-five years after the Liber Niger just mentioned, two scutage rolls were made, which furnish a new account of the principal landholders in Cornwall. These differ considerably from the preceding, and differ also from one another, although there are not more than two or three years difference in their respective dates. In these rolls several families mentioned in Doomsday and in the Liber Niger, again occur, but others are wholly omitted, and new names make their appearance. Such is the fluctuation of property, and such the transitory existence of the most flourishing families.

NAMES OF ANCIENT LANDHOLDERS IN CORNWALL.

The next public record which furnishes an account of the principal landholders in Cornwall, is in the year 1255. This account includes all who were possessed of fifteen librates of land, which were held by knight service. On this record the names of Grenville, Tracy, Cardinan, Valletort, Pomeroy, Carminow, Beauchamp, and Flamank, appear among the principal landholders in Cornwall, some of whom are mentioned for the first time.

The next public record of the principal landholders in Cornwall bears date in 1323. On this list the names of Champernon, Blanchminster, Coleshill, Arundell, Archdekne, Carew, Bodrugan, Dawney, Courtenay, Ferrers, Dinham, Mohun, Reskymer, Prideaux, Serjeaux, Lambourn, Petit, Tinten, Beaupre, and various others whose names have been long forgotten in Cornwall, appear.

Another public record, dated 1351, introduces a new list of names among the principal landholders in Cornwall, in addition to those already given. There are however but few that can excite much interest among the present generation, as they have long since either become extinct, or have removed to other parts of the kingdom. Among the few that may be noticed, are John Arundell, the founder of the Lanherne family; and Ralf the son of Oliver, who founded that of Trerice. The latter of these families, by a train of fortunate circumstances, and several advantageous marriages, augmented their estates to such a considerable degree, that they acquired the appellation of *The Great Arundells*. The principal part of these estates descended to the late Lord Arundell of Wardour Castle; since whose death the greater part has been sold. The estates which belonged to the Arundells of Trerice, passed, on the extinction of that family, to the Acklands of Devonshire. On this list, the names also of Cornwall, Hewis, Peverell, Beville, Cheynduit, De Kan, Kymyell, Moyle, Killigarth, and others, appear, as proprietors of considerable landed property.

In the records of subsequent periods, the names of other landholders appear, with whose families some connexion may be traced to several of the present day. Prior to the days of queen Elizabeth, the Tregians possessed large estates in Cornwall; but during this reign, Francis Tregian the proprietor, being convicted of secreting Cuthbert Mayne, a popish priest, had his lands seized and confiscated. About thirty years afterwards they were re-purchased by a descendant of the family, and finally sold to Ezekiel Grosse, Esq. from whom they have passed by inheritance of his daughter into the Buller family. It is remarkable, that the Godolphin family, whose large possessions, have, since the extinction of the name, passed to the Duke of Leeds, is not mentioned among the landholders of the preceding periods. In the reign of James I. the family of Robartes acquired large possessions; but this name also is become extinct, and the property is vested in their descendant,

the Honourable Mrs. Agar. During the last century the family of Treise became possessed of large landed property in this county, which, with the heiress of Sir Christopher Treise, passed into the family of the Morsheads. Of these estates a considerable portion has since been alienated.

SECTION III.

History of the Earldom and Dukedom of Cornwall.—Principal Sources and total Amount of the Dutchy Revenue stated at different periods.

If the ancient kingdom of Cornwall prior to the Norman conquest, laid the foundation for the earldom when that event took place, it cannot be denied that the ancient earldom became the basis on which the present dutchy rests. Through all the changes which have taken place in the variations of title, considerable degrees of power and wealth have been transmitted through every age. And although the manors which were once the exclusive property of the Norman earls, have changed their masters; and in modern days, the sale of others, under the Act for the redemption of the land-tax, has tended considerably to diminish what remained, yet the dutchy estate must still be considered as the most valuable of any one in Cornwall. As therefore this estate must stand at the head of the landed property in the county, it may not be improper in this place to trace the history of its descent, through the most remarkable of its variations.

We have already seen that William dethroned Condorus, and established his half brother "Robert Earle of Montaigne" in his stead, on whom he lavished wealth and honours with an unexampled prodigality. From Robert this wealth and these honours descended to his son William; who being prodigal of his power, took part with the enemies of Henry I. to oppose him; but being unsuccessful, he was taken prisoner and stripped of all his dominion and glory. His forfeited honours and estates were then given by Henry to Reginald Fitz Henry, one of his own illegitimate children. Reginald having no legitimate male issue, the earldom fell into the hands of the crown. Henry II. having thus got it into his possession, conferred it on his own son John, who permitted Henry Fitz-Count, the natural son of Reginald, to enjoy it a few years by sufferance. In 1219 it was again resigned into the hands of the crown, and in 1224, Richard, who was afterwards styled king of the Romans, was, by his father created earl of Cornwall, and is said to have resided at Restormel near Lostwithiel. This Richard left an only son

whose name was Edmund, who inherited his father's titles and fortune; but he leaving no issue, the earldom once more reverted to the king, in the year 1300.

Edward II. into whose hands it then fell, "degenerating in his choice (says Carew) created his minion Peter Gascoyne, earl of Cornwall, whose posterity ended in himself, and himself by a violent death." He was beheaded at Warwick in 1312. From this time the title continued without any possessor until the year 1328, when it was bestowed by Edward III. either on his second brother or younger son; for on this historians have not agreed, whose name was John, and who is generally known by the name of John of Eltham, and with him the title of earl finally expired.

In the year 1329, the king, into whose hands the title and its appendages had again fallen, gave a new name to the office, and finally created his eldest son, well known afterwards by the name of Edward the Black Prince, duke of Cornwall. A few years after this, he procured an act of parliament for settling this new title, together with all the possessions that had been connected with the old one, on the eldest son of the king of England for ever. On the death of Edward the Black Prince, his son Richard, whose title to this inheritance was not thought sufficiently clear by the act that had been passed, was created duke of Cornwall by his grandfather. The act however, since his time, under some subsequent regulations, has been thought sufficiently expressive to support the title which it confers on the successive claimants, and no objections of any consequence have since been urged against it.

During the following years, the title and honours were successively inherited by Henry V. and Henry VI. before their accession to the throne. They have also been enjoyed by Edward son of Henry VI.; by Edward V.; by Edward, son of Richard III.; by Arthur, son of Henry VII.; by his younger brother Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.; by Henry son of James I.; by his younger brother Charles, afterwards Charles I.; by Charles II.; by George II.; by Frederick prince of Wales; and by its present possessor His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

Carew says, "Cornwall hath, as an entire state, enjoyed sundry titles at divers times, of a kingdom, principality, dutchy and earldom." There can be no doubt, that under all these distinctions of titles, some peculiar privileges were annexed; but in the early periods of its independence, we scarcely know their full extent. It is probable from a train of circumstances, that, although the conquest of this county by Athelstan, deprived the early kings or earls of sovereign independence, it permitted the shadow to remain; and we have reason to believe, that this shadow, which seems to have lengthened as their real power declined, stretched

itself down to the Norman conquest, and it is incorporated in the dutchy even to the present hour. "The earls and dukes have, from the beginning, been privileged with royal jurisdiction or crown rights; namely, giving of liberty to send burgesses to the parliaments, return of writs, custom, toll, mines, treasure-trove, wards, and appointed their special officers, as sheriff, admiral, receiver, havener, customer, butler, searcher, comptroller, &c.; besides the lord warden and those others whose functions appertain to the jurisdiction of the stannary.

"It should seem, that the first earls bore a heavy hand in command over their subjects; for both divers ancient records make mention of tributes imposed upon almost every thing of profit. And it may be farther gathered, that towns as well as particular persons, were fain to procure charters and grants from them, for corporations, fairs, and markets, taking or freeing from tolls, mines, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, and what not, so as upon the matter the plight of a Cornish inhabitant and a French peasant, did differ very little."* To these privileges, which were connected with the earldom long before the creation of the dutchy, considerable revenues were annexed, which with some occasional variations have been preserved to the present day.

The original revenues of the dutchy of Cornwall, which were granted by a charter of Edward III. included the following particulars:—The castle, manor, park, borough, and honour of Launceston; the castle manor and park of Trematon, including the town of Saltash; the castle, manor, and borough of Tintagel; the castle, manor, and park of Restormel; the manor of Climesland, with the park of Keribullock; Tibesta, with the bailiwick of Powdershire; Tewington, with its appertenances; Helston in Kirrier, with its appertenances; Moresk with its appertenances; Tywarnail with its appertenances; Penlyn, with the park, &c.; Penkneth with its appertenances; Pillaton, with the beadleship of East Wyvelshire; Helston in Trigshire, with the park of Hellesbury, &c.; Liskeard, with the park, &c.; Calstock, with the fishery, &c.; Talskedy, with the appertenances; the town of Losthwithiel, with the mills, &c.; the profits of ports, wrecks, &c.; profits of the hundreds and courts; the coinage of tin, and all the stannary profits; to these must be added certain manors and boroughs in Devonshire.

The profits arising from these sources, amounted, on an average computation of three years, on the death of Edward the Black Prince, to £2,493 7*s.* 3¼*d.* per annum. Of this sum £2,219 7*s.* 9¾*d.* arose from the estates in Cornwall, including £1,016 1*s.* 4*d.* per annum, which was then the profits of the stannaries. Of the above estates, under the late act for the redemption of the land-tax, the

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 79.

ancient manors of Tibesta, Helston in Kirrier, Moresk, Tewington, Tywarnail, and Calstock, have been sold.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the honour of Wallingford was annexed to the dutchy of Cornwall; but shortly afterwards, on changing his mind, and wishing to resume it, Henry settled on the dutchy in its stead, the manors of Anthony, Crofthole, Landreyne, Portloo, Port-pigham, Northill, Trelowia, Tregameere, Trelugan, Treverbin-Courtenay, Landulph, Leigh Durant, and Tinen, which had been forfeited by the Marquis of Exeter. To these were added the manors of Austell, Fentrigan, Trevenan, Gridiow, Porthea-Prior, and the manor and borough of Fowey, with the fishery there, all of which had belonged to the priory of Tywardreath. To these were finally added the manors of Carnedon Prior, Climsland Prior, Treworgye, Stratton Sanctuary, Eastway, Boyton, Bucklawren, Bonyalva, and the advowsons of Treneglos, Warbstow, Stratton and Davidstow, all of which had belonged to the priory of Launceston. Of these the manors of West Anthony, Crofthole, Landreyne, Austell and Fowey, have been sold under the powers of the act for the redemption of the land-tax.

In the fifteenth year of Henry VIII. the clear revenue of the dutchy amounted to £10,095 11*s.* 9½*d.* Out of this sum, no more than £2,771 3*s.* 9¼*d.* arose from the coinage of tin both in Cornwall and Devonshire. From the statement given in 1602, the revenues of the dutchy appear to have been much diminished; the total amount in that year not exceeding £4,569 12*s.* 2¼*d.* Out of this sum the produce of tin amounted to £3,713 18*s.*; and the remaining parts from boroughs, hundreds, and the profits of offices.

From that time, if we proceed towards the present period, we shall find that the revenues of the dutchy gradually and considerably increased. Not long before the commencement of the late war, the duty on tin alone amounted to £14,000 per annum; so that the aggregate sum must have been considerable. During the war the fluctuations which accompanied it, affected the revenues of the dutchy in the same proportion as they affected the tin trade at large. The gross amount might however, be estimated on an average, particularly towards the concluding years, at £22,000 per annum. Of this sum the tin of Cornwall yielded £8,500; the rents of manors, and the aggregate of fines, £3,500; and the remaining parts arose from other sources. Since the conclusion of the war, a sufficiency of time has not elapsed to throw the tin trade into its regular channels, and consequently the revenue of the dutchy arising from the coinages must be liable to fluctuations and uncertainties in just the same proportion.

SECTION IV.

History and Description of Restormel Castle, which has probably been built since the Conquest.—Liskeard, Tregony, Truro, Pengersick, and Ruan Lanyhorne Castles, referred to these and succeeding Periods.—General Observations on Norman Architecture.—The peaked Arch of high antiquity.

It has generally been thought, although Alfred did much for the welfare of this country, that military architecture was in its infancy among the Saxons. They had seen indeed the necessity of erecting fortifications for their own defence; but, through some causes which we cannot explore, they had made but little proficiency in the science, when the Danes succeeded them in the dominion of the country. What these might have done, if they had been permitted to continue, it is difficult to say; but they were scarcely seated in the chair of royalty, when the Normans hurled them from it.

When William had thus gained the ascendancy, he soon perceived the error into which his predecessors had fallen; and being resolved to profit by their negligence, he directed his nobles to build a number of castles with keeps, in various parts, throughout the kingdom. His nobles, obedient to his mandates, instantly put his orders into execution; and so rapidly had they proceeded in this general work, that Dugdale reckons no less than 1115 Norman castles in England so early as the reign of Henry II. The rage for castle-building still continued; so that in the reign of Stephen, the Saxon Chronicle asserts, that the people were worn out with the toil of building, and the kingdom was covered with castles.

The materials with which they were built, Mr. Grose has observed, varied according to the places of their erection; but the manner of their construction seems to have been uniform. The outsides of the walls were generally built with the stones nearest at hand, laid as regularly as their shapes would admit. The insides were filled up with the like materials, mixed with a great quantity of fluid mortar. The angles were always coigned, and the arches turned with squared stone brought from Caen in Normandy, with which the whole outside was now and then cased. This mode of building continued for a season; but between the time of the Norman conquest and the days of Edward I. a mixed kind of building had found its way into our castles, and had succeeded to the round Norman keeps. It was during these periods, that the castles of Restormel and Liskeard probably were erected. Of the latter not a vestige remains to display the nature of its architecture; but of the former a sufficient quantity is yet standing to admit a general description.

It appears from one of the scutage rolls already noticed in this chapter, and which bears date about the conclusion of the twelfth century, that Robert de Cardinan was at that time one of the greatest landholders in Cornwall, since he is stated to have had in his possession seventy-one knight's fees. The heiress of this ancient, wealthy, and baronial family, was married to Tracy; and in her widowhood she conveyed, we are informed, the castle and manor of Cardinan, about the year 1259, to Oliver de Dinan, who was probably a branch of the same family.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in the Doomsday Survey no mention whatever is made either of Lostwithiel or Restormel castle; and from hence a strong presumption arises, that neither of them at that time existed. The first notice respecting it, which appears on record, is in the year 1264; at which time it was in the possession of Thomas Tracy, who, as already observed, married the heiress of the Cardinan family. And among the ancient documents of the Arundell family, there is an instrument dated from Restormel, by which the said Thomas Tracy surrendered the castle of Restormel, and the barony of Cardinan, to Ralph Arundell, to be held on behalf of Simon de Montfort, as a security against his enemies, who had threatened him with destruction. These circumstances induce a train of presumptive evidence, that Restormel Castle was originally the seat of the Cardinans, and was probably built by them some time between the Doomsday Survey and the year 1259.

From this surrender of the castle to the Arundell family, it soon came into the possession of the earls of Cornwall. The manor, park, and castle of Restormel, were possessed by Edmund earl of Cornwall, at the time of his death, in the year 1300; and it has been stated, that Richard king of the Romans held his court here. It is uncertain at what particular time it came into the possession of the earls of Cornwall; but from the manner in which Restormel Castle is spoken of by William of Worcester, we may infer that these were the first who inhabited it, and who held it in actual possession; but since their days it has continued to be invariably annexed to the dutchy.

In the year 1307, Thomas de la Hyde was appointed governor of Restormel Castle; and in 1331 it was in the hands of William de Bottreaux, by whom the command was resigned to John de Carminow. In the year 1337, this castle is described in an official survey of the extent of the dutchy of Cornwall, as being very much out of repair. In this survey it is represented as having within the gates a large hall, a chapel, three chambers, and three upper chambers; and without the gates, as having another hall, a kitchen, another chapel, two chambers, and five upper chambers; the whole of which seems to convey no very exalted

idea, either of its extent or ancient magnificence, exclusively of the dilapidated state into which even these rooms were fallen.

Leland describes Restormel Castle, in his time, as having "its bass court sore defaced." In Carew's days, he informs us, that "His base court is rather to be conjectured than discerned, by the remnant of some fewe ruines; among which an oven of fourteen foot largenes, through his exceeding proportion, proveth the like hospitality of those dayes. The inner court grounded upon an intrenched rocke was formed round, had his utter wall thick, strong, and garreted; his flat roof covered with lead, and his large windowes taking their light inwards. It consisted of two stories besides the vaults, and admitted entrance and issue by one onely gate, fenced with a portcouliz. Water was conveyed thither by a conduit, from the higher ground adjoining. Certes, it may move compassion, that a palace so healthfull for aire, so delightfull for prospect, so necessary for commodities, so fayre (in regard of those dayes) for building, and so strong for defence, should in times of secure peace, and under the protection of his natural princes, be wronged with these spoylings, than which, it could endure no greater at the hands of any foraine and deadly enemy; for the park is disparked, the timber rooted up, the conduit pipes taken away, the roofe made sale of, the planchings rotten, the wals fallen down, and the hewed stones of the windowes, dournes, and clavels, pluct out to serve private buildings: onely there remayneth an utter defacement, to complayne upon this unregarded distresse. It now appertayneth by lease, to Mr. Samuel, who married Halse."

Norden, who wrote nearly about the same time, utters his lamentation in nearly the same strain, with some additional strokes to excite compassion. He says—"The whole castle beginneth to mourne, and to wringe out hard stones for teares, that shee that was imbraced, visited and delighted with greate princes, is now desolate, forsaken, and forlorne: the cannon needs not batter, nor the pioneer to undermine, nor powder to blow up this so famous a pyle, for time and tirrannie hath wrought her desolation: her water pypes of lead, manie and of great use, are cutt up, the covering lead gone, the planchings rotten, the walls fall downe, the fayre and large chymnye peeces, and all that would yeld monie or serve for use, are converted to private men's purposes; and there remayneth a forlorne showe of honor, not contentinge anie compassionate eye to behold her lingryne decayes. Men greyve to see the dying delayes of any brute creature, so may we mourne to see so stately a pyle so long a fallinge; if it be of no use, the carcase would make some profit; therefore, if it deserve, let her fall be no longer delayde, els will it dropp peecemeal downe, and her now profitable reliques will then serve to little or no use."

Decayed however, as Restormel Castle was in the time of Leland, and ruinous as it appeared in the days of Carew and Norden, from its being deserted, such was the nature of its commanding situation, that when England was embroiled in a civil war, this castle was seized, and so far repaired as to assume an attitude of defence. It was first occupied by the parliamentary forces; but on the 24th of August, 1644, it was taken for Charles by Sir Richard Grenville, prior to the capitulation of the army of Essex. Its repairs however, being only of a temporary nature, added but little to its stability; and the hostility which its attitude invited, tended more to accelerate its ruin, than the assistance which it derived from art did to prolong its existence. Hence, in a parliamentary survey which was taken of it, in the year 1649, the year in which Charles I. was beheaded, it is represented as utterly ruined, as having nothing standing but the outer walls, which were too feeble to be repaired, and too worthless to defray the expence of taking down. Since this time it has been verging to decay, and gradually sinking under the all-consuming hand of time. A large part of its circular wall, partially covered with ivy, strikes the eye of the spectator at a considerable distance; from which, as well as from a near approach, it appears "majestic though in ruins." Consigned over to decay, to solitude, to silence, and to desolation, the owls and bats have claimed it for their habitation; and unless their abode be occaionally visited by the curious traveller, who delights to review departed days, they have little reason to complain—

> "Of such as wand'ring near their sacred bower,
> Molest their ancient solitary reign."

This venerable and only military edifice now standing in Cornwall, that can with certainty be ascribed to the Norman times, is erected on the summit of a hill, about one mile north of Lostwithiel, surrounded with a diversified scenery, which its own ruins contribute to render interesting. On the northern side, the hill on which it stands is very steep, the base of which is washed by the river that discharges its waters in Fowey harbour. The sides of the hill, and a considerable part of the contiguous country, are covered over with wood of various kinds, which tend to augment the picturesque beauty of the whole.

The rampart or outer wall is nearly circular. This is surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, the rubbish of which having raised a terrace on the outside, added to the strength of the fortification. The entrance to the castle is beneath a square tower, which internally rests upon an arch. This gateway leads into an open area, between which and the embattled wall of the ramparts, there are a number of different apartments, which side by side extend all round the area. These were

once subdivided into smaller chambers, which were disposed into two stories, and covered over with a circular roof. This roof however, did not extend over the area within, the diameter of which, from east to west, is sixty-eight feet, and from north to south sixty-five feet. The various apartments occupied two stories. The uppermost seems to have contained the state rooms, and to have had large openings or windows of the Gothic kind, in the outer wall; but the spaces are now filled up. These windows, which have pointed arches, were very handsome and pleasant; and made, says Dr. Borlase, "to enjoy the prospect, their recesses reaching to the planching of the rooms. These large openings are all on the chamber floor, and from the floor of these chambers you pass on a level to the chapel. This chapel is but twenty-five feet six, by seventeen feet six; but, that it might be the more commodious, there seems to have been an anti-chapel. This chapel, as Leland observes, is a newer work than the castle itself; and I may add, that the gateway, and the large windows on the rampart wall, are also more modern than the keep; for they were not made for war and safety, but for pleasure and grandeur; and yet, as modern as these things, compared with the rest may appear, they must be at least as ancient as Edmund son of Richard king of the Romans; for since his death I cannot find that any earl of Cornwall resided here. Richard king of the Romans kept his court here, and in all probability made these additions. The offices belonging to this castle lay below it, in the bass court, where signs of many ruins to the north and east are still apparent; and with the ruins on either hand, as you come towards the great gate from the west, shew that this castle was of great extent. This noble keep still holds up the shell of its turreted head, but within equals the ruinous state of the bass court below."

The hill on which Restormel Castle stands, is a rocky knoll; so that in order to raise the fabric, the architect had nothing to do but to plane the hill into a level on its summit, and shape it round by a ditch. This was of itself sufficient to give the keep all the elevation that was necessary, without raising an artificial tumulus, as was the case at Trematon. The ditch was originally filled with water, brought in pipes from some distance for that purpose.

The keep appears to have been formerly very magnificent. The outer wall is 110 feet in diameter within, and ten feet wide at the top, including the thickness of the parapet, which is two feet six inches. From the present floor of the ground rooms to the top of the rampart, the height is twenty-seven feet six inches, and the top of the parapet wall is seven feet higher, garreted quite round. There are three staircases leading to the top of the rampart, one on each side of the gateway, ascending from the court within, and one between the inner and outer gates. The rooms are nineteen feet wide, and the windows mostly in the innermost wall.

When the survey of this castle was taken in the reign of Edward III. one of the chapels contained two bells; there were also gates, but they were in a decayed state; and the chambers that were over the gateway were covered with lead. There were also without the gate, two stables, sufficient to contain twenty horses on each side of the way; but even at that time these stables were considered as old and ruinous. Since that period most of these distinguishing particulars have disappeared. At present sufficient remains to shew us the extent and height of the wall, to inform us that the ditch from the outer bank is about nine yards deep, and that the parts which have survived the ravages of time, are, like all the works of human art and ingenuity, mouldering to decay.

The castle which formerly stood in the vicinity of Truro, but of which not a single vestige remains, is attributed to one of the Norman earls. The spot on which it stood is now a waste area, on an eminence at the north-west end of the town. It is still distinguished by its name, and by the artificial mound of earth on which the edifice was erected. But nothing remains to point out the extent of the building, or to direct the inquirer to the age when the fabric was raised. And even the tumulus on which it stood is daily decreasing, the earth being carried from the spot for such purposes as the wants of those who remove it may require.

In the parish of Breage is an embattled square tower, which is nearly all that has survived of an old castellated mansion, still known by the name of Pengersick Castle. But of this edifice, with Ruan Lanyhorne Castle, Trelonk House, and many others, we shall speak more particularly, when we proceed to the parochial department; in which view several specimens of Norman architecture will appear. From the few military edifices which we have examined, nothing has appeared to mark the Conquest as forming an era in architectural science. That which has appeared most conspicuous is, that the buildings which have been erected since the Norman period, seem to have been less able to resist the corrosions of the elements, and the wasting hand of time, than others which are evidently of a far more ancient date. Restormel Castle, and the fragments at Pengersick, seem to be all that Cornwall can now boast of the military architecture of the Normans. In other departments we shall probably discover more specimens than in this; but it will not always be easy to discriminate between the works of the Normans and those of others.

Of the changes and advantages which our architecture derived from the Normans, Dr. Borlase speaks as follows:—"As the sciences were in this age more cultivated among the Normans, than here in England, they improved our manner in works of taste and art; they introduced a more noble and elegant kind of building and designing, than we had been used to before. From this time therefore, our

monuments have no more the rudeness and disproportion of the natural stone. They no longer remain uninscribed, silent as well as monstrous. They want dates indeed, but they are generally inscribed, and surnames are added. But what shall particularly distinguish all inscribed monuments erected by the Normans, is the old French, which in all the law courts, and elsewhere on all occasions, this king (William) laboured most assiduously to introduce, in place of the Saxon or English language. Those inscribed in French, are likely to be near the Conquest, if the characters will suit that age. For notwithstanding all the struggles of the Norman line, the Saxon tongue gained ground again, and in a little time nothing but the law remained in French; a sure sign how difficult it is to make thorough alterations in language; and that chains are more easily imposed on the hands than on the tongue. The other works of the Normans, such as monasteries, palaces, courts of justice, churches, crosses, and the like, are too little different from the works of the late or present age, to require any particular notice here."

It has been argued, that the introduction of the peaked arch into our public buildings, formed a distinguishing criterion of the Conqueror's reign. In this opinion we have been taught to acquiesce with a degree of implicit confidence which few would presume to question. But the fallacy of this opinion has been pointed out; and the peaked arch has been traced back to a period long before the Normans became embodied as a nation, and swarmed in hordes from the shores of the Baltic; and it was introduced into this kingdom long before the name of the Normans had found its way into any language.

Mr. Whitaker says, " The use of the peaked arch, if we go upon those facts which alone ought to fix our faith, is prior to the Conquest within this island. The church of Kirkdale, the church of Aldsbrough, the sanctuary of Westminster, and the coin of the Confessor, shew the arch to have been used here in the Confessor's days. The appearance also of the peaked arch, in the empress Helena's magnificent church of Jerusalem, upon a monument of the Romans in the north of Britain, and in a remaining church of theirs within the south, proves it to have been equally used here, as early as the days of the Romans. Then the old cathedral of St. Germans comes in to fill up the vacuity of the ages between, and forms an intermediate link in the chain of transmission betwixt the Romans and the Confessor. Whatever antiquity of an earlier nature it may challenge, it was certainly built as early as the conquest of Cornwall, certainly coeval in existence with Athelstan's appointment of a bishop there under 936; it is prior to the reign of the Confessor by more than a century, and cotemporary with any coins of the tenth century, representing a church with peaked arches, upon the continent."

GREAT ANTIQUITY OF THE PEAKED ARCH IN ARCHITECTURE.

In favour of the great antiquity of peaked arches, this author has argued with considerable force; and the evidence which he has adduced, the reasonings which he has advanced, and the facts to which he has appealed, appear in a light sufficiently commanding to preclude the Normans for ever from claiming the honour of introducing the peaked arch into this country. In Cornwall we discover very little to ascribe exclusively to them, besides the enlargement of some of our public edifices, which will fall more immediately under our particular notice hereafter.

CHAP. XI.

Insurrections and civil Vicissitudes which have occurred in Cornwall.

SECTION I.

St. Michael's Mount first seized, fortified, and defended by Henry de la Pomeroy, for John Earl of Cornwall, against Richard I.

AMONG the military exploits by which Cornwall has been distinguished, there is only one memorable incident that is recorded, from the Norman conquest to the year 1497; and this occurred while England was engaged in those wild crusades which stamped an indelible disgrace upon all the romantic adventurers. In these visionary expeditions there are not many Cornish names to be discovered. Mr. Hals informs us, that "One of the Tregarthyns of Tregarthyn in Gorran, accompanied Richard I. to the Holy Land." But the only exploit that he has recorded of him is, that he carried with him an escalop shell to drink out of; in consequence of which his posterity had the honour of having three escalop shells incorporated in their arms.

Among the ancient families whose names we have already mentioned, was that of Pomerai or Pomeroy, one of whom stood among the principal landholders in the records of 1255. This family had two seats; that of Berry or Bury Pomeroy in Devonshire, and that of Tregony Castle in Cornwall. At the former of these places, this baronial family was seated in the reign of William the Conqueror; the latter was of a subsequent date; and this Cornish branch of the family is said to have become extinct in the reign of Elizabeth.

The mad expedition of Richard into the Holy Land, to rescue Palestine from the hands of infidels, caused much uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the more considerable of his subjects at home. Among these, was Henry de la Pomeroy, then lord of Bury Pomeroy in Devon, and Tregony Pomeroy in Cornwall.

Richard, though a monarch at home, was enslaved to the dominion of the Pope; and in obedience of his mandate, he had abandoned the affairs of his kingdom to pursue chimeras in a foreign land. On his departure from England he had consigned the care of his dominions to a favourite Norman, Longchamp bishop of Ely. This wretch, intoxicated with power, no sooner found himself enthroned,

than he began to display the tyranny of his disposition. He extorted from the people enormous sums of money without a parliament; insulted the nobility and gentry of the kingdom through the insolence of office; and excited abhorrence by that idle parade of grandeur which he displayed in his public appearance; as he rarely went abroad without having a thousand attendants in his train.

John, the brother of Richard, was at this time earl of Cornwall; who being irritated at the enormities of Longchamp, and perhaps secretly influenced by a wish that Richard might never more return, began to concert measures for the deposing of Longchamp, and for the establishment of himself on the throne of his absent brother. In this conspiracy he was secretly joined by numbers, among whom was Henry de la Pomeroy.

To accomplish their purpose the more effectually, they transmitted to Richard an account of the enormities of Longchamp, and pleaded so effectually, that by the king's letters patent he was deposed, and the archbishop of Rouen was appointed to succeed him. In this state of degradation he was obliged to disguise himself in female attire, to escape popular fury; but, being detected, he was assaulted by some women and severely beaten.

Previous however, to this event, Longchamp had received information of the designs of John and of Pomeroy, so far as respected his own tyranny; and in order to prevent their effects, he dispatched a messenger to Bury Pomeroy, with orders to arrest Pomeroy in the name of Richard. The messenger on his arrival, concealed the nature of his errand; and, as the descendants of Pomeroy have reported, was hospitably entertained at the castle for several days, and when about to depart was complimented with a liberal present. Having thus received all that his host could bestow, he instantly arrested him in the king's name, commanding him to make his immediate appearance to answer for some capital offence. Smitten with the treachery of the messenger, and perhaps with a consciousness of a secret which he imagined Longchamp knew, he drew his dagger, and stabbed the messenger to the heart. Pomeroy immediately fled into Cornwall, and placed himself under the secret protection of John, who is said to have privately supplied him with men and arms, sufficient to secure his safety against the power of the viceroy, from whom the aggravation of his crime forbade him to expect any mercy. This was effectual until Longchamp was displaced; and it is probable, that Pomeroy during these intermediate months, took up his abode in Tregony Castle.

The deposition of Longchamp was a circumstance highly favourable to Pomeroy, who now hoped to escape with impunity. This event was followed by another, that seemed still more auspicious. Richard, on his returning from the holy war,

was taken prisoner in 1194, by Leopold of Austria, and cast into a prison called Trivallis, from which no one had ever yet been known to escape.

Animated with these promising omens, Pomeroy resolved if possible to make himself master of St. Michael's Mount, to fortify himself on the rock, and thus at once provide for his own safety, and promote the interest of John, who still aimed at the throne. The Mount had been for several centuries prior to this, inhabited by monks and nuns; who thought themselves by the sanctity of their profession and characters placed beyond the reach of military depredations. To accomplish his purpose, Pomeroy with a guard of armed men, that daily attended him, proceeded to the Mount. Each concealed his military dress and arms under a sanctimonious garb, that suited the place they intended to enter. Thus equipped, he marched to the gate and solicited admittance, in order to visit a sister that had long resided there. His sister, on learning who he was, and deluded with the false occasion of his coming, caused the gates to be thrown open to him. No sooner had they gained admittance, than they threw off the mask, and presenting their weapons, declared that their design was to reduce the Mount to the dominion of John earl of Cornwall, to take up their residence in it, and that if any one opposed them, he should answer it with his life. Pomeroy then demanded the keys of the gates, and the possession of the apartments for the accommodation of his soldiers. All expostulations were in vain; and the monks, to avoid worse consequences, reluctantly submitted.

Secure in this retreat, and yet fearful of future vicissitudes, Pomeroy proceeded immediately to fortify the Mount; and having made it nearly impregnable against the arms of all assailants in those days, he continued to live in a state of triumphant splendour, and carefully watched the movement of events, which should place John on the throne of England, from which it was thought that Richard had been hurled for ever. On the destiny which had awaited the imprisoned monarch, fame had circulated many reports of his death; and the credulity of the adverse party had received the tale as an indubitable fact, and all concluded that Richard would visit England no more.

John in the mean time had been pushing his fortune, on the intelligence of his brother's disasters, and was making his way with rapid strides to the throne. The castles of Lancaster, Marlborough, Nottingham, St. Michael's Mount, and other fortresses, had already acknowledged him; and in these he had placed such soldiers and such commanders as were devoted to his interest, and who from his ultimate success expected to obtain considerable reward. But disappointment frequently travels in the rear of hope, and drowns in a tide of sorrow, the joys of expectation. The friends of Richard, although it was confidently asserted that

he was either dead or immured in a dungeon for life, found means to procure his enlargement, after he had been confined fifteen months, by paying for his ransom £100,000. Immediately on his liberation, he returned to London, to behold the vicissitudes which his absence had occasioned, and to change by vigorous exertions the frowning aspect of his affairs.

On his arrival, he found the power which John had acquired, so formidable as to menace his dominions with a speedy subversion. But the measures which Richard adopted were prompt and decisive. In those parts which still adhered to his interest, he raised a numerous army, and proceeded to the reduction of those places which had acknowledged the sovereignty of his formidable rival. These proceedings so intimidated John, that without waiting the issue of a battle, he abandoned his designs; and to shield himself from his brother's vengeance, left the country and took refuge in France. Richard no sooner heard of his departure, than he deprived him of all his possessions in England and Normandy. In this state of exile he continued for some time, and at length joined himself to the French forces, which were to act in hostility to Richard. But at the siege of Verneuil, in Normandy, having more to hope from his brother's clemency than from the success of the French, he quitted their army, and repairing to his brother, threw down his arms, and solicited that mercy which his past conduct had given him but little reason to expect. Richard, with a degree of magnanimity that throws a ray of lustre over his character, received his submission with sincerity, and nobly forgave all that was past; and as a reward for his manly confidence in his generosity, instead of meditating revenge, restored him to those titles and possessions, both in England and Normandy, of which he had been previously deprived.

But notwithstanding the exile of John, and the reconciliation that had taken place between him and his brother Richard, the fortresses which had espoused his cause, refused to submit; and it was not until some considerable time afterwards, that they could be brought to re-acknowledge their legitimate sovereign. Among these was St. Michael's Mount, which Pomeroy commanded; and it is not unlikely that his refusal to surrender, arose not merely from his attachment to John, but an apprehension that his former actions would be reviewed, and that he should be brought to condign punishment, and a disgraceful death.

Richard finding that Pomeroy refused to submit, directed Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, chief justice and lord chancellor of England, and who commanded his forces in the west, to march immediately to St. Michael's Mount, and reduce Pomeroy to his allegiance. Richard Revell, who was then sheriff of Cornwall, was also commanded with his *posse comitatus*, to assist Walter. The

gathering troops hastened to the spot accordingly, and the Cornish Mount was for the first time actually besieged.

Pomeroy, though he had expected to be assailed, and had made preparation for resistance, had not expected to contend with such a formidable army as now surrounded his habitation, so far as the sea would permit. Intimidated at this sight, and equally despairing both of success and mercy, he proceeded to an extremity to which the most disastrous issue could only have led, that of putting a period to his life. But before he executed this rash measure, Mr. Carew informs us, on the authority of some of his posterity, that he made his will, bequeathing a certain portion of his lands to the monks of St. Michael's Mount, and another to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, to pray for his soul, leaving the remainder to descend to his heirs. These preparations being made, he caused a vein to be opened, in consequence of which he bled to death; thus making his bequests valid in law, securing to his heirs the lands which remained unalienated, and escaping the vengeance of an injured and enraged sovereign. On his death the fortress submitted, without resistance, to Hubert Walter, in the year 1196. Of this tragical exit of Pomeroy, Mr. Carew thinks we have no reason to doubt; since Henry de la Pomeroy, one of his descendants at Tregony, held in the days of Henry IV. twelve knights' fees of land in Cornwall.

The fortress having surrendered, Richard restored the monks to the possession of their revenues and their cells. He did not however demolish the fortifications which their deceased defender had raised; but placed a small garrison of soldiers to defend the Mount against any sudden attack of unexpected enemies. These were the first times that the Mount was ever known to be fortified; and this was the first civil commotion in which Cornwall was known to have been engaged, from the period of its being incorporated with England. In this condition this celebrated spot continued from the year 1196 to the year 1471, being manned with carnal and spiritual soldiers; and being transformed "from a temple of peace to a school of Mars. For shortly after the discomfiture of the party of Henry VI. by Edward IV. at Barnet Field, John earl of Oxford, who had made one, and one of the principal on the weaker side, arrived here by shipping, disguised himself, with some of his followers, in pilgrims' habits, therethrough got entrance, mastered the garrison, and seized the place, which thus politicly won, he as valiantly defended, and kept a long time against the king's power, until reasonable conditions swayed him to a surrender."

SECTION II.

History of Flammock's Rebellion, in 1496 *or* 1497. *Total Overthrow of his Forces on Blackheath, and Punishment of the Leaders.*

Towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, Henry VII. was engaged in some unpleasant disturbances with the Scots. This was made by him an ostensible pretext for obtaining a vote of parliament to aid him with pecuniary supplies, in order to reduce them to submission. To obtain this vote was attended with little difficulty; but it was not so easy to raise the money voted for.

The Cornish, who had not yet wholly lost that spirit of daring independence which their British forefathers had transmitted to them, were among the first to inveigh against the heavy impost that was about to be levied, and to resist the efforts that were making by the legal officers to realize the sum, which, on the most rigorous exaction, could not, it has been said, exceed £2,500 as an impost on this county. But it was not altogether against the sum, but the principle on which it was exacted, that the Cornish complained. It was against the furnishing of supplies for the safety of the northern part of the kingdom that they contended; asserting, that, on the present occasion, the northern people were bound by the tenures of their estates to defend themselves, and that the present impost was a daring attempt of the king's ministers to fleece his subjects. Many other parts of the kingdom were equally loud in their exclamations against the tyranny and injustice of the measure, as they thought it; but none were so forward as the Cornish to support their declarations by overt acts of resistance.

The arrival of the collectors of this tax was for them a signal of revolt, for which they had been previously prepared. The report of the collectors was, that they found in Cornwall "a stout, big, and hardy race of men tumultuously assembled;" and inflamed by one Thomas Flammock, a gentleman, and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, or farrier, who seemed ready to lead them on to any desperate enterprise.

Flammock was a descendant of an ancient and wealthy family, whose name has appeared among the principal landholders in the record of 1255. He resided at Bocarne, the seat of his ancestors, near Bodmin; which from this circumstance soon became the head quarters of the insurgents. Being, as Holinshed says, "learned in the law of the realm," he had the address to persuade the people, that the resistance to which he urged them, was not only legal in itself, but was even meritorious; and would ensure for those who engaged in the expeditions which he had concerted, the praises of their countrymen, and the veneration of posterity.

A CORNISH REBEL ARMY UNDER FLAMMOCK AND LORD AUDLEY MARCH TOWARDS LONDON.

The primary motive by which Joseph professed to be actuated, was ambition. He hoped to immortalize his name by his personal exploits, and to transmit it to posterity, encircled with those laurels that bloom around the shades of departed heroes. This was the import of his own declaration, when he was about to expiate his crimes by the forfeiture of his life.

The professed object of their design was to march to London, to insist on the removal of John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Reginald Braye, knight, from the king's council, as being among the most active to levy the tax; and no doubt to insist on a repeal of the tax itself; which they considered as founded on an illegal principle, and as radically unjust. How far they had any secret designs of a still deeper nature in view, it will be difficult to determine. Hals asserts, that the real design of this insurrection was, to depose king Henry, and to set up in his stead Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, sister's son to Edward IV. and the true heir male of the house of York. The party at first amounted to about 3000 men, and these were soon augmented to 6000. They were portioned out under the direction of subordinate leaders; and they had their route marked out with all the order of a regularly appointed and well disciplined army.

From Bodmin they marched towards Launceston, and proceeded through the different stages of their journey, without committing any devastations on private property, or offering insult to any one, unless they were officially connected with the obnoxious tax. Their arms were chiefly bows and arrows, the latter of which are reported to have been full three feet long. Those who could not procure these weapons, carried with them such tools as they had been accustomed to use in their respective professions.

Proceeding onwards through Devon and Somerset, they arrived at Taunton; where finding a commissioner of the odious tax, they put him to death. At Wells they were joined by Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, but restless, vain, and ambitious. To him they resigned the command of their forces, and henceforth he became their general. Headed by him, they published a declaration of their real or pretended grievances, which chiefly applied to the present tax, and the two obnoxious members of the council. Having marched through Wiltshire, Hampshire, and thence into Kent, without opposition, they interpreted the silence of all into an approbation of their proceedings. It has been asserted by some, that a secret promise of assistance had been held out to them, by the inhabitants of Kent; but whatever might have been the ground of their expectations, certain it is that they were totally disappointed. No one joined the party; on the contrary the Earl of Kent, Lord Cobham, Sir John Brook, with several other gentlemen of rank and influence, collected together a body of forces to defeat their designs.

Thus doubly disappointed, in finding hostility where they had expected aid, the whole party were somewhat disconcerted. But having advanced too far to retreat, and unable to proceed in the present direction, they altered their route, to avoid the impending tempest, and encamped on Blackheath, near London.

They had not long been stationed on Blackheath, when they were attacked by Lord Daubeny, the king's general. The conflict was severe and decisive. The rebel army was overthrown with the loss of 2000 men; the king lost only 300. The fugitives, after wandering up and down some time, threw down their arms, and begged for mercy. To those who were thought to have been deluded, the royal clemency was extended; but for all who were found to be either instigators or abettors, nothing but unmitigated punishment remained.

Among these were found Lord Audley, Flammock, and Joseph; and as these were pre-eminent in guilt, they were punished accordingly. Lord Audley was first committed to Newgate, and from thence removed to Tower Hill, in his coat of armour painted on paper, reversed and torn, where he was beheaded. The other two were hung drawn and quartered; and their heads and quarters were fixed up in various parts of London and other places. This event took place, according to Hals, on the 26th of June, 1496; but most others state it to have happened in the following year.

Of the exact number of followers that the rebellious leaders had in their train, various opinions have been entertained. It seems generally allowed, that when they started from Bodmin, their forces amounted to 6000; but in Kent, on which they seem to have placed much reliance, they could not induce any to flock to their standard. The only account of any acquisition made to their forces was that of Lord Audley. It is very improbable that this nobleman should come alone; and it is not unlikely that their numbers were augmented by those turbulent and restless spirits, which every country and climate produce. Carew asserts, that "the lords and commons were gathered to make head against them at Blackheath;" and Goldsmith observes, that the prisoners who were pardoned and dismissed, amounted to 16,000 men.

SECTION III.

Insurrection in Cornwall, raised by Perkin Warbeck, the pretended son of Edward IV. in the year 1497 *or* 1498.

The next insurrection with which the history of Cornwall is disgraced, followed almost immediately after the preceding. This is generally distinguished by the name of Perkin Warbeck's rebellion. Though the fate of this man was notorious,

his birth is involved in much obscurity; and the singular circumstances which marked his pretensions and character, place him among the most extraordinary adventurers that have ever appeared on the stage of history.

He was first ushered into public notice by the old Duchess of Burgundy, as the young Duke of York, who was said to have been murdered in the Tower; but who had actually escaped the hand of the assassin, and now came forward to claim the hereditary rights of his injured family. The report soon gained credit; and the resemblance which his features bore to those of his supposed royal ancestors, gave a sanction to his pretensions which multitudes were unable to resist. In addition to this, his graceful manners, his courtly address and elegant conversation, enabled him to support with dignity the character he had assumed, and to win to his interest many who once viewed him in the light of an impostor.

The ruling party, that opposed his claims, and ridiculed his pretensions, in describing his character and tracing his pedigree, assert, that he was the son of a converted Jew, whose name was Warbeck, who had been in England during the reign of Edward IV.; that this son was born at this time; that his name was Peter; but that in pronunciation it was changed into Peterkin or Perkin; and that his real name was Perkin Warbeck. They however admitted, that, having followed the fortunes of his father, and travelled from place to place for many years, his birth-place was involved in obscurity, and the circumstances attendant on his infancy were thereby rendered almost unknown. But that during these travels, being an intelligent youth, he had acquired that graceful air, that general information, and those easy manners, which he had now made use of to aid his impositions.

The Irish, who had retained a strong attachment to the house of York, hearing that this young prince was still alive, soon gave credit to the tale which common report had circulated, and manifested strong symptoms of espousing his cause. Perkin heard of their intention to favour his designs, and repaired thither in person. He landed at Cork, and immediately assumed the name of Richard Plantagenet. Finding the people disposed to receive him in this character, he soon circulated an interesting detail of strange adventures which had attended his escape from the barbarity of his unnatural uncle. His tale was received with wonder and admiration; and it not only found its way into public and private conversation, but proselyted to his cause some of the first characters in the country.

The king of France, who was at this time engaged in a war with England, on hearing that the young prince was still alive, sent him an invitation to visit his court, no doubt with an intention of making him subservient to his designs, and to bring him on the public stage, to oppose in England the usurpations of his

fortunate rival. On his arrival, he was received with all that attention which the character he had assumed demanded; and without ostentation or vanity, he supported his dignity with such a grace, that few were disposed to question the validity of his claims.

From France his fame soon found its way into England; and so far gained credit, that more than a hundred gentlemen went to Paris to do him homage, and acknowledge him as their legitimate sovereign. Henry, who sat upon the throne of England, was not inattentive to the fluctuation of the public mind, nor ignorant of those who abetted the pretender's cause. Of these many were seized, found guilty of high treason, condemned and executed.

Perkin, relying on his foreign succours and friends in England, attempted to gain a footing on its shores; and for this purpose he reached the coast of Kent; but finding appearances rather unpromising, he steered for Scotland. James, the king of that country, listened to his tale with astonishment; and fully believing his relation, gave him, in order to secure his future alliance, Lady Catherine Gordon in marriage. This lady was eminent for virtue and beauty, and a near relation of James. Thus allied, he resolved to make an attempt on the throne of England. James favoured his designs; and entering this country with a powerful army, proclaimed him as the lawful monarch, whose claims he was determined to support by the sword. But the numerous executions which had already taken place on his account, operated in such a manner, that few were found to espouse his cause. They therefore resolved to repass the Tweed, and wait in Scotland the arrival of more auspicious days. It was to check this daring incursion of the Scots, that Henry had been induced to levy that tax which had created so much ferment in the country, and had led to the insurrection described in the preceding section.

The peace which soon after took place between James and Henry, compelled the pretender to seek a new protector. He again repaired to Ireland, and sought an asylum among the recesses of that unhappy country; but he found the ardour of the inhabitants considerably abated, and varying with his varying fortune. His pretensions however were still believed; but as he was without resources equal to the hazard of his enterprises, they rather approved of his design and wished him success, than promoted his undertaking by any cordial co-operation.

Sequestered among the wilds of Ireland, intelligence reached him that the inhabitants of Cornwall were strongly attached to the house of York; that in the same or the preceding year, they had ventured their lives under Flammock; and although they had been defeated and their leaders executed, the spirit was still unsubdued; that they were ready to renew their former hostility against the house

of Lancaster, and only waited some able commander to direct their movements, and lead them to victory, which their courage would ensure.

Perkin received this information with much satisfaction, and determined to make an immediate expedition into Cornwall. He had at this time four small ships, which were soon equipped; on board of which himself, his lady, a few attendants, and 120 soldiers speedily embarked; and arrived on the Cornish shores in September 1496 or 1497.

The first efforts of Perkin were directed to the Mount, in order to secure it as a place of retreat in case of any sudden disaster. On arriving there, he declared himself to be the true Richard of Shrewsbury, the genuine representative of the house of York. The monks, charmed with this title, admitted him without any resistance, and yielded up the Mount and garrison into his hands. In this place he deposited his lady; and after repairing the fortifications, marched with a small band of soldiers to Bodmin, where he hoped to find many partisans. The fame of his character and pretensions, which had been so generally allowed, drew to his party a vast concourse of people; among whom were many that had escaped punishment through the clemency of Henry, in the former insurrection. Deluded by his eloquence, and flattered by his promises, the credulous Cornish once more enlisted under the banners of an insurgent; and, without money or reward, those domestic crusaders soon swelled his forces to 3000 men. These he divided into regiments, and placed them under the command of experienced officers. These orderly arrangements of his forces augmented his fame, and the hopes of his adherents; and his army soon increased to 6000 well armed and well disciplined soldiers.

Henry, who had more to fear from the plausible pretensions of Perkin, and from the number of proselytes with which many nations in Europe favoured his cause, than he had from his arms, soon learnt with no small degree of uneasiness, that he had landed in Cornwall, was countenanced by the inhabitants, and had collected forces in Bodmin, which had rendered him truly menacing. Alarmed to find this daring rival already established in his territory, he ordered Sir Peter Edgcumbe, sheriff, to raise the people in a body, and give battle to this desperate invader. Accordingly he marched with a numerous army towards Bodmin; where Perkin had made preparations for their reception; and had placed his army in such an advantageous position, that the troops of Edgcumbe, either through terror or attachment to the house of York, gradually departed from the field, and retired to their respective habitations.

The news of this event was received by Perkin's army with enthusiasm. By his confederates and soldiers he was saluted as king of England; his future destiny

was predicted throughout the camp, and his present triumph, which could easily be transferred to the will of heaven, was deemed a sure prognostic of his right to the throne. From the camp this flame of exultation spread to the town; and in several places in Bodmin he was proclaimed king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, amidst the shouts of an assembled populace, who all hailed him by the name of Richard the fourth.

Having been thus far successful in Cornwall, he marched with a well disciplined army of 6000 men into Devonshire, where he augmented his forces with numerous volunteers. The sheriff of Devon, James Chudleigh, Esq. attempted in vain to check his progress; and Perkin continued his march until he arrived at Exeter, before the gates of which he pitched his camp, and commanded the inhabitants to surrender. The citizens received his summons with contempt, and prepared to resist him. Perkin provoked at their defiance, commanded his soldiers to enter the city by force; and several efforts were accordingly made; but they were always repulsed by the valour of the citizens with considerable loss.

Henry directed Lord Daubeny to march immediately with an army to the relief of Exeter; but before they could arrive, the gentlemen of Devonshire raised a powerful army, which they conducted towards the city. These vigorous measures intimidated the troops of Perkin; which their leader perceiving, raised the siege, and retired to Taunton, expecting to recruit his forces in Somersetshire. But on the contrary many deserted him; and to complete his disasters, he received certain information, that Henry with a powerful army was marching to give him battle.

Overwhelmed with these presages of approaching misfortune, Perkin thought it prudent to provide for his own safety, leaving his soldiers to shift for themselves. He accordingly fled to the abbey of Beaulieu, in Southampton, where he took refuge. Henry immediately dispatched a body of troops to the abbey, which they surrounded, and compelled Perkin to submit to the king's mercy; from whence he was committed prisoner to the Tower of London. In his way thither he was conducted through the streets in a kind of mock triumph, amidst the shouts and derision of the populace. But under these insults he preserved his character in the most dignified manner.

His adherents were treated with more compassion than they could expect. A few of the most active leaders were capitally punished; but all besides received the royal pardon. His lady, Catherine Gordon, was fetched from St. Michael's Mount by Lord Daubeny, and brought before Henry; who pitying her condition, and charmed with her youth and beauty, provided for her support during her life.

To complete the degradation of Perkin, he was compelled to sign a confession of his former life and impositions; which was printed and circulated throughout

the nation. But this confession was so inconsistent and contradictory, that instead of unravelling the mystery of his birth and pretensions, it left his history more involved in doubt than it had been before. Nothing hitherto discovered, has tended to remove the cloud; so that the circumstances attendant on his birth, and the reality of his pretensions, continue among the problems of state, without any solution, even to the present day.

Henry, though apparently unwilling to take away his life, commanded Perkin into close custody, and appointed guards to watch his conduct and secure his person. But he found means either to elude their vigilance, or to subdue their fidelity; and escaping from confinement, he fled to the priory of Sheen, near Richmond. He was again discovered; but was sereened from capital punishment by the sacred privilege of the place. The prior used all his influence to obtain the king's pardon for him; but the only conditions on which Henry would grant his request, were, that Perkin should sit in the stocks a whole day before the door of Westminster Hall; and afterwards at Cheapside; he should there openly declare, read, and give manuscripts under his hand, the confession which had been formerly published in his name, and dispersed throughout the nation. In addition to this, he was to proclaim his parentage, the place of his birth, the progress of his life, to avow that he was a cheat and an impostor, and to explain by what ways and means he had been seduced into those treasonable and bloody attempts and practices. And finally, he was to give distinct replies to such questions as might be proposed by officers appointed for that purpose. On these conditions Perkin once more accepted life, and threw himself on the king's mercy; and after undergoing his punishment, he was again committed to the Tower, in which it was now presumed he would be securely confined. But nothing was proof against his ingenuity and address. He had not been long imprisoned, before he found means to gain the confidence of four servants of the lieutenant of the Tower. Through these he opened a correspondence with the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, who had been a prisoner there many years. In this correspondence they agreed with each other on a plan for their escape. Perkin is represented as having tampered with the servants, to induce them to murder the lieutenant, and to permit the keys to fall into their hands, that they might provide for their own safety by flight. To this correspondence Henry is said to have been privy; and this furnished him with a favourable pretext for taking away their lives. Perkin was accordingly tried at Westminster; and being convicted on the evidence of the servants, was hanged at Tyburn, with John Walter, who had formerly been mayor of Cork, and had adhered to Perkin's interests through all the vicissitudes of his fortune.

Thus ended the days of this singular adventurer, and thus terminated the insurrection which his fair pretences contrived to raise in Cornwall. The fate of Perkin Warbeck, in conjunction with some other unpopular deeds, drew upon Henry the general displeasure of the whole nation, and created such an aversion to his government, that he was obliged to have recourse to contemptible subterfuges to shield himself from public odium.

Notwithstanding the confessions and declarations extorted from Perkin as the condition of his life, the unprejudiced part of the nation were by no means satisfied that he was an impostor. His claims and pretensions are defended with great strength of argument by Horace Walpole and Hume. And although both may have advanced on some occasions certain positions which cannot be demonstrated by unequivocal proof, this cannot invalidate their arguments where the evidence is clear. The shadows which conceal this fact, are growing more and more dense by the lapse of time; and we must be content to consign it over to the scrutinizing discernment of heaven.

SECTION IV.

Arundel's Rebellion, in the year 1549.—*Siege of Exeter.—Overthrow of the Rebel Army; Fate of the Leaders; Wanton Inhumanity, and miserable Death of Sir Anthony Kingston.*

If the private history of every family could be traced through a long succession of ages, we should find but few, however obscure, that have not been honoured with the dignified exploits of some individual branches; and but few, however exalted, that have not been dishonoured with the misconduct of some of its members. Such variations naturally flow from the fluctuation of things, the mutability of all human affairs, and the complicated character of man. It is fortunate, perhaps, for communities, that the greater part of domestic history is buried in the wrecks of time, too deeply to be recovered, since among those fragments that have been preserved, we too often discover—

> "What better far to oblivion were consign'd,
> Is hung on high to poison half mankind."

Of the truth of these remarks, the names which must appear before us in this section, will furnish us with some painful illustrations.

We have already noticed the strong aversion which the Cornish manifested to the daring impositions of papal innovations, on former occasions; with what tenacity they adhered to the more simple worship which they had derived from the

Christian source when it was less corrupted; and with what reluctance they at last submitted to an authority which they secretly despised. Time however, produces revolutions in the mental, as well as in the civil world; and in too many instances, we fondly cherish what we once detested with the utmost sincerity; so that even the most palpable impositions that ever deceived mankind—

"We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

This was the case with the inhabitants of Cornwall. The first Christians had submitted to the papal authority with indignation; but their degenerate sons had been so familiarized to their chains, that when an attempt was made to take them off, they thought their rights invaded, committed murder in their defence, and even proceeded to rebel against the established civil authority.

When the abbey at St. Michael's Mount was dissolved by Henry VIII. in the year 1533, the revenues and government of this celebrated fortress were given by the king to Humphrey Arundel, Esq. of the Lanherne family, who continued to enjoy the same without any interruption, until the year 1549; when Edward VI. attempting to introduce some alterations in the established modes of worship, occasioned the insurrection which followed, and of which Arundel became the principal leader.

Among the injunctions set forth by Edward, there was one which directed that all images in churches should be destroyed, as articles of superstition. That all preachers should endeavour to dissuade the people from praying to saints, or for the dead; and from the use of beads, ashes, processions, masses, or dirges, and against praying to God in public in an unknown tongue. And lest the preachers themselves should not be disposed to carry this injunction into effect, homilies were made for the purpose, and appointed to be read in all churches throughout the realm. Commissioners also were directed to visit the various churches, to see that the regulations which the law enjoined, were carefully observed.

Pursuant to this injunction, as a Mr. Body, a commissioner for Cornwall, was inspecting the church at Helston, and demolishing some images which remained, one Kilter, or Killtor, of St. Keverne, in company with a priest, stabbed him with a knife, of which he instantly died. The assassin was taken into custody, and sent to London; and being tried and found guilty at Westminster Hall, was executed at Smithfield. This was a prelude to a general insurrection. The people assembled together in a riotous manner; and instigated by their priests, committed many outrages. In vain the magistrates interfered, and committed some of the most forward to gaol. At length Humphrey Arundel, Esq. the governor and proprietor

of St. Michael's Mount, openly declared himself in favour of the insurgents, and boldly erected the standard of rebellion.

The rebels thus countenanced and patronized, soon increased in number, and drew into the destructive vortex many gentlemen who had previously hesitated in their determination. The rebel army repaired to Bodmin, to marshal their forces, to digest some plan for their future conduct, and to give some specific form to the grievances which had induced them to resort to these desperate measures.

Arundel had no sooner left his citadel at the Mount, than it was seized by several gentlemen, who carried their families thither, and held it in full possession. But he sent a detachment from his army, which soon dispossessed them, and retook the Mount, which was considered by the army as an event of great importance. To combine together all the power which ignorance and superstition could bestow, they carried with them in a cart, all the trumpery which was necessary to ensure success. Placed under a sacred canopy, they had a vessel containing the Romish host, or sacramental body of Christ. Besides this, they had crosses, candlesticks, holy bread and water, and amulets to preserve them from the power of devils, and the weapons of the adverse party. Of these valuables a representation was painted on their banners, while the realities were lodged within the camp with the greatest solemnity; and this holy cart-load was conducted from place to place, to co-operate in their designs, and to ensure perpetual victory.

The multitude, dazzled with the piety of rebellion, rallied round the standard of Arundel in great numbers; and so far augmented his forces, that Job Militon, Esq. then sheriff of the county, could not collect a sufficient force to meet them in arms. This circumstance gave them an opportunity to reflect on the grievances of which they had to complain, and to give a specific form to those redresses which they required; so that in the eyes of mankind they might justify themselves for the desperate measures to which they had resorted. But the council consisting of persons of all professions and degrees, made different propositions; and could agree in nothing but attempting the destruction of all the existing authorities. Some wished to abolish the justices of the peace, because they were generally ignorant of the laws, and could not construe a Latin bill of indictment, without the assistance of the clerk of the peace; who, with other attornies, imposed upon the people an erroneous sense and judgment. Others insisted, that they would have neither lawyers nor attornies; for that the one imposed upon the people by giving wrong advice and counsel, and the other by making out enormous bills of costs. Others would have no court-leets or court-barons; for the expence of prosecuting an action in them was frequently more than the sum to be recovered. But it was

generally agreed among them, that no inclosures should be left standing, but that all lands should be enjoyed in common. Such was the progress of subversion! But what offices should be substituted instead of those they intended to abolish, were points on which they could not decide. However, the priests, rectors, vicars, and curates, assisted by the priors, monks, friars, and other dissolved collegiates, contrived to frame the seven following articles, which they addressed to the king; declaring that if these were complied with, their bodies, arms, and property, should be at his disposal.—1. That curates should administer baptism at all times of need, as well week-days as holidays.—2. That their children might be confirmed by the bishop.—3. That mass might be celebrated, no man communicating with the priest.—4. That they might have reservation of the Lord's body in churches.—5. That they might have holy bread and water, in remembrance of Christ's body and blood.—6. That priests might be unmarried.—7. That the six articles set forth by Henry VIII. might be continued at least until the king came of age.*

To each of these articles the king so far condescended, as to give a specific reply in writing; but instead of complying with what they required, he reminded them of the responsibility of their situation, by offering a general pardon to all who would lay down their arms. But these overtures only inflamed the insurgents, and brought them to a crisis that led them to their fate.

Determined to lose no more time, Arundel began his march towards Devonshire. But prior to leaving the county, he proceeded to Trematon Castle, and began his career by committing outrages, which Carew thus describes:—"At the last Cornish commotion, Sir Richard Grenville the elder, did with his lady and followers, put themselves into this castle, and there for a while endured the rebels' siege, encamped in three places against it, who wanting great ordnance could have wrought the besieged small scathe, had his friends or enemies kept faith and promise. But some of those within, slipping by night over the walls with their bodies after their hearts, and those without mingling humble entreatings with rude menaces, he was hereby won to issue forth at a postern gate for parley. The while a part of those rake-hells, not knowing what honesty, and far less how much the word of a soldier imported, stepped between him and home, laid hold on his aged unwieldy body, and threatened to leave it lifeless if the enclosed did not leave their resistance.

* These six articles, which were invented by Bishop Gardiner, were as follow:—1. That the body of Christ is really present in the Sacrament after consecration.—2. That the Sacrament cannot be truly administered under both kinds.—3. That priests entered into holy orders might not marry.—4. That the vows of chastity, entered into upon mature deliberation, were to be kept.—5. That private masses were not to be omitted.—6. That auricular confession was necessary in the church of God.

So prosecuting their first treachery against the prince with suitable actions towards his subjects, they seized on the castle, and exercised the uttermost of their barbarity, death excepted, on the surprised prisoners. The seely gentlewomen, without regard to sex or shame, were stripped from their apparel to their very smocks, and some of their fingers broken, to pluck away their rings; and Sir Richard himself made an exchange from Trematon Castle to that of Launceston, with the jail to boot."

On leaving Trematon, and marching into Devonshire, he found Sir Peter Carew, with his posse comitatus, ready to obstruct his passage. But when he saw the order and discipline which prevailed in Arundel's army, and that it consisted of 6000 effective men, he withdrew his forces, and permitted them to march without molestation through the heart of the country to Exeter; the citizens of which, hearing of their approach, had put themselves in a posture of defence. Arundel summoned the inhabitants to deliver the town and castle into his hands; and on receiving a positive refusal, he ordered his soldiers to set fire to the gates of the city. But the citizens counteracted his design by constantly supplying the fire in the inside with combustible matter, until they had raised a half moon within the walls; upon which, when the rebels attempted to enter, they were instantly shot or cut to pieces. Being thus obstructed at the gates, they next proceeded to undermine the walls, and blow them up with gunpowder. But this also was defeated by the citizens, who contrived to turn water into their recesses where the barrels were lodged, so that the powder being wet, would either not take fire, or not do any execution.

The king being informed of these circumstances, directed Lord Russel to raise forces, and march immediately to the relief of the city. He accordingly marched towards Exeter; but hearing on his way that the rebel army amounted to 10,000 effective men, he hesitated to proceed, until he had procured a reinforcement. On the arrival of Lord Grey with additional forces, he proceeded on his march, and on the way had several sharp conflicts with detachments from Arundel's army with various success. He however, after much fatigue and opposition, compelled the rebels to raise the siege, and entered the city with relief, on the 6th of August, 1549, after it had sustained a siege of thirty-two days. During this time the inhabitants had suffered incredible hardships from famine, which had compelled them to eat their horses, and to make their bread of bran. Edward, to reward their loyalty and valour, bestowed upon the city the manor of Exeyland, which was afterwards sold to raise money for making the river Exe navigable.

After raising the siege, in which he lost about 1000 men, Arundel rallied his forces, and attacked the king's army, and fought with such desperate resolution,

that the greatest part of the rebels were killed on the spot; many threw down their arms, and begged for mercy; while such as were able, fled to their respective homes. Arundel and some of his principal officers were taken prisoners and sent to London; where they were executed as rebels. A similar fate (attended with circumstances of wanton barbarity, which half tempts us to transfer the indignant feelings which rebellion excites, from the rebels to those who punished them,) soon overtook in Cornwall the culprits who had participated in their leaders' guilt. Of the holy cart, which contained the precious trumpery of infallibility, the destiny is not recorded.

The rebel army being thus dispersed, and its leaders executed, the sword of vengeance was directed to pursue the fugitives in their various retreats. Sir Anthony Kingston, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, was selected as a person fully qualified for this office, and he was made provost-marshal accordingly. Thus authorized, he was sent into the west to execute such rebels as were already made prisoners, or such as he could make, either in Devon or Cornwall, together with all such as he could discover, who had aided or abetted in the late rebellion.

"This Sir Anthony Kingston was provost-marshal of the king's army, that defeated the rebels in Devonshire in the reign of Edward VI.; and he was esteemed by many cruel and barbarous in his executions. One Boyer, mayor of Bodmyn in Cornwall, was observed to be among the seditious; but he was forced to it, as were many others. The marshal wrote him a letter, that he would dine with him at his house upon a day which he appointed; the mayor seemed glad, and made for him the best provision that he could. Upon the day he came, and a great company with him; and was received with great ceremony. A little before dinner he took the mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the town, and therefore required him that a pair of gallows should be made and erected against the time that dinner should end. The mayor was diligent to fulfil his command, and no sooner was dinner ended, but he demanded of the mayor whether the work was finished. The mayor answered that all was ready. I pray you, says the provost, bring me to the place; and therewith took him friendly, and beholding the gallows, he asked the mayor whether he thought them to be strong enough? Yes, said the mayor, doubtless they are. Well, said the provost, get up speedily; for they are prepared for you. I hope, answered the mayor, you mean not as you speak. In faith, saith the provost, there is no remedy; for you have been a busy rebel; and so he presently hung him up.

"Near the said place dwelt a miller, who had been a busy actor in that rebellion; and fearing the coming of the provost-marshal, told his servant that he had occasion to go from home; and therefore told him if any one should inquire after the

miller, that he should say that he was the miller, and so he had been for three years before. So when the provost came and called for the miller, his servant came forth, and said that he was the man. The provost demanded how long he had kept the mill? These three years, answered the servant. Then the provost commanded his men to seize him, and to hang him on the next tree: then the fellow cried out that he was not the miller, but the miller's man. Nay, sir, said the provost, I will take thee to thy word; if thou art the miller, thou art a busy knave; if thou art not, thou art a false lying knave; whatsoever thou art, thou shalt be hanged. When others told him, that the fellow was but the miller's man; what then, said he, could he ever have done his master better service, than to hang for him? and so without more ado he was dispatched."*

Besides the above, Hals asserts, that he hanged one Glevyan, in St. Columb, at the sign post of the tavern door, and with so much expedition did he cause the execution of the culprit to follow the arrest, that on the present occasion he prevented his friends from interceding for mercy. As the crime of this man was not thought to be capital, his wife's friends advised her to hasten to the town, and beg his life of the provost. This expedition she undertook; but according to tradition, she spent so much time in putting on her French hood, which happened then to be in fashion, that she might appear a more interesting petitioner, that her husband was executed before her arrival. In a similar manner he executed one John Payne, who was mayor of St. Ives, on a gallows erected in the middle of the town, and many others in different parts of Cornwall, who had been actors or promoters of this rebellion.†

But the time was near at hand when Sir Anthony Kingston was to want that mercy which he had refused to others; though he was not doomed to feel the pangs of sportive inhumanity, to augment the agonies of death. He was compelled to despair of obtaining compassion, and to feel the horror of appearing before a tribunal, which remorse, and a consciousness of guilt had armed with accumulated terrors.

"In the year 1555, the 3d of Queen Mary, there was a parliament called, and this Sir Anthony Kingston was, says Dr. Burnet, a great stickler in it; and it must be for the Protestant religion against the court, seeing that he hanged up so many in king Edward's time, for their rising in rebellion for their old religion. And being a bold daring man, he one day during the time of the sitting of parliament, took away the keys of the house from the sergeant, which it seems was not displeasing to the major part of the house, since they did nothing upon it. But

* Baker's Chronicle, p. 305.

† Hals's MSS. *W.* pp. 53, 57.

the day before the parliament was dissolved, he was sent to the Tower, on the 9th of December, and lay there till the 23d of that month, and then he submitted, and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was the next year accused to have engaged in a design, with some others, to have robbed the exchequer of £50,000; whereupon six of the confederates were executed for felony, and Sir Anthony died in his way to London from Devonshire, as they were bringing him up; and if he had not, he would, in all probability, have been served in the same manner as he served the mayor of Bodmin, the miller, and many others."

On these latter circumstances Hals observes as follows:—"In the reign of queen Mary, being detected with several others, of a design to rob the exchequer, though he made his escape and fled into his own country, yet there he was apprehended, and taken into custody by a messenger, who was bringing him up to London, in order to have justice done upon him for his crime; but he being conscious of his guilt, and despairing of pardon, so effectually poisoned himself, without having the reward of his desert, the girt of an halter." Such was the fate of this man, who had not humanity enough in his character, to

> ——————— "let the traitors die!
> But in their deaths remember they are men."

The true English judge delivers the sentence of the law, which he is compelled to pronounce, with the most impressive solemnity; and pities those whom he condemns to die. An assassin may laugh in the midst of murder; but few can practise the deliberate barbarity of Sir Anthony Kingston.

SECTION V.

Early Transactions of the Civil War in Cornwall.—Progress of Commotions.—Cornish Valour.—Letter of Thanks.—Vicissitudes of the War.—Escape of Essex, and Capitulation of his Army.—Retreat of Charles.—Arrival of Fairfax; and ruin of the Royal Cause.

From these local commotions, in which Cornwall has had the dishonour of erecting the standard of rebellion, we must turn to a revolt of a more public and of a more serious nature, in which the kingdom was involved; and view this county as exhibiting the theatre of a civil war. The active part which the inhabitants bore in the unhappy contest between Charles and his parliament, is indeed rather of an indefinite complexion; so that we must not so much expect

to find a developement of individual and local character, as a train of events which these unfortunate transactions called into existence.

In the midst of that general ferment which prevailed throughout the nation, previous to the commencement of the civil war, Cornwall presented a petition to the house of commons, soliciting a redress of grievances. Among these grievances the petition set forth, that the castles of St. Mawes and Pendennis were much decayed in their fortifications; and that the harbours of Fowey and Helford had been totally neglected, and left without any means of defence. The petitioners therefore prayed, that the former might be speedily repaired, and that the value of the latter might be taken into consideration; that such measures might be adopted as would put the county into a respectable state of defence; and that these harbours might be applied to purposes for which nature had so evidently and so eminently designed them. But affairs of greater moment at this period distracted the British senate, so that no time was left for them to regard these subordinate requests.

When the torch of war was lighted up, the glimmering of its flame soon reached Cornwall; and in an early stage of the commotions, Sir Richard Buller of Morval, who was member for the county, and Sir Alexander Carew of Antony, both active committee-men, espoused the parliamentary interest. These gentlemen soon found means to place garrisons in Launceston and Saltash; and so far to secure the eastern part of the county, that the parliament calculated upon meeting with little opposition to their measures from any fortress except Pendennis Castle, which was then governed by Sir Nicholas Slanning, who was well known to be in the interest of the king.

Charles being aware of the situation of Cornwall, contrived to detach from the Marquis of Hertford, who was about to repair to Wales, about 150 horse, and to send them into Cornwall, under the command of Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir John Berkeley, to revive the spirits of the royalists, and to watch the movements of the adverse party. On their arrival, they were quickly joined by Sir Bevil Grenville, who accompanied them to Truro. The open espousal of the royal cause by these gentlemen, gave great offence to the hostile party; but how to find revenge without coming to an open rupture, and driving them from the county by force, was a difficult point to act upon. At length they thought upon the expedient of viewing Hopton and Berkeley in the light of suspicious strangers, who had entered the county with a menacing appearance. They accordingly, at the Michaelmas quarter sessions, 1642, presented them as "certain persons unknown, who had lately come into the county with an armed force, against the statutes made for the preservation

of the public peace." Hopton however, was prepared to meet this charge; and producing his commission, they found that he was actually appointed to act as lieutenant-general of all the horse in the west. He was therefore acquitted of any illegal proceedings, and was found to be possessed of more real authority than those who presumed to question him.

While these affairs were transacting in Truro, Carew and Buller had assembled the parliamentary forces at Launceston, with an intent to cut off his retreat. Hopton therefore preferred a contrary indictment against them, in which he charged them with being a rout and an unlawful assembly. This bill was soon found by the grand jury, and an order of sessions was instantly made out for calling forth the posse comitatus, to assist in dispersing them. Cornwall, which was at this time well affected to the royal cause, quickly furnished 3000 men, who, under the command of Hopton, marched immediately to Launceston. On their arrival it was abandoned by Sir Richard Buller, and taken possession of by the troops of Sir Ralph. The fate of Saltash soon followed that of Launceston, and without a blow put the king's party into the full possession of Cornwall. In the same year, 1642, Lord Mohun, who had hitherto watched the movements of both parties without declaring for either, joined himself to the king's party; and, with Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley, and Colonel Ashburnham, was appointed to the supreme command of all the royal forces in Cornwall.

The parliament, on hearing that affairs in Cornwall had taken an unexpected turn to their disadvantage, immediately ordered their troops, which were scattered in Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, to march immediately into Devonshire, to join those in that county, to repel the incursions of the king's forces, and to proceed with all speed across the Tamar, to recover in Cornwall what they conceived they had lost. The command of the parliamentary troops was given to General Ruthen, governor of Plymouth. They crossed the Tamar about six miles above Saltash, and marching immediately to Liskeard, took possession of the town.

The royalists, who were now much inferior in numbers, on the approach of Ruthen, retired to Bodmin to recruit their forces. This they shortly accomplished by some trained bands, who had been summoned to repair thither to meet the gathering storm. The army thus recruited, Hopton, who was chosen general in chief for the day, directed their march towards Liskeard; but on their way thither, they found the parliamentary army drawn up on Bradock Downs, and waiting their arrival. A battle instantly ensued; which, after a formidable resistance on the part of Ruthen, finally terminated in favour of the royalists, on the 19th of January, 1643. Ruthen and his vanquished followers fled with precipitation to

Saltash, without attempting to defend Liskeard, which was accordingly retaken on the same day.

To secure to themselves a fortress on the western side of the Tamar, Ruthen proceeded to fortify Saltash with much expedition. But Hopton and Mohun pursued him closely with the principal part of the army, while Berkeley and Ashburnham proceeded to attack another parliamentary force, which was at that time in Tavistock. Saltash was taken by assault; but Ruthen escaped by water, and reached Plymouth in safety, and once more left Cornwall in the possession of the royalists. After these transactions, a proposition was made by some gentlemen of Cornwall, who were favourable to the parliamentary cause, to secure the peace of these two counties. To this the contending parties acceded; and both ratified it by the most solemn oaths. This act of accommodation was however nullified by parliament, and both counties were again destined to be drenched with the blood of their inhabitants. On the 11th of March, 1643, an order was issued for Messrs. Nicolls and Prideaux, two gentlemen of Cornwall, to repair to this county, to declare the intentions of parliament; and although no actual hostilities took place for some months afterwards, the return of war was again anticipated, and preparations were made accordingly. The troops of Charles had at this time established their head-quarters at Launceston; and in the beginning of May, General Chudleigh with a strong detachment of the parliamentary forces, advanced to dislodge them. The royalists not being prepared for so unexpected an onset, suffered considerably at first from the violence of the attack; but recovering, they defended themselves with so much bravery, that they compelled their assailants to retreat into Devonshire. The parliament hearing of the disasters of their troops, directed the Earl of Stamford to march into the northern parts of Cornwall, in which the principal number of their adherents resided, to muster all their forces, and make another effort for the recovery of the county.

On his arrival, he encamped his army on a steep hill, in the vicinity of Stratton; and, as the head-quarters of the royalists were still at Launceston, and he had reason to apprehend that more forces might join them from the west, he detached Chudleigh with a large party of horse to take Bodmin by surprise, in order that the sheriff might be prevented from conducting the trained bands under his command to Launceston, to assist the royal cause.

The royalists in Launceston were at this time inferior in numbers to their antagonists; but relying on their own valour, and despairing of any further succours, they determined to advance and give them battle. Accordingly, on the 15th of May, they took their position within a mile of the hostile army; and early

the ensuing morning, having divided their whole force into four detachments, they attempted the hill, on the summit of which their enemies were stationed; and, pressing hard on every side, so distracted their attention, that they gained the eminence, and obtained a complete victory. Chudleigh was taken prisoner in this engagement; but Earl Stamford escaped to Exeter. At the commencement of this battle the parliamentary forces were more than double those of the royalists in number; they had also the advantage of the hill. This was considered one of the most brilliant achievements that crowned the arms of the royalists during the unhappy war. Charles was so deeply sensible of this fact, that he created Sir Ralph Lord Hopton of Stratton; and what is still more remarkable, the services which were thus rendered to the royal cause, were remembered by Charles II.; who, after his restoration, distinguished Sir John Berkeley with the same mark of hard-earned honour.

In consequence of this victory, the whole of the parliamentary stores, camp equipage, provisions, baggage, ordnance, ammunition, a great number of prisoners, with the undisputed dominion of Cornwall, fell into the hands of the royalists; who placed garrisons in Saltash and Millbrook, and proceeded with their troops to prosecute the war in other counties, taking with them several volunteer companies that had been raised in Cornwall, and placed under the command of Cornish officers, whose names will be remembered with veneration while the history of these transactions remain on our national records.

In Somersetshire the Cornish conducted themselves with such decorum, and behaved with such persevering valour, as shed a new lustre on the honour they had gained in their native county. At the battle of Lansdowne and the siege of Bristol they reaped fresh laurels; but their joys of victory were damped at the former place by the loss of Sir Bevil Grenville, and at the latter they had to mourn over Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel John Trevanion, the remembrance of whose courage acted as a stimulus to the survivors. These heroes had raised companies of volunteers among the Cornish, when Sir Ralph Hopton first came into the county; and placing themselves at their head, they conducted them to various victories in the royal cause. These successes, in conjunction with other evidences of loyal attachment, drew from Charles a tribute of acknowledgment, when he had nothing but gratitude to bestow.*

* "*C. R.* *To the Inhabitants of the County of Cornwall.*

"We are so highly sensible of the merit of our county of Cornwall, of their zeal for the defence of our person, and the just rights of our crown, in a time when we could contribute so little to our own defence, or to their assistance; in a time when not only no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatened

A copy of this letter is still preserved in many of the Cornish churches, painted in general in black letter on a large board, and exposed in some conspicuous place. It is to be seen in St. Austell, St. Mewan, Breage, Sithney, and in numerous other churches; particularly at Stratton and Poughill, which lie in the vicinity of these scenes of victory, which thus called it into existence.

The defeat of the parliamentary forces was so decisive in the memorable battle near Stratton, that the war was driven for several months from the county. But as the royal cause was less successful in other parts of the kingdom, the tide of fluctuating events once more brought it to our doors. In July 1644, the queen sought an asylum in Pendennis Castle; in which place she continued until the posture of affairs rendered it necessary for her to embark for France.

Scarcely had the queen reached Pendennis Castle, when the Earl of Essex, with a strong parliamentary army, marched into Cornwall, to dispute its dominion with the bold assertors of the royal cause. Having passed the Tamar, and driven from its banks a party under Sir Richard Grenville, who was stationed to defend the pass, he soon made himself master of Launceston and Saltash. And finding nothing to oppose his progress, after taking Sir Richard Grenville's house by storm, which had been garrisoned for the king, he marched to Bodmin; and, taking possession of this town, proceeded to Lostwithiel and Fowey, where he fixed his head-quarters; and erecting the parliamentary standard, summoned the people to repair to his assistance. In this situation the eastern part of Cornwall fell immediately under his direction; and spreading his troops over Bradock Downs, he occasionally took up his personal residence at Lanhydrock House, which then belonged to Lord Robarts, who was an officer in his army.

Sir Richard Grenville, who had besieged Plymouth prior to the arrival of Essex, but had retired across the Tamar on his approach, permitted a skirmish to take

---

to obedience and loyalty; of their great and eminent courage and patience, in their indefatigable prosecution of their great work against so potent an enemy, backed with so strong, rich, and populous cities, and so plentifully furnished and supplied with men, arms, money, ammunition, and provisions of all kinds; and of the wonderful success with which it pleased Almighty God (though with the loss of some most eminent persons who shall never be forgotten by us) to reward their loyalty and patience by many strange victories over their and our enemies, in despight of all human probability, and all imaginable disadvantages; that as we cannot be forgetful of so great desert, so we cannot but desire to publish it to all the world, and perpetuate to all time the memory of their merits, and of our acceptance of the same; and to that end, we do hereby render our royal thanks to that our county, in the most public and lasting manner we can devise, commanding copies hereof to be printed and published, and one of them to be read in every church and chapel therein, and to be kept for ever as a record of the same; that as long as the history of these times and of this nation shall continue, the memory of how much that county hath merited from us and our crown, may be derived with it to posterity.

"*Given at our Camp at Sudeley Castle, the 10th day of September*, 1643."

place between his troops and Lord Robarts's brigade; but this brigade being defeated, he retired to Truro, to avoid the fury of Essex, which had been roused by this circumstance. In this place he was exposed to many difficulties, and his troops suffered much hardship, from the peril of their situation, and from the detachments of horse which were sent against him by Essex.

While these transactions were taking place, the king, at the head of his principal army, was in Somersetshire. But he no sooner learnt the menacing position which the army of Essex had assumed, and the dangerous situation into which the troops of Sir Richard Grenville were brought in Cornwall, than he quitted his station, and marched immediately to relieve them, by giving Essex battle. He accordingly entered Cornwall in the month of August, at Polston Bridge, from whence he advanced to Launceston. The first night he slept at Trecarrel, the house of Mr. Manaton, in the parish of Lezant, encamping his army around him in the fields. The next day he drew up his army on Carraton Downs, in the parish of Linkinhorne. Here he was joined by the army of Prince Maurice; and thus strengthened he marched to Liskeard, where he raised his standard, and invited the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent country to rally round it.

The hostile armies were now in the vicinity of each other, and both were making preparations for a decisive blow. Boconnoc House, the seat of Lord Mohun, was then in the possession of the parliamentary officers, several of whom had been invited to dine there on an approaching day. Intelligence of this circumstance was communicated to the king by some of the country people who had espoused his cause, and he resolved to turn the information to his own advantage. When the day arrived, he dispatched a party of horse, which, surrounding the house, made them all prisoners, except one, who made his escape, and carried them in triumph to the king's head-quarters at Liskeard.

Animated with these successes, which were thought to be the harbingers of a more extensive victory, the king wrote a letter to Essex, with an intent to detach him if possible from the interests of parliament; but Essex was not to be corrupted. The king therefore advanced from Liskeard on the 8th of August, and encamped with his army on Pinnock or Bradock Downs, which, though now divided by some enclosures, then formed only one extended waste. On this occasion, he is said to have pitched his camp on that very spot where Ruthen had been defeated by the Cornish in 1643. The troops of Essex at this time lay encamped on the east of Lostwithiel; all the river and the harbour of Fowey were in his possession; and every pass was guarded with detachments either of his horse or foot. In this state the armies remained for several days, watching each other's movements, expecting a decisive action every hour to take place.

COMBAT BETWEEN TWO SELECT PARTIES OF THE ROYAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ARMY.

From this camp the king sent another letter to the Earl of Essex, the design of which seems to have been to tamper with him, under a pretence of treating for a general peace; but to this letter Essex returned no answer. On finding this attempt ineffectual, he sent another, in the name of the officers of his army, to which Essex replied, that he could not enter into any such negociations as they had proposed, without violating that trust which parliament had reposed in him. When Sir Richard Grenville found the king extending his lines within sight of those of Essex, he attempted to join him. A sharp skirmish took place at Bodmin between his troops and a detachment of parliamentary horse, which terminated in favour of Sir Richard. From Bodmin he marched to Lanhydrock, and Respryn Bridge, of both of which he took immediate possession, without any opposition. On the 13th, while the troops of Essex were held in readiness to repel any attack which the king might be disposed to make, Sir Richard Grenville directed his course towards St. Veep, and soon made himself master of the pass, of the ford below it, and of Hall House, which lay nearly opposite to Fowey, then belonging to Lord Mohun. A fort which lay below soon surrendered, and the whole harbour fell into the hands of the royalists. These circumstances, which were highly favourable to the king, were equally disadvantageous to the troops of Essex, who now began to be hemmed in on every side. Many skirmishes daily took place; the most remarkable of which was that between Colonel Digby for the king, and Colonel Straughan for the parliament; each of whom headed a select party, who, prodigal of life, proceeded deliberately to encounter each other. Straughan's troop consisted of a hundred young men from 16 to 20 years of age. This troop was led forth on Bradock or St. Winnow Downs, by Straughan in person, who had nothing but a hat on his head, and on his body a shirt. This party appeared for some time in sight of both armies, giving defiance to a like number of royalists. Colonel Digby, who heard this challenge with indignation, offered to place himself at the head of the party that should volunteer their services for the encounter. Digby's troop advanced towards Straughan's with impetuosity, and began the attack by discharging their pistols, which through eagerness and distance, did little or no execution. Straughan's party immediately rushed on them, and by discharging their pistols full in their faces, killed or wounded the greater part of them. "This I was told," says Mr. Hals, "by one Mr. William May, a gentleman who was one of Digby's troop, and sorely wounded in this battle; the marks of which, through his hands, arms, and legs, were visible to a large degree, though cured, to his dying day, 1672. And much the like account I had of this battle or combat, from Mr. William Upcott, of Truro, and Mr. Joseph Upcott, of Morvel, brothers, who were parcel of Straughan's troopers, who there took some

of the king's horses alive, their riders being slain, upon whose furniture was his proper arms, the star, and the letters C. R."

But it was not the momentary triumph of Straughan, that could give either success or security to Essex. His head-quarters were at Lostwithiel; but the loss of Fowey Harbour was a disaster for which nothing could compensate. Some efforts were accordingly made by the parliamentary fleet to recover its possession; but the severity of the weather baffled their design, and succeeding events rendered all subsequent attempts useless.

Affairs were now approaching fast to a crisis. Essex was nearly surrounded by the king's troops, which commanded all the country round. The only avenue of communication that was left open was between Lostwithiel and Par, the river of which towards the sea divides the two parishes of Tywardreath and St. Blazey. It was from this open beach that Essex received his provisions and stores, since the harbour of Fowey had fallen into the hands of the royalists. But even this was soon shut upon him. The king finding the whole country inclined to favour him, ventured, on the 17th of August, to visit the passes on the river towards Fowey, and to inspect, on the eastern bank, the garrisons which were established at Hall House and at Pernon Fort, that had submitted to Sir Richard Grenville on a former occasion. At Hall House he was exposed to much danger from the enemy's shot, from which he more than once had a very narrow escape. Returning from this survey, and finding all things favourable to his cause, he drew his army on every side a little nearer towards Lostwithiel. This movement produced several skirmishes; in one of which Restormel Castle fell into his hands; in consequence of which an additional battery was erected on the summit of Beacon Hill, so that the safety of Essex was menaced in his head-quarters.

To complete the ruin of the parliamentary army, Sir George Goring and Sir Thomas Basset were dispatched by the king to secure the landing-place of the enemy's provisions at Par. This was quickly accomplished; so that St. Austell and St. Blazey fell into their hands, and some supplies were seized. Essex, on discovering that all his resources were cut off, called a council of war; in which it was determined that he should desert his army, and go privately by night down the river to Fowey, and there embark for Plymouth. This plan was accordingly carried into execution during the darkness of the ensuing night, which favoured his escape; and in company with Lord Robarts and some others, he reached Plymouth in safety on the last day of August, 1644.

Early in the morning of the same day, Sir William Balfour, equally favoured by darkness, at the head of 2500 parliamentary horse, forced his passage through the king's army on St, Winnow, Boconnoc, and Bradock Downs. They finally found

their way out of the county at Saltash Passage, and joined their associates in arms. The command of the army, which still amounted to 12,000 men, and a brigade of horse that never forsook the infantry, now devolved on Major General Skippon, who led his men by cautious steps along the west side of the river towards Fowey. At this place he hoped to procure a passage to Plymouth, or to proceed from Lanteglos to Looe, and from thence to Plymouth. Previous to their departure from Lostwithiel, they set fire to the church, which they had already profaned with their abominations, in which they destroyed some ancient records that had been deposited there as in a place of peculiar security, before these domestic calamities began to afflict the island.

The king's troops, who watched their movements, and hung on their rear, pursued them closely as they filed off towards Fowey. During this march a kind of running fight was kept up between the two armies, but nothing decisive was effected. The result however, appears to have been at first favourable to the king's troops, as Skippon lost five field pieces in the lanes between Lostwithiel and Castle Door. On approaching Fowey, he discovered that there were no vessels to convey his troops away, and finding it impracticable to force his way to Plymouth, as every pass was occupied by the king's forces, he began to entertain serious thoughts of proposing to capitulate. Accordingly, on the first of September, he demanded a parley, and a cessation of hostilities immediately took place. Both parties appointed commissioners, and terms of capitulation were agreed upon; the principal of which were, that they should deliver up their arms and ammunition, that they should march for Pool and Wareham, without touching at any garrison by the way; and that they should not again bear arms before they arrived at Portsmouth and Southampton.

In the mean while Sir Richard Grenville, who had been dispatched in pursuit of Sir William Balfour, returned without being able to overtake them; but in his route he had reduced Saltash, so that all Cornwall was once more in the king's possession. And as no active service remained in the county to engage his troops, the king on the 4th of September marched from Boconnoc, to prosecute the war in some other part of his dominions, leaving the defence of the county to Sir Richard Grenville. The king had no sooner left Cornwall, when a detachment from the garrison at Plymouth attacked and got possession of Saltash; but they were again driven out of it by Sir Richard Grenville, and it remained in the hands of the royalists until the tide of public affairs placed a prosperous usurper on the throne.

As Cornwall was now in a state of public tranquillity, nothing of moment appears in its military department. But in domestic life the people found a

scourge in Sir Richard Grenville, who was appointed to protect them. In the autumn of 1645, he repaired the fortifications of Launceston; but at the same time rendered himself so disgusting by his tyrannical conduct, that the affections of those were alienated, who would once have ventured their lives in his support. Nor was it wholly to the inhabitants of Cornwall that his haughty demeanour was confined. Between himself and Lord Goring some serious differences had arisen. He therefore issued a proclamation, and caused it to be read in all the churches of Cornwall, that in case Lord Goring should come into the county with any forces, the parish bells should instantly ring as a signal for the people to assemble together to drive them out. In this state affairs proceeded in Cornwall, until the commencement of the year 1646, when the tempest of war again devastated the county. In the autumn and winter of 1645, prince Charles, who was afterwards Charles II. resided in Cornwall; but when he found his father's cause declining, and the war likely to be renewed in the county, he embarked from Pendennis Castle for Scilly, on the 2d of March, after having spent a considerable part of his time at Launceston and Truro.

Lord Hopton being appointed to take the command of the western army, which was torn by factions, and almost disorganized by contending parties, Sir Richard Grenville absolutely refused to obey him, though on a former occasion he had proposed this measure. He was committed a prisoner to Launceston by command of the prince; and when this situation became dangerous, he was removed to St. Michael's Mount, from whence he was permitted to retire to the continent, to escape the fury of the parliamentary forces, which had nearly subdued the whole county, and from which he had no reason to expect any mercy.

Sir Thomas Fairfax being now appointed to command the parliamentary forces in the west, a battle took place at Torrington, in which Lord Hopton was defeated. On this disaster he retired to Stratton; where he could tarry only a few days to collect his scattered troops. Fairfax followed him there; but Hopton before his arrival had retired to Bodmin. At Launceston Colonel Edgcumbe with his trained bands, deserted the royal cause, and joined the parliamentary army. And the king's troops being every where opposed to superior numbers, withdrew from Saltash, and retreated to their main body.

After securing the northern parts of the county, and having little to fear from the south-eastern districts, Fairfax advanced to Bodmin, the king's forces having retreated farther west. He extended his line to Lostwithiel, while Cromwell with a strong detachment of horse secured the pass at Wadebridge, so that the retreat of the royalists was completely cut off. The ancient friends of Charles, perceiving that his affairs were grown desperate, and that they could no longer

render him any assistance, either joined the conquering army, or declined giving any further opposition. Mount Edgcumbe was soon surrendered; and many of the principal inhabitants of the county, among whom were Lord Mohun, Sir J. Trelawney, Sir Richard Prideaux the sheriff, the Edgcumbes, Trevanions, Bonds, Corytons, Sawles, and others of distinguished character, followed its example.

The king's forces were at this time stationed near St. Columb, without any hope of victory or escape; so that their only object was to defend themselves against any sudden attack, and to make the best terms of capitulation their circumstances would admit. Fairfax being acquainted with their condition, directed his march towards Truro, halting on the first night about four miles west of Bodmin; this was on the 7th of March, 1646. From this place a detachment was sent out under the command of Colonel Rich, which engaging a party of the royalists, defeated them. The ensuing day, Fairfax moved onward, and at night took up his abode within three miles of Truro. Lord Hopton did not think it prudent to risk an engagement, although he could muster nearly 3000 horse, as there was not only no probability of success, but a great danger of provoking Fairfax by such an ill-timed measure. A treaty was therefore concluded, in which it was agreed that the royal army should be instantly disbanded, and that his horses, ammunition, baggage, and artillery, should be delivered up to Fairfax; and that Lord Hopton should have a guard to convoy him to Oxford.

To soften the severity of this disgrace, Lord Clarendon informs us, that Hopton's officers were at this time in a state of mutiny, and that he was compelled to this submission by their clamours. But before he acceded to the terms of capitulation, he sent a considerable part of his ammunition to Pendennis Castle and St. Michael's Mount, and had disposed of his infantry in a similar manner. That after this he permitted his cavalry to capitulate; but that he neither treated for himself, nor surrendered his garrisons. And instead of accepting the escort of horse to convoy him to Oxford, he repaired with another nobleman to the Mount, from which they embarked for Scilly, to join the prince, who in this state of exile beheld the ruin of his father's cause.

The surrender of all Cornwall followed these transactions. Pendennis Castle was the last fortress in the county that adhered to the king's interest, and this was closely invested by sea and land. The land forces were commanded by Captain Fortescue, and the fleet by Admiral Batten; and the fortifications were defended by the celebrated John Arundell of Trerice, who was then nearly fourscore years of age. The head-quarters of Captain Fortescue were at Arwinnick, the ancient seat of the Killigrews, and near to which some of the intrenchments extended. Many of these works are still conspicuous, stretching from the bottom of the Rope

Walk behind Arwinnick, across the isthmus to the sea, and which must have cut off all communication between the garrison and the adjacent country. The brow of the hill was defended by a battery which seems to have been erected during this contest. The banks and ditch of this citadel still remain, though overgrown with bushes, and the situation was admirably calculated to command the isthmus, and to inspect the arrangements of an approaching force.

The garrison was soon reduced to a deplorable condition for want of provisions; and it was not until they were compelled by approaching famine, that Arundell would listen to any terms of capitulation. And although they had not sufficient provisions to last them twenty-four hours, the negociations were carried on with such spirit, that their real condition was never once suspected by the besiegers. It held out from April until the middle of August, 1646, and was the last fortress but one through all England that surrendered; and it then procured as advantageous terms as any other garrison had obtained during the war. This event put a period to the civil war in Cornwall. The Scilly Islands had already surrendered, soon after prince Charles had sailed for France.

The friends of Charles made many efforts in various parts, to restore him to his throne. But the vigilance of Cromwell and his adherents defeated every design. Cornwall bore its part in these ineffectual exertions; but nothing of importance resulted from them. In May 1648, some forces that had been raised in Cornwall with the forlorn expectation of re-establishing royalty, were defeated by Sir Hardress Waller, and with this defeat the hopes of the party for the present vanished. It was probably as a reward for this service, that Sir Hardress was appointed governor of Pendennis Castle; for during this year he was invested with this office.

In the autumn of the same year another attempt was made to rekindle the dying embers of departed royalty; and Sir John Berkeley and Colonel Slingsby were sent into the county to muster the friends of the Stuarts. But their attempts to instigate the Cornish to rise in arms were quickly defeated. The two emissaries were taken at the house of Colonel Trevanion, which was probably at Carhayes, and sent prisoners to Truro, so that this scheme also proved abortive.

In the year 1650, the Scilly Islands declared against parliament, being defended by a considerable body of fugitives, that had been collected together, both from England and Ireland. They were headed by one of the Godolphins, who held a command under Sir John Grenville, and strenuous efforts were made to preserve them. In 1651, the islands retained their spirit of opposition; and displayed their hostility against the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, who lay with his fleet before them, and declared himself ready to co-operate with the parliament in reducing them

to obedience. But these were vain menaces. However, Sir George Ayscough with his fleet, and a considerable body of parliamentary forces, compelled them all to surrender, except St. Mary's, and this continued to hold out until June; when being forced to submit, Sir John Grenville was among the prisoners that fell into his hands.

From this period no attempts appear to have been made in Cornwall in favour of royalty, till by a kind of national consent Charles II. was called to the throne. Among the subsequent military exploits of the county, nothing memorable occurs. The Dutch indeed made an attempt to land some forces near Cawsand, in the year 1667; but these were soon compelled to re-embark. De Ruyter also made a similar attempt at Fowey; but he was obliged to abandon his enterprise.

CHAP. XII.

Lakes, Canals, Rivers, Harbours, and Wells.

SECTION I.

Lakes in Cornwall.—Dosmery Pool, Swan Pool, and the Loe Pool.

AS the rivers of Cornwall generally rise near that elevated ridge which runs from east to west in the middle of the county, and have only a small distance to proceed before they join the sea through the opening vallies, we have no reason to expect many lakes. They are accordingly few in number, and these few are of no considerable dimensions. To the obstructions which the sea presents we are indebted for the largest; and were it not for this circumstance, we can discover but one, in which the water rests within a permanent enclosure that nature has raised on every side. This lake is generally known by the name of Dosmery Pool, concerning which many strange and ridiculous tales have been circulated. This singular piece of water lies in the parish of St. Neot, about four miles north of the church. It is about fourteen miles from Looe on the south coast, and about the same distance from the projecting cliffs at St. Gennys on the northern channel. It seems to have been formed by the rain waters of the circumjacent hills, the declivities of which conduct the streams to the bed in which it appears. Mr. Carew gives the following description of this lake:—

"In the midst of the wild moors in the hundred of Lesnewth, far from any dwelling or river, there lies a great standing water, called Dosmery Pool, about a mile or better in compass, fed by no perceived spring, neither having any avoidance, until of late certain tinners brought an adit therefrom. The country people held many strange conceits of this pool; as that it did ebb and flow, that it had a whirlpool in the midst thereof, and that a faggot once thrown into it, was taken up at Fowey Haven many miles distant. To try what truth rested in these reports, some gentlemen in the vicinity caused a boat and some nets to be carried thither overland; but the event did not answer their expectation. Fish they caught none, except a few eels upon their hooks. The pool proved to be no where more than a fathom and half deep, and for a great way it was exceedingly shallow."

This statement flatly contradicts the report that Leland has recorded, of its being fourteen or fifteen fathoms deep. "As to the ebbing and flowing of the water, it should seem to be grounded, partly upon the increase which the rain floods brought into it, from the bordering hills, (which perhaps gave also the name; for *doz* is to come, and *maur*, great) and the decrease occasioned by the next drought, and partly for that the winds do drive the waves to and fro upon the sandy banks, and thus the miracle of Dosmery Pool deceased." Dr. Borlase remarks, that the compound name "*Doz-mer-uy* imports the meeting, or coming together of the lake water."

Another lake, if it may be honoured with that appellation, lies in the hundred of Kirrier, about a mile and a half west of Falmouth. This has obtained the denomination of the Swan Pool; in all probability, from the swans which were originally kept in it by the Killigrews, who were lords of the soil. In Leland's time it was called Levine Prisklo, or Levine Pool. This pool, which is situated between the parishes of Budock and Falmouth, is not quite half a mile in length, and it is something less than a quarter of a mile wide. Its water is fresh, except in stormy weather, when the high tides overflow the bar of pebbles, sand, and shingle, by which it is obstructed in its passage, and divided from the sea. The water in this pool is in general shallow, and produces no fish but eels, which are esteemed for their delicious flavour. In severe winters the surface of this lake is sometimes frozen over, sufficiently hard to invite the adventurous to skate upon it; and many lives have been lost there. A small rivulet descending into the vale, and a few tributary rills, supply it with water, and give variety to its dimensions, in proportion to the quantity they yield, and the obstructions which the surf presents on the sandy shore below.

The most considerable and most interesting lake in Cornwall is the Loe Pool, lying in an extensive vale, stretching southwards from Helston to the sea, from which it is separated by a wide bar of sand, in the hundred of Kirrier. In its ordinary dimensions, when not swelled by any particular inundation, it is about two miles long, and something more than a furlong wide, covering, by a measurement taken in 1771, when at the lowest, 163 acres of land. In its width there is a considerable irregularity, the water contracting or expanding with the projecting or receding banks and broken rocks with which it is surrounded.

On the western side the Loe Pool is bounded by the parish of Sithney, and on the east by the parishes of Wendron, Mawgan, and Gunwalloe. Its waters are furnished, chiefly by the river which Speed, Camden and Norden call the Cober, but for what reason they have not said. This river enters the vale at a stone bridge called St. John's, from a hospital which formerly stood near that spot, and

of which some vestiges still remain, that was dedicated to St. John. It is about a mile below this bridge that the waters begin to feel the distant obstruction, and to cover the valley from side to side. Besides this river, the lake receives supplies from several small streams, which tend to augment its waters. On the western side the rivulets of Penventon and Penrose, and on the eastern side the streams at Nansloe, Degybma, and Carminow, flow into its bosom. The bar of sand and pebbles which thus prevents the combining streams from descending into the sea, is about a quarter of a mile in length. During the summer months the waters which begin to spread about a mile below St. John's Bridge, are considerably below the level of the bar; through the sands of which they ooze imperceptibly away, to join the ocean; by which means the quantity that is obstructed preserves a general equilibrium. But in the winter season the whole valley is sometimes so completely covered, that the swelling lake extends above the bridge, so as to obstruct the wheels of the town mills, which are still higher up, and to prevent them from working. During these seasons the water rises to the brim of the bar at the opposite extremity, and the whole vale presents one vast inundation. The increasing water swelling this lake in every direction, stretches still further up into Penrose Creek on the western side, and Carminow Creek on the eastern side of the lake, and increases the depth of the whole expanse in the same proportion. The depth of the water varies considerably in different parts, being in the summer from ten to twenty, twenty-two, and twenty-six feet. The deepest part is about a furlong and half from the bar, at a place called the Black Rock. From this place the depth gradually declines, from the rising of the sand towards the bar, which forms part of its bed, till at last it terminates in a steep acclivity towards the brim. The cliffs which encircle this lake are of a moderate height; "and betwixt them," says Dr. Borlase, "there is a very distinct echo. But the same circumstances which amuse and please in a calm, frighten in a tempest; and when the south and south-west winds from Mount's Bay get in between the steep sides of the lake, their roaring is heard at a great distance, and is thought to presage stormy weather."* To these winds the same author supposes the valley in which the lake is formed, gives vent when they beat upon the cliff in all their fury; and by so doing increase the force and velocity of them; so that this contributes to raise the bar which lies across the creek.

When the water of this lake rises to such a height as to obstruct the working of the town and Carminow mills, the mayor of Helston, by an ancient custom, applies

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 51.——At a place called the Echo Tree, near the old park wall, is a remarkable echo, where the sound is said to be distinctly reverberated fourteen different times.

to the lord of Penrose, who is owner also of the lake, and on sending him two leathern purses, each containing three halfpence, desires leave to cut through the bar below, that the water may be discharged; which having obtained, men are sent with shovels to the sand, and after opening a passage, through which a small stream issues, then retire from the place with the utmost precipitation, to escape the dangers of the increasing flood. The sands fret; the torrent increases; every moment widens the gap; the whole body seems in motion; and the mighty deluge pours along with irresistible violence. On entering the sea, its conflict with the approaching waves is sublime and terrible; and presents a spectacle of magnificent horror, which no language can describe. The waves which succeed to each other, obstructed in their passage towards the shore, submit to the superior violence of the enormous river, that seems to cut an awful lane through the hoary deep, and to ride in triumph over every obstacle. At length, after proceeding to a great distance, its force and velocity gradually subside, and the ocean resumes its wonted dominion over "the world of waves."

The water thus discharged, leaves the bed of the lake exposed to view; and through the passage that had been made, reduces it nearly to a level with the common beach. The returning tide enters the chasm, and ebbs and flows through the emptied excavation; till the collecting sand and pebbles choke the aperture, and the waters begin again to collect within. A strong south-west wind soon enables the sea to effect this; and the separation again formed, continues until the same or similar causes call for the same effects to be produced.

On some occasions, when the waters have been high, a sudden torrent of rain, which has swelled the rivers to an unusual height, has been known to break the bar of its own accord, without passing through the ceremonial of the two leathern purses. And in one instance, if not more, it has been said, that some boys at play undertook the perilous work through mere sport, and accomplished the task without being swept away by the effects of their own indiscretion; but this must have been after; it was broken in the earlier part of the winter.

This lake is remarkable for a peculiar and excellent kind of trout, many of which are driven to sea in the general commotion, when the water is discharged. A great number, however, generally find a safe retreat in the rivulets above, where at that season they retire to lodge their spawn. These replenish the succeeding waters; and are the sole property of the lord of Penrose; and without his leave no one has a right to catch them. But of this right, the present proprietor, John Rogers, Esq. has never availed himself, further than was necessary to preserve his exclusive prerogative. Through the benevolence of his disposition, there are few persons who have ever applied to him for liberty to fish in the Loe Pool, who

have been denied. Dr. Borlase has given the following minute description of this trout:—"The eye is large; the back of a deep black purple, on which are scales of a silver hue; the belly, from the straight line which passes from the gills to the middle of the tail is of a bright pearl colour. The spots are hexagonal annulets of a scarlet colour in general, but purplish on the back, pierced of the field they stand on. The anterior back fin has thirteen spines, wavy at the top, with small tender points; the posterior back fin is entirely carneous, without any spines; the gill fins foliaceous in shape, with twelve spines; the belly fin small, with nine spines; the anus fin nine spines; the tail fin remarkably large, and very little forked; the flesh very red in the season, and much esteemed."*

On the practicability of clearing the Loe Pool, of destroying the bar, or of rendering it serviceable to guard the inlet that should lead to the harbour that might be formed within, many speculative opinions have been entertained, and many calculations formed. But whatever the result of speculation has been, the whole valley still remains in a state of nature. Leland, in the days of Henry VIII. observed, that "If this bar might always be kept open, it would be a goodly haven up to Helston." And from his days to the present hour, the subject has always been kept alive, in a state of tardy agitation; but nothing has been done. The advantages to Helston and the adjacent country, resulting from such an undertaking, are too obvious to require any animadversions; and the benefits to be derived from it by ship-owners, are incalculable. At present, the harbour forming at Porthleven must in some degree render this attempt less necessary in a public point of view. But the period may arrive, when an adventurous association may complete a work which the present and past generations hesitate to undertake, and sincerely wish—

"Like duteous sons, their fathers were more wise."

SECTION II.

Attempts which have been made to cut Canals through various parts of Cornwall.

Although canals, for the purpose of facilitating commerce by inland navigation, might be cut with much advantage in many places of Cornwall, without creating any enormous expence, there is scarcely a county in England in which these

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 263.——The general size is about three quarters of a pound; but there is a drawing of one in Penrose House, weighing above eight pounds, taken with a fly; but this was an uncommon circumstance.

artificial channels have been more neglected. This may in part have arisen from the maritime situation which Cornwall occupies, from the small distance which even the most inland parts are from some creek or inlet, or navigable branch of a river. These circumstances, it must be admitted, will tend to render canals less absolutely necessary than they are in many other counties; but these can scarcely be urged as satisfactory reasons, why the advantages of our situation, which have left but little for art to accomplish, should lead us to neglect all, merely because there is but little to be done.

Of the benefits to be derived from these mediums of communication, many enlightened gentlemen and patriotic adventurers have been duly sensible, and several plans have been formed, and attempts made, to accomplish so advantageous a work; but unfortunately all have failed. An unaccountable fatality seems to have attended every exertion; some obstacle or other has always intervened to defeat their purposes; every scheme has suffered by a premature death; so that hope and exertion have alike been rendered abortive.

The first attempt of this kind was in the reign of Charles I. by some gentlemen, who thought of making improvements in our navigable rivers. They accordingly made an experiment on one, which is supposed to have been the Lynher, that they might be able to form some estimate of the expence on a more extensive scale, and be prepared in their application to parliament for leave and assistance to carry on the work, to obviate such objections as might be started by any hostile member. They finished one lock, with its channel, twelve feet wide, in which they raised the water eight feet, for the trifling sum of £60. This was considered by all as a favourable omen; and a bill was introduced into parliament for making all the rivers in Cornwall navigable, which were capable of such improvements. It was passed in the house of commons; but unfortunately it was too late in the session to go through the upper house. Soon after the civil war broke out; and the confusion and miseries that followed, left no room for these works of peace.

From this period more than a century elapsed, before any thing of a similar nature was attempted. At length in the year 1773, an act of parliament was passed for making a canal from Mawgan Porth, through the several parishes of Mawgan, St. Columb Major, Little Colan, St. Columb Minor, to Lower St. Columb Porth. This work was projected and carried on by the ingenious Mr. John Edyvean, a blind gentleman of very considerable talents. But unhappily, after proceeding with this work for several years, wasting an ample fortune, and consuming a considerable portion of that which belonged to a maiden sister, who lived with him, he had the mortification to leave his work unfinished, for want of means to accomplish it, and to find that the benefits arising from such parts as were

finished, the whole being chiefly designed for carrying manure, did not answer his expectation. These complicated misfortunes had such an effect upon his spirits, that he is supposed to have died of a broken heart. After his death the work was altogether abandoned; and since that time the ground in most places has been levelled, so that few traces of it now remain.

In 1774 another act was passed for making a navigable canal from some part of Bude Haven to the river Tamar, in the parish of Calstock. This was designed for a commercial canal; and by passing across the county in its widest part, it would have opened a communication between the northern and southern shores, without the delays and dangers of a passage round the Land's End. But although more than forty years have elapsed, nothing has yet been done, notwithstanding a canal from the same river to Tavistock has for several years been inviting us to exertion.

In the year 1796 another scheme was formed for making a navigable canal from Guinea Port, near Wadebridge, to Dunmere Bridge, in the parish of Bodmin; and an act of parliament was procured accordingly. From this canal, which was to be called the Polbrook Canal, it was intended to carry on a branch near a place called Ruthern Bridge, and to extend the communication to Lostwithiel, to which a branch of Fowey Harbour reaches. It appeared however, when the ground came to be measured with more exactness, that it would be necessary to cut a tunnel through a hill, which would be attended with a considerable expence. This circumstance so disheartened the adventurers, as to occasion some delay; and without professedly abandoning the design, this delay still continues.

As the distance between Polbrook and Lostwithiel is estimated at eight miles, Dr. Borlase, who could not have anticipated the design of 1796, recommended the practicability and the superior advantages of cutting a canal from Dunmere Bridge, about a mile from Bodmin, to Resprin Bridge, near Lanhydrock Park; the former of which lies on the Alan, and the latter on the Fowey; at which places the streams are very considerable, and the intermediate space between these bridges is no more than four miles. And within these four miles several smaller streams are found, which would facilitate the formation of locks, and thus promote the communication between the north and south coasts. He observes, that "The advantages of such an union are too obvious to be particularized, and the difficulties too few to discourage the undertaking, whenever a public spirit for rendering rivers navigable, shall arise in this nation." To a mere stranger, it will undoubtedly appear extraordinary, that a canal, no more than four miles in length, which would unite two rivers that might easily be rendered navigable, and would thus open an intercourse between the opposite sides of the county in a central part of it, should

lie so long neglected. It is equally strange to the inhabitants of Cornwall. But the glory of accomplishing this is reserved for a happier period, that shall behold an association between public spirit and adequate power.

SECTION III.

Rivers in Cornwall.—Tamar, Lynher, Tidi, Seaton, Looe, Duloe, Fowey, Par, St. Austell, Fal, St. Allen, Kenwyn, St. Clement's, Tretheage, Heyl, Loo, Hayle, Ganal Creek, Camb-Alan, &c.—Observations on the state of the Cornish Rivers.

Among the rivers of Cornwall, which are far more numerous than its lakes, the most considerable is the Tamar, which flows at the eastern extremity of the county, and with some trifling exceptions, divides Cornwall from Devonshire. This river, which is insignificant in its source, rises in the parish of Moorwinstow, in the northern extremity of the county. The barren land on which it first appears, is so high as to afford a commanding declivity on each side; and from each of these two large rivers derive their origin. From the direction which the water takes on the northern side, the river Torridge receives its primary formation. This flows into Devonshire; and after becoming navigable a little above Bideford, discharges its waters into the northern channel.

On the watery declivity which faces the south, the weeping rills that are drained from the bogs, begin to collect together; and in the union of their inconsiderable contributions, the Tamar begins to exist. Accumulating its waters along the vales through which it passes, it becomes sufficiently considerable at the distance of about ten miles from its source, to give name to the small parish of Tamarton, and also to a village within it of the same name, which Camden supposes to be the Tamara mentioned by Ptolemy. From this place, where a stone bridge is built across, it proceeds onward in a direction nearly south, until it enters the parish of St. Stephens near Launceston, where it is augmented with a large stream called Werrington River. Proceeding onward about a mile and half further, it receives another stream called Aterey, which runs close under the walls of Launceston. Becoming now a large and rapid stream, it moves onward to Polston Bridge, which, according to Leland, was originally built by the abbey of Tavistock. Continuing to wind onward in a direction nearly south, and receiving additional contributions in its passage, it soon enters Lezant, in which parish Greston or Greystone Bridge is laid across it. This bridge is both strong and handsome; it has nine arches, is twelve feet wide between the walls, and 318 feet long; and in summer its path is about twenty-seven feet above the water. About a mile below

this bridge, it is augmented by the river Lowley; and soon after by the still more plentiful stream of Inny, which contains waters collected in Alternon, Lewanick, and Lezant. The Inny joins the Tamar at Innyfoot, to which place it imparts the name. Still increasing, it reaches the parish of Stokeclimsland, where there is another bridge called Horsebridge. The last place in which it is passable on a bridge, is in the parish of Calstock. This bridge, according to Leland, was begun by Sir Perce Edgcumbe, so that it cannot be less than 300 years old. In the days of Henry VIII. the tide flowing up through the Hamoaze, nearly reached this bridge; but even then it was navigable for ships no further than Morleham, and to this place, on spring tides, vessels of considerable burden still come. About five miles farther down, although its waters now mingle with the tide, the Tamar receives from the eastern bank the large river Tavy; and having then formed a creek in the parishes of Botesfleming and Landulph on the western side, its waters become overpowered by the ocean, and the spacious harbour of Hamoaze begins to appear. In this state the Tamar descends, under the government of the tide, to the foot of the ancient borough of Saltash; soon after which the Lynher Creek, into which the Lynher river empties its waters, augments its expansive harbour. After this, in conjunction with the tide, it forms two large creeks on the west, one reaching to St. Johns, and the other to Millbrook; then extending its waters into a pool near Stonehouse, they are finally discharged into Plymouth Sound, between Mount Edgcumbe on the west, and Devil Point on the east, after flowing from the morasses of Moorwinstow, through a tract of country about forty miles.

From Morleham to the Hamoaze, the scenery and views from this river are highly picturesque and delightful. On each side the sloping banks are either covered with trees or interspersed with lawns and meadows. Apples, cherries, plumbs, and strawberries, flourish on its banks in rich luxuriance; and their mingled beauties exhibit a prospect to captivate the eye, and regale the imagination as well as the senses, both when the blossoms unfold their charms to the vernal sun, and when the fruits acquire their autumnal perfection. The variegated foliage and the music of the groves, impress the mind of the spectator with a pleasing solemnity, as he sails in his little skiff on the bosom of the unruffled expanse, and invite him to serious and profitable reflections, as he silently moves along between the hills, that present him, in diversified succession, the cottages of the poor, and the mansions of the great. Each in its turn rises, fades, and disappears before him, till he reaches the ocean, in which all discrimination is lost, and in which he perceives a striking emblem of that eternity to which all are hastening, and into which all must enter, when the voyage of life is past.

We have already noticed the manner in which this river was appointed by Athelstan to fix the boundaries of the ancient Britons, when they were driven into these western territories. We have also animadverted on the deviations which were introduced, when the Normans came to the throne, and on the probable causes which led to these deviations. But amidst these changes the river itself is invariably considered as belonging to Cornwall, and its jurisdiction is annexed to the dutchy accordingly.*

Next to the Tamar, and closely connected with it, is the river Lynher; which joins it in the Hamoaze, where all distinctions between these rivers end. The Lynher rises on the hills of Alternon, about eight miles west of Launceston. From these hills it passes down through the parishes of Northill, Linkinhorne, and Southill, where it is augmented by several inconsiderable streams. About a mile from the borough of Callington, it divides the park at Newton Ferrers, formerly the seat of Ferrers, but for many generations the property of the Corytons. From this place it flows by Pillaton and Landrake, until it comes to Notter or Noddetor Bridge; where, being joined by the tide, it becomes navigable, and begins Lynher Creek. In this state it moves on between the parishes of Shevlock and St. Stephens, till opening into a haven between St. Stephens and Antony, it joins the Tamar, and with it proceeds to the sea, after a journey of about twenty-four miles. The dimensions of this river are influenced in a considerable degree by the seasons of the year. During the summer months it is but a small stream; but in the winter it is very large, and the rapidity of its movements renders it strong and dangerous.

But before the Lynher joins the Tamar, it falls in with St. German's Creek. The place where they join, is about four miles below Notter Bridge. At the head of St. German's Creek is another river called the Tidi, which takes its rise on the south side of Caradon Hill, near Liskeard, where there is a place called Tidicomb. Proceeding from its source, it divides the parishes of Quethiock and Menheniot, and enters St. Germans at Molinic. It becomes navigable at Tidiford, two miles further down, where it joins the tide. About two miles still lower, it washes the sides of the ancient borough of St. Germans, whence it derives the name of St. German's Creek. In this creek it joins the Lynher, and in the Lynher it joins the Tamar, with which, in the Hamoaze, it proceeds to the ocean.

* "The jurisdiction of the water doth wholly appertain to the dutchy of Cornwall, and may therefore be claimed as a part of that county."—*Carew*, p. 99. This is also confirmed by the profits of the "Passage at Saltasche, the tax on all boats and barges that pertain to the harbour yearly, and the anchorage and soilage of all straunger ships, all belonging to the borough of Saltasche in Cornwall."—*Norden*, p. 98.

Proceeding in a westwardly direction, the next river which claims attention is that of Seaton; but it neither travels through any long course, nor swells to any considerable size. Seaton river has its source in the parish of St. Cleer, about four miles north-east of Liskeard, and passes within a mile of it; thence verging towards the south, it flows through the parish of Menheniot, and then divides St. Germans on the east, from Morval and St. Martin's on the west. It then falls into the sea in a vale called Seaton, thus terminating a variable course of about twelve miles. This little river is supposed to have derived its name from an ancient town called Seaton, which, in the times of the Romans, stood near the place where its waters are now discharged. But of the town no vestiges are at present to be seen. It is therefore supposed to have been overwhelmed by the encroachments of the sea, and to have left nothing but its name behind, which is still preserved in the tales of tradition, in the pages of history, and in this little river, which has nothing besides to render it remarkable.

Not far from this river, verging towards the west, is the river Looe. This also has its source among the high lands in the parish of St. Cleer; but finding a passage to the sea in another direction, it runs under Liskeard Park, dividing Liskeard from St. Keyne, and then Morval from Duloe. It is navigable for boats about three miles above Looe, and enters the sea between the two little boroughs of East and West Looe, after a journey of about ten miles. There is a stone bridge over this river, between the two boroughs; it contains fifteen arches, and is 140 yards long. Below this bridge, near the sea, the channel is rather narrow; but this circumstance tends to keep it open; and when the tide flows, it facilitates the entrance of vessels into the port, by giving them a greater depth of water.

Before the Looe river reaches the bridge, it is joined by another stream from the west, which is sometimes called Duloe, and sometimes West Looe river. The junction between these rivers is formed about a mile below Sand-place, where the former becomes navigable. Duloe river takes its rise in the parish of St. Pinnock, and flows in a southern direction, at a medium distance from Looe river, of about two miles. At a place called Trelawn-wear, about two miles from the sea, and about one before it joins the sister stream, it becomes navigable. Its whole course is not much more than seven miles.

Among the principal rivers of Cornwall, that which discharges its waters in Fowey Harbour, may be reckoned as one of the most considerable. This river, which in the Lincoln taxation is called Faue, by Leland Fawey, Fawy, and Fauy, and in modern orthography Fowey, rises in the parish of Alternon, near some of the highest lands in Cornwall. Its source is at a place called Fawy Well, in the barren district of Fawy Moor, not far from the mountain of Brownwilly. Its

name, according to Dr. Borlase, signifies " the water of the deep ditch, vault, or den." Near its source this river bears the name of Draines; and by Leland, the first bridge that is laid across it, is called Draines Bridge. The same author mentions also three others, which he calls " Clobha, Lergen, and Newbridge." It receives the various streams which the several parishes of St. Neot, Warleggan, and Cardinham, contribute, as it passes under Resprin Bridge, in its way to Lostwithiel. At first its course is southerly; it then turns rather suddenly to the west; and, after meandering through some fertile and beautiful vales, it resumes its primary direction, and flowing at the foot of Restormel Castle, passes under a large stone bridge at Lostwithiel. In the days of Leland, the tides from Fowey Harbour regularly flowed above this town; and Camden observes, that vessels of considerable burden brought their cargoes to Lostwithiel. The effect of spring tides is still visible at the bridge, and even above it; and heavy boats occasionally reach its arches. But so much is the vale choked up with the sand brought down by the river, that no laden barge can approach the bridge. Descending from Lostwithiel, it receives a small rivulet from the west called Pelyn Brook, and another much more considerable, from Lerrin Creek on the east. At this latter place, being met by the sea, it expands into a haven, which is rather wide than deep, but which is rendered particularly beautiful by the romantic scenery with which it is surrounded. About a mile below, an almost sudden turn taking place in its direction, a new prospect is presented to the eye of the spectator, and the beautiful harbour of Fowey gradually unfolds its spacious inlet. After a journey of about twenty-six miles, it discharges its waters into this excellent harbour, in which vessels of considerable burden may lie at anchor secure from any wind that blows.

At Par, which presents a spacious beach about three miles to the west of Fowey, there is, during the winter, a considerable discharge of water. But Par river originating in a collection of rivulets in the neighbouring parishes of Luxulian and Lanlivery, can hardly be said to have any distinct source. Its passage is short, but the numerous contributions it receives, augment its waters sometimes to such a degree, as to render its appearance more respectable than that of several others, which enter the ocean under more celebrated names.

St. Austell river takes its rise near Hainsborough, and in the more elevated lands in the same parish. Descending towards the vale, through which it finally runs to the sea, it collects the waters from the various springs and brooks that rise and flow near it. It is joined by another large stream near St. Austell, which descends from the hills above Trevanion Moor. At the foot of the town an ancient bridge of three arches is laid across it. From this place it winds along the vale towards

Pentuan, where there is another well built stone bridge, under which it passes; immediately after which it enters the sea, after a passage of about nine miles.

The river Fal, which is a considerable stream, rises about two miles west of Roach hills, at a place called Fenton Val, which signifies the source of the Fal; and in the early part of its progress it is augmented by the waters which drain off from some parts of the Goss Moor. During the first eight miles its direction is nearly south, and the rivulets that join it in its passage, swell it to a powerful stream in the winter season, before it reaches Grampound. At this place it passes under a firm stone bridge, which Dr. Borlase thinks gave the present name to this borough. About a mile below Grampound, this river was formerly navigable for boats; and in 1667 an act was passed for opening a passage to the bridge. But through a train of misfortunes it was finally abandoned, when on the eve of completion; and since that time the accumulating sands which have been washed by the river from the hills, and lodged in the level vale, have rendered the work nearly if not totally impracticable. About three miles below Grampound this river reaches Tregony, at the foot of which it passes under another stone bridge, where it is joined by some additional streams. About a mile below Tregony, the waters of this river being intercepted with the tide, begin to spread, and in their confluence they form Lamorran Creek. In this state the Fal proceeds towards Falmouth Harbour, until, at the distance of about three miles from Tregony, it joins another body of water, descending from Mopas, where several considerable streams unite together. In this descent the Fal passes either by or through the several parishes of St. Stephens, Creed, Cuby, Ruan Lanyhorne, Filley, Lamorran, and St. Michael Penkevil. Its whole course from Fenton Val to the place where it joins the waters flowing from Mopas is about fifteen miles.

The waters which assemble at Mopas, flow thither through two principal creeks, one of which reaches Truro, and the other Tresilian. Truro Creek is by far the more considerable. Into the head of this creek the rivers St. Allen and Kenwyn (which Mr. Polwhele thinks to be the Kenion of Ptolemy) regularly flow. And by the influence of their united streams, they preserve an open passage through the bed of mud which the tides deposit in the creek, through which, when the tide rises, vessels of 100 tons burden and upwards, discharge their cargoes on Truro wharfs. But ships of greater tonnage cast anchor either near Mopas, which is about two miles below, or at some of the intermediate landing-places which lie between this and Truro. The creek which stretches from Mopas to Tresilian is navigable for barges at high water; but when the tide is out, the stream which passes under Tresilian Bridge is insufficient for a boat to navigate. The principal article landed at Tresilian Bridge, is sea sand, which is brought thither for manure,

and carried thence in carts by the neighbouring farmers. Coals and limestone are also brought to this place for the inhabitants in the vicinity, together with a few barge-loads of timber. The navigation of this creek, like that of Truro, is very difficult, from its serpentine channel. The water of this little river rises chiefly near the parish of Ladock; and although it is augmented by several tributary streams, the whole, which unite before they reach Tresilian Bridge, is but small.

The waters of Truro Creek and St. Clement's or Tresilian Creek, meeting together at Mopas, from which place the tide never departs, acquires sufficient depth for such merchant ships as find it necessary to frequent this branch of the spacious inlet. At this place, according to Leland, a naval engagement took place, not long before the time of his writing, in the days of Henry VIII. between a fleet of eighteen Spanish merchant vessels, and a ship of war from Dieppe.

The waters thus collected at Mopas Road, descend with the tide to Lamorran Creek, where they join the Fal, and form a general confluence at the foot of Tregothnan. From this place they proceed in one body about two miles, when they enter Carreg Road, and are lost in Falmouth Harbour. On the western side of this beautiful harbour there are three creeks, Restronguet, Milor, and King's Road. Into Restronguet Creek the waters of Tretheage river are discharged; which waters rise between Stithians and Gwennap, and are joined by Chacewater, which rises on the north-east of St. Day, and some other diminutive brooks. The great creek of King's Road is about two miles in length, and stretches from Falmouth to Penryn, where it is navigable for vessels of 100 tons burden. "A little below Penryn," says Dr. Borlase, "on each side of the creek, there was a jutty head; and to guard the gap between, there was a chain in Leland's time; but such unwieldy defences are become in a manner needless, since the improvements of naval architecture have so much advanced the royal navy."

On the eastern side of this spacious harbour are the creeks of St. Just and St. Maudit's or St. Mawes. The former is too diminutive to require any particular notice; but the latter is of considerable magnitude, and furnishes safe anchorage for ships of large dimensions. All these various creeks and rivers unite together in one general confluence in Carreg Road, which appears like the trunk that supports the branches; and in this state the collected waters repair to the sea, between Pendennis Castle on the western bank, and the creek of St. Mawes or Anthony Point on the east, through a passage about a mile wide. Of Falmouth Harbour we shall take particular notice hereafter.

The river Hêl or Heyl, which discharges its waters in Helford Harbour, rises among the hills in Wendron. Its course is short, and its size inconsiderable. Flowing about three miles from Penhâl Guy, it reaches the upper extremity of

Helford Harbour, which terminates in a creek called Gweek. At the port of Gweek barges and other vessels discharge their cargoes of coals, timber, and other commodities. From this port the large and flourishing borough of Helston, and the adjacent country, draw a considerable portion of their supplies. About a mile below Gweek the Heyl is joined by Mawgan Creek on the south, and about three miles further by that of Kestel or Helford. At its mouth, which is still about three miles distant, it is joined by another creek called Gillan. Into this creek the river Durra, which rises between Manaccan and St. Anthony, empties itself. On the northern side of Helford Harbour, the most inland creeks are those of Polpenwith or Polperre, and Polwhevrel, running towards Constantine church. About a mile thence there is another creek called Chiclow, or Calamansack. The harbour itself, which is rather spacious than secure, is about a mile wide at its mouth; and in some places the water is deep enough for vessels of 200 tons burden. In almost any other situation than within a few miles of Falmouth, this harbour, with all its inconveniences, would be in high repute. But its advantages and excellencies are almost totally overlooked, through the close vicinity and decided superiority of one of the most noble harbours in England.

Of the Loe river nothing appears to excite attention, but its connexion with the Loe pool. The Loe river, which in Speed, Camden, and Norden, is called Cober, which probably is nothing more than an error arising from the term Loe bar, through which the lake is formed, rises also among the hills of Wendron. After flowing about five miles, it reaches Helston, where passing under an ancient bridge at St. Johns, it enters on the green, where it joins the Loe Pool.

These are the only rivers worthy of notice on the southern side of Cornwall, unless we mention the streams at Marazion and Chyandour, through which the neighbouring waters collected from springs and rain, find their passage to the sea.

On entering the northern district, the river Hayle or Heyl is the first that strikes our attention. This river derives its origin from four distinct brooks, that unite their streams at Relubbas, which may be considered as its head. After taking a westerly course, it turns towards the north, where at three miles distance it reaches St. Erth or St. Ercy Bridge. This bridge, which is about 400 years old, consists of three stone arches, and a raised causeway at each end, which extends across the valley. Before this bridge was erected, a ferry boat was established here, and ships of considerable burden came up hither to discharge their cargoes; but in process of time the sand and earth washed down from the hills, obstructed the navigation, and rendered the present bridge necessary. Since it has been erected, a greater accumulation of sand has taken place above it; and the haven below has suffered a similar misfortune, from the sands driven into it by the

northern sea. Nothing larger than barges or lighters can now approach the bridge, even at the highest tides.

At this extremity of the tide, the land of Cornwall is reduced to its narrowest dimensions. From this point to high water mark at Marazion, the distance is not more than three miles. This circumstance would facilitate the cutting a navigable canal, if such a measure should on any future occasion be deemed expedient. But lying so close to the Land's End, the passage round this western extremity of England, renders such an undertaking unnecessary.

From St. Erth the Hayle bears due north, passing through an area of sand about half a mile wide, and about two miles long. It is navigable in the channel at flood tide, for small vessels only, which proceed about a mile from the sea, and approach near the village of Lelant. Not far from its mouth the Hayle is joined by a brook from the east, which makes a considerable branch of this haven, near Phillack church. In this place is safe anchorage for vessels of 100 tons burden.

But it is not only the harbour that is nearly choked with sand; a bar of sand is also formed at the entrance, over which vessels find a dangerous passage, even at spring tides. And indeed the bed of the whole is so elevated with the sands which have been accumulating for ages, that it admits the tide only when it has been flowing some time before. In common harbours, and on open shores, where nothing obstructs its passage, the tide may be said to flow six hours, and to ebb six hours, thus making the whole twelve. But here the case is otherwise; for the tide must have flowed three hours before it can enter Hayle, and it continues to ebb three hours more after it has withdrawn its waters from the river. It cannot therefore be considered as affording any thing more than a half-tide haven; so that the season for vessels to enter and retire, must be watched with care, and improved with diligence.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the trade carried on through the medium of this river, is very considerable. It was, in the days of Dr. Borlase, a place of great trade for iron and Bristol wares; "but more especially for Welsh coals, for which at present there is such a demand for fire-engines, smelting-houses, and the home consumption of a populous neighbourhood, that usually there are above five hundred, and oftentimes a thousand horses, which come to carry off coals, for some purpose or other, six days in the week. The fire-engines, which take off the greatest quantity of coals from this harbour, are still increasing in number, and the trade here must proportionably advance."

The increase of trade, since the days of Dr. Borlase, has called forth the energies of art to facilitate its progress. The Hayle Copper House Company, who are the proprietors of most of the lands around Phillack Creek, have, at a great

expence, opened a kind of navigable canal, through which barges and other vessels reach their extensive works. At the bottom of this canal are flood-gates, to secure the water when the tide retires. About twenty years since a jutty was laid near the mouth of the harbour; while, to collect the water within, and to render it subservient to their purposes, a dam was thrown across Phillack Creek. This has rendered the harbour more commodious, and by having a channel laid open through the bar, vessels pursue their course with less danger than formerly. The increase of commerce rarely fails to advance the means of promoting it.

Further northward is a small inlet called Ganal or Kanal Creek. It runs up into the land about two miles, where it receives a small river, which rises in the parish of Newlyn, near Trerice, the ancient seat of the celebrated Arundells. This river was formerly more considerable than now; but like most others on that coast, it has suffered severely from the sea sand, with which that channel abounds. At the mouth of this creek stands the village of Crantock, this being the name of the saint to whom the parish church is dedicated. This village is now inconsiderable; but according to tradition, it was formerly a large and respectable town. This, Dr. Borlase supposes to have been probably the case, as "the large religious house here was the residence of a dean and nine prebends." Admitting this fact, the town and the creek appear to have suffered in a due proportion to each other, as the former is reduced to an unimportant village, and the latter can admit vessels only of about thirty tons.

The river Camêl, which rises about two miles north of Camelford, has been celebrated for two famous battles that were fought on its banks. In the first of these prince Arthur received his mortal wound; the latter was fought between the Cornish and Saxons about the year 824, in which many thousands were slain on each side. On the name of this river several opinions have been entertained. Some who contend for the name Camêl, assert, that it merits this appellation from the many turnings and windings to be found in its course, the term Camêl meaning the crooked river. In the days of Leland it was called Dunmere, which signifies the water of the hills; and there is a bridge near Bodmin still called Dunmere Bridge. Leland also observes, that in some histories it was called Cablan, perhaps a contraction of Cabm-Alan, which signifies the crooked Alan. Camden in his last edition writes it Camblan. Its proper name, without any distinguishing epithet, seems to be Alan.

About a mile below Egloshayle, the Alan passes under Wadebridge, the largest and most celebrated bridge in the county. Prior to 1640, a ferry was established there, for the conveyance of passengers across the river when the tide was in; but

at low water the ford was at times very dangerous. These circumstances induced the vicar of Egloshayle, a public spirited gentleman, whose name was Lovebon, or Lonybound, to project this magnificent undertaking; and through the blessing of Divine Providence, he lived to see his laborious perseverance crowned with success. In addition to the enormous expence for which he became responsible, he had to encounter many difficulties. In attempting to lay open the ground to procure a foundation for the piers, the workmen found it to be so swampy, that after several unsuccessful efforts, they were compelled to desist. Defeated in his primitive design, the patriotic undertaker had recourse to another expedient; which was to buy large packs of wool, and to lay the foundation on them. This answered his expectation; and the bridge continues to the present day, a lasting monument of what a daring mind may accomplish by perseverance.

We must not however, suppose, that the whole weight of this vast undertaking rested exclusively on the personal property of this patriotic individual. According to Hals, the prevailing superstitions of the day were laid under contributions to his great design, in addition to the donations which he received from the liberality of a generous public. "It was built in the latter end of the reign of Edward IV. and the beginning of Henry VII.; not as Leland saith, at the county charge, but as all other works of this kind were, viz. by collections and commutation of penance for sins committed. For it was not a county bridge till the beginning of the reign of James I. Now this licence of all spiritual benedictions, collections, and commutations of penance throughout the counties of Cornwall and Devon, was granted by Dr. Peter Courtenay, bishop of Exon, to Thomas Lonybound, then vicar of Egloshayle, his chaplain or vicar, 1485, who raised a considerable sum by that means, viz. of absolution; as also from charitable and well-disposed christians. Which monies he forthwith converted to forward the bridge's building, which the undertaker, that expert mason, named John de Harlyn, and the treasurer Lonybound, brought to perfection as it now stands."

The same author also informs us, that after this bridge was erected, Lonybound gave a small parcel of land, for the future repairs which time or accidents might render necessary. This property he is said to have vested in twelve principal men of the parish, and their successors in trust for ever. In the days of Hals this land was estimated at £20 per annum; and at present its annual amount will scarcely exceed this sum. But the management of this revenue is not now in the line of succession appointed by the donor. It is under the direction of the lords of the manors of Pendavy and Pawton, the rector of St. Breock, and the vicar of Egloshayle. Some lands were also given in the parish of St. Breock, for the

support and repairs of this bridge; and in the days of Hals, their accumulated sums amounted to about £300. The bridge was at that time let at £10 per annum; the produce of its tolls at present is but small.

In closing the personal history of Lonybound, it is said, that after he had seen this vast undertaking completed, with the money and stones that remained, he caused the tower of Egloshayle to be erected as it now stands. And over the belfry door, on the northern side, is still to be seen his arms, a human heart, in an escutcheon, superscribed *Lonybound.*

This justly celebrated bridge is 320 feet long, contains seventeen arches, and connects the two parishes of St. Breock and Egloshayle together. It is very strong; and the whole building presents a magnificent and interesting spectacle. The tide regularly flows through the arches; and in conjunction with the river on the inland side, it enables boats and barges to convey to various places, sand for manure, together with many necessary commodities. On the flux and reflux of very high tides, the rapid movement of the waters is very grand; and in the winter season the vast quantities which the river supplies, seem to give perpetuity to that magnificence which is rather diversified than heightened by the tides.

Below the bridge, the river is navigable from Padstow, for vessels not above 60 tons. In these vessels are brought coals, slate, lime, timber, and various other articles of merchandise, which are either landed on the wharfs, or sent beyond the bridge in boats. The trade at Wadebridge and in its vicinity is considerable.

About a mile below this bridge, the Alan turning towards the east, makes two small creeks, where it receives two rivulets. It then verges to the north-west, and after furnishing two creeks more on the western bank, which run up to St. Issey and Little Petherick, it runs towards the sea. The ancient and celebrated town of Petrockstow, or Padstow, is about a mile below. At this place there is a pier for the accommodation of vessels, which trade to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, Bristol, and other parts. The advantages of this harbour render the trade of Padstow of considerable importance. The town itself is about two miles from the entrance of the harbour, and lies on its western shore.

From a particular survey taken of this harbour in 1801, it appears, that the mouth of it, which opens on the north-west coast of Cornwall, is about twelve leagues east north-east of the Land's End. It affords safe anchorage for ships of 500 tons burden, having never less than three fathoms of water in the channel. The latitude of Padstow is 50 deg. 40 min. north, and longitude 4 deg. 55 min. west. The spring tides rise and fall twenty-four feet, and the neap tides 12 feet. At full and change of the moon it is high water at five o'clock. The magnetic variation is 26 deg. west.

DIRECTIONS TO VESSELS ENTERING PADSTOW HARBOUR.

In giving directions for entering this harbour, the authors of a chart taken in 1801, make the following observations:—"It has frequently happened in the winter season, in gales of wind at N. W. and N. N. W. that ships have been lost on this coast, entirely for want of a proper knowledge of the harbour of Padstow, which is a good and safe place for ships of any burden, having never less than three fathoms at low water in the channel, which in the narrowest part is seventy fathoms wide. This channel is bounded on the west by a cliff which is both steep and bold; and on the east by the Dunbar Sand, which ought carefully to be avoided.

"To enter the harbour in safety, vessels must keep close to Stepper Point, and so in by the western shore, where the bold and steep cliff rises. In strong or heavy weather, the best time is from half flood to high water, keeping good after sail, with a scanty wind at N. W. or within a few points of it, as with such winds the sudden gusts falling heavily from the high western land, are apt to catch the sails aback. In case of such an event an anchor must be let go, and the vessel will ride in smooth water; at the same time a rope may be carried on shore if necessary, and made fast to the mooring rings fixed there for this purpose. On a vessel's appearing in sight and making towards the harbour, or from a signal being made on board, pilot-boats generally repair to Stepper Point to wait her arrival, and render all necessary assistance. The harbour may be occupied at all states of the tide, in smooth water with a free wind, which is from N. by W. round to E. S. E. But it is recommended to ships of large draught, to wait till about half flood before they enter; but when in the harbour cove, they may either lie on mud, or ride afloat, as occasion may require. This harbour is a most excellent outlet for ships bound either to the northward or eastward."*

At the town of Padstow the river is about a mile wide, at which place is a ferry. The current however, still continues to operate, on the decline of the tide, from this place to the mouth of the harbour; and to this may be attributed in some degree, the preservation of the channel between the Dunbar Sand and the opposite cliffs. Nearly twenty barges are also constantly employed here, in dredging sand at low water, for manure. The bars of sand yield an inexhaustible supply; they have been pillaged for ages, but they still remain undiminished. The sea is continually supplying the deficiencies which the barges and the current occasion. And from the manner in which the sands accumulate on most parts of that coast, it seems probable, that had it not been for these causes, Padstow Creek would long since have ceased to be a harbour for ships of any considerable tonnage.

* Chart of Padstow Harbour, published in 1801; and additional information communicated by Mr. William Peter, of Padstow.

MOST OF THE CORNISH RIVERS CAPABLE OF GREAT IMPROVEMENTS AT A SMALL EXPENCE.

Northward of Padstow, we have no considerable river nor any important creek. Among the latter, the most remarkable are Port Isaac, Botreaux Castle, or Boscastle, and Bude Haven; and in each of these some small streams of water find their way to the ocean. We shall more particularly mention these places in the parochial department. It is sufficient at present to observe, that it is very probable there was a period when these places were of much more consequence than now. If Bude had always been what it now is, it would never have acquired the appellation of haven. The term implies a retreat for shipping; and probably the extended area which is now about two miles long and more than one wide, stretching in the vale from the barton of Whalesborough nearly to the town of Stratton, and presenting morass and meadow land, was formerly the haven in which vessels rode. Through this morass the little river runs into the sea; and with the tide, it forms the diminutive creek by which Bude Haven is distinguished from an unbroken beach.

Among the navigable rivers of Cornwall, there is scarcely one that is not capable of considerable improvement, at a trifling expence. The large and populous town of Launceston seems from its inland situation to demand the assistance of art, in order to facilitate its commercial transactions more than any other. Dr. Borlase says, "In its neighbourhood are many families of rank and fortune; and in general the country round is well peopled and cultivated. Yet all the coal for firing, all the fir for building, all foreign products, all goods from London, Exeter, and Plymouth, all sea sand for manure, they are forced to send for ten miles at least, and have them all from Morlham, or Boscastle, which is still further, by land carriage, through roads which are egregiously bad; difficulties which must necessarily occasion little trade, and scanty employment for the poor. Now the Tamar passes within a mile and half of this town (a little above Polstun Bridge) where it is a noble stream of water, a wide channel, and receives the Aterey coming directly from the walls of Launceston. Hence the Tamar sets to the south so directly, that it is but little more by water than by land. Surely so rich and populous a neighbourhood as this, might be well requited for the charge of making, or at least for exerting all their interest to make this river navigable at the public expence, for the short space of ten or twelve miles."

That most of our Cornish rivers were once navigable much further inland, is evident, not only from tradition and history, but also from the marine substances found in their beds, in places to which the tide at present never reaches. It appears therefore, that instead of using any efforts to extend their navigation, we silently perceive the tides gradually diminishing in our harbours, and receding

from our creeks. To this misfortune two principal causes have conspired. On the northern coast, where the rivers are not much used for mining, the sea throws upon the shores an enormous bed of sand. From what particular source this sand is collected, it is perhaps in vain to inquire. It has been conjectured, that it is primarily derived from the Severn, the waters of which are impregnated with earthy substances, that are kept afloat by the agitation of the sea, until the larger particles are thrown upon the Cornish coasts, where through constant accumulation they have occasioned serious obstructions to navigation; and carried by the winds into the adjacent fields, have made a partial desolation.

On the southern shores indeed, the same effects in most of the rivers are visible; but they evidently arise from a distinct cause. "The beds of the rivers," says Dr. Borlase, "speaking in general terms, are raised several feet perpendicular, by the earth, sand, and gravel from the hills. This is natural in all places, in proportion to the quantity of rain, the declivity of the grounds, and the largeness of the rivers. But with us in Cornwall this is much promoted by digging and streaming for, stamping and dressing our metals, all performed at the water side, and the refuse all washed into the rivers, and thence into the harbours. This is a growing evil, complained of by Leland and Carew, but still unredressed. And as there are many more mines than formerly, the beds of our rivers will rise proportionably quicker than in former times, and make it still more difficult to continue the navigation even upon its present footing. There was an act of parliament made in the 23d of Henry VIII. that none should labour in tin-works near the Devon and Cornish havens; and though this act may be obsolete, it might possibly be re-enacted upon proper application, and be made more effectual to answer the salutary purposes intended."

From time immemorial it has also been occasionally the practice with many traders, to throw their ballast overboard in the harbours. This cause has in some places been productive of very pernicious consequences, through a lapse of ages. Nor was it until the effects were discovered, that the cause was thought to be of sufficient importance to excite attention, and to render a prohibition of the practice necessary. During the present period much care is taken to prevent a continuance of the evil; and perhaps it is only in solitary instances that the regulations of our piers and harbours are violated. But every trifle augments the obstructions which have been accumulating for several centuries from various causes; and they may ultimately be productive of serious consequences. To prevent these as much as possible, is therefore an imperious lesson, which both duty and interest conspire to teach.

SECTION IV.

Springs and Wells.—Superstitious Opinions and Practices respecting them.—Medical and Petrifying Waters.—Chapels or Oratories over Wells.

To turn from the sources of our rivers to our most remarkable wells, is an easy transition. These therefore naturally present themselves before us, and demand a transient survey.

Among the various counties of England, there is perhaps not one which is better supplied with pure water, bubbling from the simple fountains of nature, than Cornwall. And although it has been a prevailing opinion with strangers, that all our waters must be perniciously impregnated with mineral substances, their salubrity is founded on the most indisputable evidence; and the inhabitants of Cornwall smile at the simplicity and credulity of those who are so kind as to pity their condition. Our common fountains need no description; and the waters which issue from them require neither apology nor recommendation. We have not many remarkable for their medicinal virtues. There are however some which possess peculiar qualities; and superstition has increased the number, by giving them magical properties, and by ascribing to their waters such virtues as none but druids and monks could ever discover. Among these, one of the most remarkable is St. Keyne, in the parish of St. Keyne. The water of this well is remarkably pure, but its real virtues are completely lost in its imaginary ones. Of this well Carew gives some account in the following lines:—

" In name, in shape, in quality,
This well is very quaint,
The name to lot of Keyne befel,
No over holy saint.

" The shape four trees of divers kind,
Withy, oak, elm, and ash,
Make with their roots an arched roof,
Whose floor this spring doth wash.

" The quality that man and wife,
Whose chance or choice attains
First of this sacred stream to drink,
Thereby the mastery gains."

The trees of which Mr. Carew speaks, which formerly entwined their roots below, and their branches above, to guard and embower this more than "Castalian fount;" have long since been dead; but about seventy years since four others were

planted near the same spot by order of Mr. Rashleigh, father of Charles Rashleigh Esq. of Duporth; and these trees still continue to flourish. "A well," says the late Rev. Mr. Whitaker, in a vein of pointed pleasantry, "endowed with such a quality as this, either settles or precludes at once all matrimonial disputes about power, and is the peculiar felicity of our own county; but what enhances the blessing greatly, not one husband in Cornwall has been known for a century past to take advantage of the quality, and to secure his sovereignty for ever. Dr. Borlase we see did not even know where it was; but other antiquaries have known, and antiquaries, perhaps, want more than most men to maintain their husbandly prerogatives, by so easy an expedient, yet not even a single antiquary has presumed to drink of this matrimonial Helicon. I might have been near it, but forbore to visit it; the advantage is generously resigned up to our wives, and the daughters of St. Keina reign in every family. Cornwall is thus a Martigny upon a grander scale, and Dr. Borlase has levelled one of the most extraordinary wells in the world, the happiness and the honour of Cornwall, to a mere fountain of common waters." *

* On the hints given by Carew, and propagated by universal tradition, of the singular virtues of this well, Southey has founded a humorous tale, which is published in the first volume of the Annual Anthology. This tale is named *The Well of St. Keyne*, and runs as follows:—

A well there is in the west country,
And a clearer one never was seen;
There is not a wife in the west country
But has heard of the well of St. Keyne.

An oak and an elm tree stand beside,
And behind does an ash tree grow;
And a willow from the banks above
Droops to the waters below.

A traveller came to the well of St. Keyne,
Pleasant it was to his eye;
For from cock-crow he had been travelling,
And there was not a cloud in the sky.

He drank of the water so cool and clear,
For thirsty and hot was he,
And he sat down upon the bank,
Under the willow tree.

There came a man from the neighbouring town,
At the well to fill his pail,
On the well side he rested it,
And bade the stranger hail.

"Now art thou a bachelor, stranger?" quoth he;
"For an if thou hast a wife,
The happiest draught thou hast drank this day,
That ever thou didst in thy life.

"Or has your good woman, if one you have,
In Cornwall ever been?
For an if she have, I'll venture my life,
She has drunk of the well of St. Keyne."

"I have left a good woman who never was here;"
The stranger he made reply,
"But that my draught should be better for that,
I pray you answer me why.

"St. Keyne," quoth the countryman, "many a time,
Drank of this crystal well,
And before the angel summoned her,
She laid on the water a spell.

EXTRAORDINARY METHOD ADOPTED FOR THE CURE OF LUNATICS.

Not less extraordinary were the qualities of the waters of St. Nun's Well, in the parish of Altarnun, or Alternon. These waters were presumed to have the power of curing madness; and according to Carew and Borlase, the process was as follows:—The water running from this sacred well was conducted to a small enclosure closely walled in on every side, and might be filled at any depth as the case required. The frantic person was placed on the wall, with his back towards the water, without being permitted to know what was going to be done. He was knocked backwards into the water by a violent blow on the breast; where he was tumbled about in a most unmerciful manner until fatigue had subdued the rage which unmerited violence had occasioned. Reduced by ill usage to a degree of weakness which ignorance mistook for returning sanity, the patient was conveyed to church with much solemnity, where certain masses were said for him. If after this treatment he recovered, St. Nun had all the praise; but in case he remained the same, the experiment was repeated so often as any hope of life or recovery was left.

This custom Dr. Borlase thinks was not confined to St. Nun's Well, but was practised in some other parts of the county. At the foot of Holy Well, in St. Agnes, a place formerly of great resort, he says, "I think the remains of such a pool are still discoverable, though the sea has demolished the walls. The Cornish call this immersion *boussening*, from *beuzi* or *bidhyzi*, in the Cornu-british and Armoric, signifying to dip or to drown." It is worthy of remark, that although the custom has been abolished for ages, the name as also the well still continues to survive. To *bouse*, or *bowse*, or *boose*, is to drink to such a degree as to drown the understanding; and a *bouser* is one who often appears intoxicated. These terms are in common use in many parts of Cornwall, and are now incorporated in the English language.

About half a mile from St. Austell, there is an enclosed well of remarkably pure water. It lies in a vale at the foot of Menacuddle Grove, surrounded with romantic scenery, and covered with an ancient Gothic chapel overgrown with ivy. This

---

"If the husband of this gifted well
Shall drink before his wife,
A happy man thenceforth is he,
For he shall be master for life.

"But if the wife should drink of it first,
God bless the husband then,"
The stranger stooped to the well of St. Keyne,
And drank of the waters again.

"You drank of the well, I warrant, betimes,"
He to the countryman said,
But the countryman smiled as the stranger spake,
And sheepishly shook his head.

"I hasten'd as soon as the wedding was done,
And left my wife in the porch,
But i'faith she had been wiser than me,
For she took a bottle to church."

chapel is nine feet long, and six feet five inches wide within the walls. It is built of stone, and the roof, which is groined, is formed of the same materials. It has two door-ways, facing due north and south, and the large stones which compose them are neatly moulded. These door-ways are correspondent to each other, both terminating in pointed arches. The chapel has a small window in the west, but its eastern side is buried in the hill from which the water issues. The virtues of these waters are also very extraordinary; but the advantages to be derived from them are rather attributed to the sanctity of the fountain than to the natural excellence of its stream. Weak children have frequently been carried thither to be bathed; ulcers have also been washed in its sacred water; and people in seasons of sickness have been recommended by the neighbouring matrons to drink of this salubrious fluid. In most of these cases instances may be procured of benefits received from the application; but the prevailing opinion is, that the advantages enjoyed, result rather from some mystical virtue attributed to the water for ages past, than from its natural qualities. Within the memory of many persons now living, this well was a place of general resort for the young and thoughtless. On approaching the margin, each visitor, if he hoped for good luck through life, was expected to throw a crooked pin into the water; and it was presumed that the other pins which had been deposited there by former devotees, might be seen rising from their beds to meet it before it reached the bottom. And though many have gazed with eager expectation, no one has yet been permitted to witness the traditionary phenomenon.

To Madern Well, in a parish of this name, many extraordinary properties have also been ascribed. Dr. Borlase says, "The soil round this well is black, boggy, and light; but the stratum through which the spring rises, is a grey moorstone gravel. Here, people who labour under pains, aches, and stiffness of limbs, come and wash, and many cures are said to have been performed, although the water can only act by its cold and limpid nature; forasmuch as it has no perceivable mineral impregnation."

To this miraculous fountain, the uneasy, the impatient, the fearful, the jealous, and the superstitious, resort to learn their future destiny from the unconscious waters. By dropping pins or pebbles into the fountain, by shaking the ground around the spring, or by contriving to raise bubbles from the bottom, on certain lucky days, and when the moon is in a particular stage of increase or decrease, the secrets of the well are presumed to be extorted. It is not however, in natural causes to flatter folly; and therefore the anxious are not always satisfied with the omens they procure. Defeated in one attempt, they come again; and frequently confirm by their renewed application the painful uneasiness from which they thus foolishly endeavour to procure a deliverance. The water of Madern Well is

therefore alike calculated to sooth the distressed, to alleviate or to increase the gloom of the melancholy, the suspicions of the jealous, and the passion of the enamoured.

In the parish of Sancred, St. Euny's Well occupies a soil similar to that just described. Its waters also, and their various virtues, both real and imaginary, are similar. The ruins of an old chapel are contiguous, among which are many stones curiously carved, which strongly indicate that there was a period when this place was in high estimation. Age and repute are the parents of veneration; and veneration in process of time, frequently degenerates into superstition.

Among the reputed excellencies of this fountain, it is believed to have the property of drying humours, and healing wounds and sores of various descriptions. But it is only at particular seasons of the year that the tide of its virtues can be caught. The last day in the year is generally supposed to be more fortunate than any other; and at this time many resort thither to catch the holy impregnation. There is no doubt that many cures have been wrought by this fountain; but it is only superstition that will attribute these effects to any magical efficacy. Not only by the waters of this well, but also by those of others that are unknown to fame, many wounds, sores, disordered eyes, and other complaints have been removed, by their mere coldness and natural salubrity. Cold braces the nerves and muscles, and by strengthening the glands, promotes secretion and circulation, the two grand ministers of health. "I happened luckily," says Dr. Borlase, "to be at this well upon the last day of the year, on which, according to vulgar opinion, it exerts its principal and most salutary powers. Two women were here who came from a neighbouring parish, and were busily employed in bathing a child. They both assured me, that people who had a mind to receive any benefit from St. Euny's Well, must come and wash upon the three first Wednesdays in May. But to leave folly to its own delusion, it is very gracious in Providence to distribute a remedy for so many disorders, in a quality so universally found, as cold is in every unmixed well-water."

To the waters of an ancient well near Bodmin, called Scarlet Well, many extraordinary virtues have been ascribed; but of late years its reputation is so much declined, that its situation is scarcely known. Among the real properties of this water, it was said to have more specific gravity than any other, and to have the virtue of retaining its primitive purity for nearly a year after being taken from the fountain, without sustaining any alteration either in taste or smell. Its imaginary properties resemble those we have already described; but the cures which it wrought were too scanty to secure its reputation.

Near Trelevean, in the neighbourhood of Mevagissey, there was also in former years an extraordinary well, called Brass Well, from the peculiar colour of the scum which floated on its surface. This might justly be reckoned among the chalybeate springs of the county; but its efficacy appears to have been insufficient to perpetuate its memory; and to the present incredulous age its imaginary virtues seem to be totally unknown.

In the parish of Little Colan, Norden mentions a celebrated well called Nant's Well, which in his days was supposed to have the power of predicting future events. To this well men, women, and children constantly resorted on Palm Sunday; for on this day the lady of the well was to be consulted, and her favours procured, by throwing a palm cross into the water. By this they were informed of the good or bad fortune that would befal them during the year; but in what manner this important information was communicated, Norden has not mentioned; and the prescient virtues of the water have been too long forgotten for tradition to transmit the tale.

Another miraculous well was formerly in high repute in the parish of Gulval. The spirit of this fountain could not penetrate the recesses of futurity, but it could reveal secrets; and with the assistance of an old woman, who was intimately acquainted with all its mysteries, could inform those who visited it, whether their absent friends were alive or dead, in sickness or in health. On approaching this intelligent fountain, the question was proposed aloud to the old woman, when the following appearances gave the reply. If the absent friend were in health, the water was instantly to bubble; if sick, it was to be suddenly discoloured; but if dead, it was to remain in its natural state. Probably this old sibyl could discern bubbles, or discoloured water, when no eyes but her own were competent to make the observation; and it was easy to regulate this, by means which fortune-tellers generally know how to use. This celebrated priestess died about the year 1748. Her fame drew many to consult her from various parts; some from motives of mere curiosity, and others to obtain intelligence of lost goods or cattle. Since her death, this well has suffered considerably in its character; most of its ancient friends are dead; many who secretly revere its power are silent in its praises; multitudes totally disbelieve its miraculous efficacy; and suspicions of its magical virtues appear to be daily gaining ground.

In Roach, St. Cleer, and many other parishes, similar wells with similar powers are to be found. In former ages these were all in very high repute; and to doubt their efficacy would then have been thought as gross an outrage on established principles, as it would be now in some parts of Scotland to disbelieve the second

sight. In a credulous age it requires no small degree of vigour to break the fetters of superstition, or even to resist its chains. Men in the most exalted stations of life are not always placed beyond its influence. It is among the errors of the learned to sanction the credulity of the vulgar, and to revive declining absurdities. When Norden wrote his Survey of Cornwall, this famous well, though visited by multitudes, and venerated by more, seemed to have passed the zenith of its reputation. Some few years afterwards a man was said to have recovered the use of his limbs through the efficacy of this water. The report of so extraordinary a cure soon gained credit, even among those who had been inclined to scepticism. The tale reached the ears of the learned Bishop Hall, who took an occasion, while on a visit in Cornwall, to converse with this man on his miraculous cure. The evidence in favour of the fact was so convincing to the bishop, that he recorded it in a treatise entitled "The Mystery of Godliness." This circumstance revived the languishing reputation of the spring, and so augmented the number of its friends, that it has its votaries even to the present day.

It is but just to state, that none in Cornwall, except the vulgar and illiterate, are duped by these idle superstitions; by all others their imaginary virtues are judged unworthy of notice. The inhabitants of Cornwall have learnt to trace natural effects up to natural causes, and to discard all as imaginary which cannot furnish evidence sufficient to produce rational conviction.

Among the chalybeate springs or mineral waters of Cornwall, one of the most remarkable is at a place called Colurian, in the parish of Ludgvan. This spring is strongly impregnated, and is justly remarkable for the benefits which have resulted from the use of its streams. The bed through which this water flows, is a loose pebbly ground, mixed with a gravelly clay, full of ochrous iron mineral, which gives it a peculiar taste and smell. Upon this water Dr. Borlase tried many experiments, which he has detailed in his Natural History of Cornwall, as follows: "In the morning, before the water is stirred, there is a skin or film on the surface, of a rainbow colour, shooting to and fro; by which, may it be presumed, that there is a sulphur or naphtha mixed with this water, which rises and settles on the top when the water is left quiet for any time. In a calm but not very warm morning, on the 7th of August, 1734, O. S. before six o'clock, I found the water, both in the enclosed well and without, where it ran exposed to the air almost blood warm, and the common water, which runs about nine feet from the chalybeate, as cold as snow. I stayed some time, and found the difference still continue; by which it is to be concluded that the chalybeate spring derives a sensible heat from the bed of iron, vitriol, and pyrites, which it passes through. Having carried this water a mile or two, it lost that warmth; whence we may infer that such acidulæ

PETRIFYING WELL IN THE PARISH OF ST. CUBERT.

as this, cannot be so kindly to the stomach and intestines at a distance, as when drank on the spot. Being exposed to the open air for twenty-four hours, it suffers no alteration from galls; and the steel being deserted by the volatile spirit, and the common menstruum imbibing the moisture of the adjacent air, becomes weaker, and a stringy yellow sediment may be observed making its way to the bottom of the glass. It is a smooth water, mixes well with milk, and lathers easily with soap. There are many living witnesses within the compass of my knowledge, of the great virtues of this water. Two persons, of which I have sufficient proof, by drinking and washing the part affected, have been cured of the king's evil; and many others are said to have been so. It is very diuretick, passes forcibly by perspiration, promotes evacuation, removes swellings and obstructions of the abdomen, and restores lost appetite. Externally applied, it cures sores and scrophulous eruptions, and is a very good collyrium for the eyes."

In various parts of Cornwall many other springs may be found, with qualities of a nature similar to those described. From these some beneficial effects are said to have resulted; but in the well of Ludgvan we may perceive in stronger colours than in any other, the evidences which may be adduced in favour of the salubrity of all.

Of petrifying waters Cornwall has not much to boast. The only fountain which can be said to possess this singular property, is in the parish of St. Cuthbert, or Cubert, on the northern shore of the county. The place where this water rises is called Holy Well, and is about a mile and half north-west of the parish church. This was formerly a place of considerable resort, as the water, independently of its petrifying qualities, was thought to afford relief in fluxes and disordered bowels. This extraordinary well is in the side of the cliff, in a small sandy cove, somewhat concealed in one of those caverns which has been eaten out of the solid rock by the action of the northern sea. At the place where this well is found, the cliff is exceedingly high, and the spring seems to be apparently at its foot. The entrance is rather low; but having gained admission, the rock must be ascended about fifteen feet perpendicularly. There are steps cut for this purpose. Having gained this height, the water, which seems to distil from every part of the roof, is collected in a natural excavation, from which issues a small stream, scarcely larger than a reed. As the water percolates through some interstices of clay and stone, it brings down with it some of the finer parts of both, which form themselves into small seams and ridges, correspondent to the fissures through which these particles and the water pass. From various parts of the roof some short mammillary stalactites may be perceived hanging. The floor of the rock on which the spectator treads is covered over with the same substance; and, as the surface is inclined, the

incrustations which are carried on, are so many wavy processes which appear to cover the unevenness of the rock. These are perhaps nearly all the productions of the alabaster kind, that have hitherto been discovered in Cornwall.

In the water itself nothing remarkable is to be perceived. Many experiments have been made on it, and also on the incrustations which it has occasioned. But neither steel, alum, acid salt, nor sulphur has been found within it, in sufficient quantities to give it any other character than that of pure water. In undergoing some experiments it deposited a small sediment of the same colour and substance as the calcareous incrustations of the well. What effect it might produce on timber, is uncertain, no trials of this kind having ever yet been made; and the peculiar situation of the well, and the small quantity of the water, are by no means inviting to such an attempt.

Of wells or springs that formerly had chapels or oratories erected over them, the number must have been very great; since there are not many of any note where some vestiges of these buildings are not to be found. The greater part are now lying in a heap of ruins; some of these have been demolished by the rage of fanaticism, not less violent and ferocious, than the superstition which erected them was gloomy and blind. To this cause may be attributed the demolition of a chapel which once graced Madern Well. This was destroyed in the days of Cromwell by the pious fanaticism of Major Ceely, who then resided at St. Ives; and little doubt can be entertained that many others have fallen by the hands of domestic crusaders in a similar manner, and probably at the same period, when to mutilate and to destroy created the religious merit and triumph of the day. Others have fallen victims to the ravages of time; and the ruins of all are mingled in one common grave.

Among those which have survived the desolations of time and fanaticism, an edifice near Horsebridge, in the parish of St. Dominick, is the largest. This building is ten feet wide on its floor within, and fifteen feet in height; it is still entire, and is ornamented with pinnacles. In the parish of St. Cleer there is an ancient stone building, which was originally erected over a celebrated well that has nearly outlived its renown. Of the chapel over the well near St. Austell some account has already been given, in connexion with the water which it conceals from the sun. The parish of St. Agnes has also its celebrated well, over which is a plain Gothic structure. Like all others it is built of stone. In its front, which is about seven feet wide, there is an obtuse arch, but the whole fabric is destitute of ornaments. Another stone building is still standing over St. Piran's Well, in the parish of Perranzabuloe. But neither this edifice, nor the well which it consecrates, has any thing remarkable to recommend it to particular observation.

In the parish of St. Levan there is another well of ancient fame, over which stands an oratory or chapel. This building is about five feet square on the floor, and seven feet high. On many other wells some remains of buildings may be found in various stages of decay; but besides those already mentioned, there are very few free from mutilations.

In what age these wells were consecrated by imposition, it is scarcely possible to know with precision. Both the consecration and the chapels may certainly be ascribed to the same period; and we are forbidden by a train of circumstances to suppose this to be very remote. To the time of the Druids we cannot possibly carry back our views; neither can we trace these memorials of superstition to the primary introduction of Christianity into Cornwall. In these primitive times it seems to have been free from such adulterous contaminations. The subsequent establishment of popery, to which the Cornish submitted with stern reluctance, must therefore have been the source from whence these fetters, which so long continued to enslave the human mind, must have derived their origin, and here our inquiries respecting them must finally terminate.

Whether it be more difficult to establish a superstitious practice, and to rivet a full conviction of its being true, upon the mind, or to abolish that practice and that belief, is a problem that does not admit of an easy solution. To accomplish the former, much art is certainly necessary; and the latter can hardly be effected without time, and a general diffusion of useful knowledge. It is long since these wells were generally considered to possess supernatural virtues; but it is still a latent principle which lurks secretly in the creed of the vulgar. It is thus transmitted from age to age; so that tradition still keeps alive a fleeting spectre, which reason has long since consigned to rest.

SECTION V.

Advantages and Disadvantages of the surrounding Sea.—Tides at the Land's End.—Species of Sand for Manure.—Submarine Plants.—Zoophytes.—Amphibious.—Shell-fish.—Fish in general.—Description of the Pilchard Fishery.

Descending from the sources of our rivers to their extremities, we enter an element to which neither tradition nor history has hitherto attached any superstitious veneration in Cornwall. The sea spreads itself both on our northern and southern shores; and in its wide embrace encircles about four-fifths of the boundaries of the county. The advantages arising from this peculiarity of situation, are of great consequence to its inhabitants, by furnishing employment to multitudes, who

find in its waters an inexhaustible source of wealth. By filling our bays and harbours, it facilitates commerce with foreign nations, and by entering our creeks, it invites the fisherman to enterprise, and rewards him with a plentiful supply. The same facilities through which foreign merchandise is imported, apply to the tin and fish which are carried from our coasts; and the narrowness of the county enables the agriculturist to procure sand and oreweed from the various creeks for manure. The waters of the ocean surrounding the county, soften the air by their accumulating vapours; and the proximity of the cliffs to the mines in various parts, furnishes levels to the drains which carry off their collecting waters. In addition to this, they frequently expose the veins which are dispersed among the broken strata, and discover indications of beds of metals, which would otherwise have remained in impenetrable secret.

But these advantages have also their counterbalancing inconveniences, to which sailors are too frequently exposed. Between the projecting promontories, the bays in some places are very deep; and in stormy weather, when ships get within the headlands, it is with the utmost difficulty that they can escape being driven on the rock. Another inconvenience arises from the particular form which the land assumes, and from the rapidity of the tides near the Land's End. Presenting rather a point, than a bold and extended shore to vessels coming from the Atlantic, it is not always that mariners can know with certainty in which channel they have entered, until they find themselves unexpectedly thrown upon a leeward shore. To this deviation from their true course, the violence of the tides in no small degree contributes; and this violence is again heightened by their irregularity, both of which are occasioned by the promontories of the western part of Cornwall, and the vicinity of the Scilly Islands.

At the height of a common spring tide, the water at the Land's End rises about eighteen feet, increasing from this to twenty-four feet, in proportion as the wind operates in its favour. But in stormy weather, when a gale from south-west has urged the tide with peculiar violence, the water has been known to rise full thirty feet. In neap tides it in general rises no more than thirteen feet; and on some particular occasions it has been known not to exceed ten. During its flood, the tide at the Land's End sets inward from the south nearly nine hours; but its general run between Scilly and the Land's End is about eight hours, while its ebb continues only between three and four. The highest spring tides are about two days and half after the full and new moon; and the ebbs and floods are about one hour and fifty-five minutes later than at London Bridge.

The sands that surround the Cornish shores, furnish perhaps a greater variety than any other county. In almost every creek, cove, and harbour, and also on

every open coast, a diversity is discoverable. But amidst these apparent varieties, the microscope discovers each kind to belong to the same substance with the adjacent cliffs from which the particles have probably been washed. With these are mixed the minute parts which have been fretted from the strata beneath the sea, by the constant action of its waters, and the particles of shells and coral through which the whole becomes enriched for manure. "Hence the sands at Chyandour Creek near Penzance, and thence to Marazion, are of a pale blue colour, like the rocks at Chyandour, and the shingle upon the strand. On the isles of Scilly it is a bright coloured shining sand, composed mostly of the mica and crystals of the granite commonly called moorstone, which edges these islands. The same may be said of most other parts of Cornwall, where the sands are reddish, yellow, bright, and blue, according as the stones of each particular hue prevail in the lands adjoining."

Simple sand being nothing but an assemblage of minute pebbles or fragments of rock, can certainly contribute nothing towards the fertility of the soil, any further than as it renders it loose and brittle. The peculiar properties therefore, necessary to give perfection to vegetation, must be derived from some sources which simple sand cannot supply. It is to the salt, slime, shells and coral, with which the sea sand is mixed, that it owes its superiority over that which we find in rivers. It is known from experiment, that some kinds of sand which are valuable for manure when taken out of the sea, lose their fertilizing qualities after they have been for some time exposed to the air.

Sea sand is always rich in quality, when it is plentifully mixed with shells. For as shells contain in themselves the properties of lime, and their parts are preserved in their present positions by an unctuous cement, such sand must impart to the land through which it is distributed, the heat of lime and the fatness of oil, in proportion to the quantity of shells which it contains. Some of this sand may be found in the Scilly Islands; and in Whitsand Bay, near the Land's End, the sand is strongly impregnated with these fertilizing properties.

The most valuable sands that Cornwall can boast, are those which are mixed with small particles of coral; and of this species of rich manure, the harbour of Falmouth and its adjacent shores furnish the best specimens, and the greatest quantities. In most places where this excellent manure is found, it is taken up from the bottom of the sea in a large strong canvas bag, the mouth of which is expanded with a hoop of iron. This being sunk to the bottom and thrown upon its side, is drawn forward by the bargemen with a rope towards the barge, from the place where it was thrown in. By this action of the rope the edge of the hoop enters the sand and continues to move forward beneath its surface, until the bag

reaches the place where the barge becomes perpendicular. It is then drawn up to the surface of the water, and the contents discharged on board the vessel; this process is repeated until the cargo is complete. A barge-load of this sand, mixed with other manure, is thought sufficient for an acre of ground. This was formerly delivered at certain landing-places for ten shillings; but of late years the price has much advanced, and at all times much depends upon the distance it is carried.

The fertilizing quality of coral is owing to the same cause as that of shells; for it contains the property of lime, and makes a strong effervescence with acids. But being more solid than shells, it conveys a greater quantity of fermenting earth in an equal space. In addition to this, on account of its solidity, it does not dissolve in the ground so rapidly as the particles of shells; and consequently, by decaying more gradually, it continues much longer to impart its invigorating power to the soil with which it is mixed. Among the sands, rocks, and oreweeds of Mount's Bay, and on the northern channel also, coralline moss, incrustations, sprig and bunchy coral, have been frequently discovered, in various stages of progression, approaching towards perfection. The waters which wash our western shores, Dr. Borlase conceives to be impregnated with the coralline properties in a fluid state, and from these he supposes the shells of testaceous creatures are formed, and into these the shells finally resolve again, when animal life subsides.

Of submarine plants Cornwall furnishes a great variety, many of which are very beautiful, and are particularly remarkable for the firmness of their texture, and the brilliancy of their colouring. These plants and weeds have been distributed into various classes according to their distinguishing properties, and distinctly enumerated by Mr. Ray. Among those which fall under the denomination of ore-weeds, one of the most remarkable is the bloody sea dock, which, when in a state of perfection, is of a rich blood colour; from which circumstance it probably derived its name. This plant is so exceedingly thin, and so strongly adhesive, that if laid on paper, the sheet may be folded in almost any form, without occasioning either wrinkle or separation. The colour will retain its brilliancy for many years, and when it has somewhat faded, it becomes variegated with red and yellow, bearing some resemblance to a striped tulip.

Of this genus there is one species that has been denominated the sensitive fucus, from its possessing the property of shrinking from the touch, and indeed from every thing warm. If brought near the fire, its edges begin to move and draw towards each other. But if while in this state, the finger be brought near them, the edges again retire, and resume their primitive position. Placed on a warm hand, all its parts appear convulsed, and it seems to writhe like an animal in excessive pain. This singular property can only arise from the peculiar structure

of the leaf, which is compelled to yield to the repellent effluvia exuding from the hand.

On many parts of the Cornish coasts sponges have frequently been found, adhering occasionally to the solid rock, to large shells, and moveable stones. These have generally been discovered on the southern shores, but are very small. Some of these sponges have projecting parts resembling leaves in a curling state; many of this description grow on the rocks near Looe. Others appear as solid oblong balls, which in their central parts enclose a fishy embryo. Others appear full of large circular holes at the extremities of their tubercles, and exhibit when taken from the water, a colour inclined to purple; but on being exposed to the air, they soon acquire that of a common sponge. Beneath each of this kind a cavity has always been discovered, from which it appears to have been a receptacle for some body possessed of animal life; and it is not improbable that some species of the crab kind have found here a security to deposit their germes of future life.

Among the various substances which seem to unite the animal to the vegetable kingdom, the most remarkable is the sea nettle; so called from its affecting the hand in a manner similar to the land nettle. These are generally called by sailors and fishermen sea-blubbers. They are of two kinds, those fixed to the rocks, and those that float in the water. The former kind is plentiful in almost all the pools within the range of the tides. These vary in their colour from the finest scarlet to the deepest purple, sprinkled over with beautiful yellow specks. They adhere so firmly to the rocks, that it is with difficulty they can be disengaged; and in this state they seem continually to wave their arms or feelers in search of food. This species furnishes many kinds; but the greatest variety is among those that float about. They swim in an oblique manner, contracting and expanding their extremities alternately, and promoting their rest or motion by their legs or feelers. Their movements are very slow, and they fall a prey to every assailant.

The seal, which occasionally visits the caves on the northern shores, may be considered as the principal among the amphibious animals known in Cornwall. This creature is frequently called the sea-calf, from its head resembling that of a calf. Its pectoral fins are somewhat similar to the fore feet of quadrupeds, having five toes connected together by a membrane, with which it is said to hurl stones on its pursuers. Its tail is horizontally fixed, and its body, which is covered with hair, varies in length from five to seven feet. Its skin is manufactured into leather, and its flesh is sometimes eaten by the poor.

Among the shell-fish found among the rocks and sands of the Cornish shores, muscles, limpets, cockles, hens, scallops, periwinkles, and oysters, are the most numerous. But these are too well known to require any particular description.

Shrimps, crabs, crayfish and lobsters, are also caught in great abundance. Oysters of the finest flavour are in general taken from the creeks in Helford Harbour; and lobsters are carried alive from this coast to the markets of the metropolis.

We have no great variety of river-fish; the trout, the salmon, and salmon-peel, claim the principal notice. These fish are taken in all our large rivers; the trout affords the greatest variety, and is taken in many rivulets into which the salmon never enters. Of sea fish, the larger species that visit our shores are the blower, or fin-fish, and the grampus. These are sometimes taken when they get embayed, and run themselves ashore in pursuit of their prey. Dolphins have sometimes been seen on these coasts, but less frequently than the blue shark and porpoise, which follow the pilchards. Among the flat fish, one of the most remarkable is the monk or angel-fish, which seems to incorporate the nature and properties of the dog-fish and the ray. Its back is coloured like that of a seal, but without any stripes, and its belly is nearly white. Scates, rays, turbots, plaice, dabs, flounders, whiffs, soles, dories, and holibuts, all frequent this coast; this last is the most rare; but all besides are the common production of every summer. Of the red and grey mullet, the bass, conger eels, hakes, cod, ling, bream, mackerel, herring, pollack, and whiting, together with numbers of others, the name is all that is necessary to introduce. From April to October, and sometimes later, the mackerel rarely ever forsakes the Cornish coasts. The place of their principal resort is the neighbourhood of Penzance. When fresh, it is in universal estimation; and in the western parts of the county, the vast numbers that are salted, form, in winter, among the lower and middling orders of society, one of the necessaries of life. The herring visits our shores chiefly in October and November; but it is to be found occasionally during all the year. In these autumnal months large shoals appear, both on the northern and southern coasts, but those on the former are generally largest. Great numbers are consumed fresh, and large quantities are preserved for domestic use; but the principal body is sent to Bristol, where the merchants rarely fail to procure an advantageous market.

On a cursory view, the pilchard strongly resembles the herring; but on a more minute inspection, they are found to be totally distinct in many particulars. The pilchard is not so long as the herring; and in proportion to its length it is less compressed. The periodical seasons of their return are also different; and in their whole economy they bear little or no resemblance to each other. It is found, on examining their bodily structures, that their fins are not placed alike. The dorsal fin of the pilchard is placed exactly in the centre of its gravity; so that a pilchard suspended by it will not incline to preponderate either way; but the herring thus suspended, invariably inclines to dip towards the head. Nothing

therefore can furnish a more decisive proof that they are of distinct species, than these physical diversities, how much soever they may superficially appear to resemble one another. The scales of the pilchard have also been observed to adhere more closely to the body of the fish than those of the herring; but this is only an adventitious evidence of their being distinct.

These fish swarm in prodigious shoals from the northern seas at a certain season of the year, and direct their course through the northern channel towards the latitude of Cornwall. Arriving at the Scilly Islands, and hovering round the Land's End early in July, their course assumes a new direction. They sometimes separate; one part of the body taking the northern, and the other the southern channel, through which they again appear to pass towards their northern abodes. In proceeding onward on each side of the county, they visit the various creeks and bays which lie before them, keeping sometimes very near the shores, and at other times moving at a greater distance from the land. On the northern coast they scarcely strike off into deep water until they have reached Bude Haven, and on the southern they are rarely seen above the Start Point.

The principal places at which the fisheries are established on the north, are St. Ives, New Quay, and Port Isaac. Formerly some expensive preparations were made in some other creeks and bays; but the precariousness of the weather, and the uncertainty of taking a sufficient quantity of fish, caused these attempts to be abandoned. On the southern coast, where the adventure has been less hazardous, the efforts to take these migratory shoals have been more numerous. In Mount's Bay, at St. Mawes, Gorran, Mevagissey, Ropehaven, Charlestown, Parr, Polkerris, Fowey, Polperro, East and West Looe, Wrinkle, Cawsand, and above the harbour of Plymouth, various fisheries have been established. There are not many creeks on the southern coast, in which some efforts have not been made to arrest these valuable fugitives. The preparations necessary to be made on shore, consist of a cellar (where no division of the produce is immediately made) sufficient to contain four or five hundred hogsheads of fish, together with a proportionable quantity of salt. But where each adventurer cures his own proportion, he provides a cellar for himself, and takes his share entirely on his own account, immediately the fish are brought on shore. The division being made at the boat's side, all the future care and expence become personal, and each provides materials and a market for himself. The preparations for the water consist of three boats, two large ones and a small one. Each large boat contains seven men, and in the small one are the master, another man, and two boys. The whole adventure is generally called *The Seine*, and these seines are distinguished by various appellations, such as The Content, The Friendship, The Union, &c. The *seine-boat* and the *follower*,

are names by which the two large boats are distinguished; and the small one is called the *lurker*. On board of the two large boats are two large nets; that in the seine-boat is called the stop-seine, and in the follower is the tuck-seine. Their uses give these nominations to the nets. The stop-seine is about 220 fathoms long, and about sixteen fathoms deep in the middle, but not more than fourteen towards the extremities. The edges of this net are made fast to strong ropes, which run onward to each extremity. On one of these is strung a vast quantity of cork, and in several places small empty barrels, sufficient to render this edge of the net buoyant, when the seine is committed to the water. On the opposite edge the rope runs through perforated pieces of lead, sufficiently heavy to carry this edge to the bottom. The seine thus prepared is carefully taken on board the seine-boat, laid down in proper folds, free from every obstruction that might impede the progress of the fishermen in the critical moment when they have an opportunity of enclosing fish.

The boats thus equipped and manned, first begin to venture on the water about the end of July, at which time the pilchards are expected to pay their annual visit. They make their appearance chiefly in the evenings; so that the boats rarely go to sea before four o'clock, or continue longer than ten. Sometimes they again go out early in the morning, and occasionally take fish about the rising of the sun. The boats, scattered at a little distance from each other, wait those indications of a shoal with which the men are well acquainted. These are, the jumping of some of the pilchards above the surface of the water; the ascent of bubbles from the bottom, and a particular hue of redness which the water acquires when the shoal is large. After having ascertained the direction in which the shoal is moving, they proceed to enclose them in the large net in the following manner:—The end of the net being thrown overboard, the charge of which is committed to the follower, to prevent it from being dragged away, the seine-boat is rowed gently by some of the men, while others cast the net overboard. They always take a circular course; and their first care is to secure with the net that part to which the fish were travelling; and finally so to carry the net around them, that they shall be hemmed in on every side. The whole time considered necessary for two strong men to throw the net overboard, is from four to six minutes. The net immediately spreads itself, the corks on one edge rendering it buoyant, and the leads on the other causing it to sink to the bottom; for if the depth of the water exceeds the width of the seine, there is little or no probability of securing any fish, however large the shoal may be. As the circle which they take in throwing the seine into the water, is generally much larger than the net can compass, its two extremities are at a distance from each other when all is in the water. Ropes therefore are

carried out from each end, which cross each other, by which the men on board the two large boats warp them together until they are brought in contact. When this is done, the two extremities, if the shoal is thought to be large, are lifted from the bottom and laced together with the utmost expedition. While this is doing, every method is adopted to agitate the water, and drive back the body of fish from this only aperture through which they can possibly escape. This being done, the fish remain within an enclosure, the seine forming a circle round them, extending from the surface to the bottom of the sea. To secure the seine in this position, if they find it necessary from the probable quantity of fish enclosed to let it remain in the water, grapnels are carried out at some distance on every side, and thrown to the bottom; the ropes from which are fastened to the rope at the upper edge of the net. These grapnels preserve the seine in its circular position against the influence of the tides and the changes of the weather. The shoals occasionally contain from five to two thousand hogsheads. And however doubtful it may appear to a perfect stranger, it must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that following the process thus described, there can be no more difficulty or labour to enclose 2000 hogsheads than five, as the same work must be accomplished in either case, except that of lacing the seine together and securing it with grapnels, which, with small shoals is rendered unnecessary. It has been found by experience, that a large shoal is more easily secured than a small one; as such large bodies move with less rapidity.

The stop-seine being thus lodged in the water and made secure, the tuck-seine is carried within the enclosure. This seine is made like the former, only it is not so long; but it is wider in the middle. It is then thrown around nearly parallel with the former; but being within its confines, less care is necessary than was before observed. Being carried round the fish, the foot-rope is drawn with its leads along the bottom, and afterwards raised in a gradual manner to the surface of the water; so that the fish lie in an enormous bag of net; this net is then gathered up round them, until they are drawn to the surface of the water, when the two large boats are laden, and the remaining part is turned back into the large enclosure. The boats then proceed to the shore, where women are waiting to receive them into the cellar for curing.

Another method of taking pilchards is with nets having larger meshes, in which the fish get entangled. These driving-nets, as they are termed, are drawn after their respective boats, fastened only at one end, through which the pilchard is arrested as it attempts to pass. These boats and nets are always at a considerable distance from the shore, lest by approaching too near they should disperse the shoals which the seines are waiting to take. The quantity thus taken is very

small; but the pilchards are remarkably fine, and the expence of the adventure is of little importance.

As the pilchards in general arrive in larger bodies, but with much less certainty, on the northern shores than on the southern, the method of managing the seines at St. Ives is somewhat different. In this place the same men who have secured one shoal, repair immediately to other boats, and in them secure a second; and in successive order they thus proceed until all their seines are in the water. These men follow the signals made by others called heughers, who watch from the hills the arrival and movements of the shoals. The taking up of the fish and carrying them on shore, are consigned to other boats better adapted for the purpose.

The pilchards being brought into the cellars, are laid down individually in layers, first on the floor, which is gently inclined, that the oil issuing from the bulk may find its way into a receptacle placed for the purpose. In these layers the pilchards have their heads outward, nearest to the extremity of the bulk. They lie obliquely on their sides, the belly of one resting on the back of the other; so that from this position, the belly, which contains more oil than any other part, receives the greatest pressure. Between every layer of fish a certain portion of salt is introduced; and in this state the bulk rises to such heights as the quantity of fish taken, and the convenience of the women for distributing them, render necessary. During this process the broken fish, as well as those which are too small to be marketable, are picked out and thrown by, and afterwards sold for manure. The quantity of salt allowed by government for each hogshead is five bushels, each weighing eighty-four pounds. For this salt, which is free of duty, a bond must be given by the fish-curers, and the stock is weighed every year. For all deficiencies, after deducting the quantity allowed for saving the fish, the adventurers must be accountable under heavy penalties. Good salt will bear using twice; but after this it is condemned by government. That which is imported from France is always deemed the best; but during the late war, which shut up the communication between the two countries, the English manufacture has been much improved. The time allowed by the fish-curers for their pilchards to lie in bulk, is sometimes regulated by the wishes of the merchant, who is always ready to avail himself of the state of the foreign markets. The customary time is four weeks, and from thence varying to five or six; but no established rule prevails. Government commands thirty-three days.

The fish taken from the bulk are carried to large troughs, in which they are washed, and completely cleansed from the salt, filth, and coagulated oil, which they had acquired while lying in bulk. They are then laid in loose casks in much the same manner as when they were in the bulk, with this variation, that they partake

of the circular form of the barrel. The barrel being filled, it is carried to a floor of wood, in which is a channel made to receive the oil. This floor is contiguous to a wall, in which are several holes, about the same height from the ground as the hogshead. In one hole the end of a long lever is inserted, at the other end of which considerable weights are suspended. The lever passing over the end of the barrel, which is placed near the wall, presses with all its weight on an artificial end that enters the cask. Thus pressed, the fish grow compact; and as the vacancy on the top increases, it is filled up with other fish. This operation is continued until the barrel is full, and all the oil is pressed from them. Holes are made in the sides and bottoms of the barrels, through which the oil exudes; the barrels are then headed up, branded with the curer's name, and sent by merchants to the markets of the Mediterranean.

Among the various places on the coasts of Cornwall, in which fish are thus cured for exportation, none has been found for many years better conditioned than those cured by the inhabitants of Mevagissey. The manner in which they superintend the whole process in some degree contributes to this. As each adventurer has his quota taken from the boat, and committed to his care, his personal interest and reputation become immediately embarked in the issue. The vigilance both of himself and family are therefore exerted, to take proper care of their own property, and that it may command a sale among the merchants, who occasionally inspect as well as purchase. But in large concerns, where the management of all is left to hirelings, the same degree of attention is rarely paid, and in some instances the effects of this inattention have been much complained of.

Of the quantity of fish thus annually taken in the county, it is impossible to give any specific statement. Sometimes the aggregate amount will not exceed 15,000, and at other times it exceeds 50,000, and even 70,000 hogsheads. The price also is still more variable. During the war, when the Italian ports were shut, pilchards have been sold so low as 15*s.* per hogshead; but in the year 1815 they procured £5 5*s.* The number of pilchards contained in each hogshead is equally variable, much depending upon the size of the fish; 3000 or 3500 may be considered as the average number. The pilchards thus prepared for a foreign market are called *fumadoes*. This was an appellation which they received in ancient times, when they were cured by being *smoked* or *fumed*, in a manner somewhat similar to herrings in the present day. The name has survived, but the practice has been forgotten.

Pilchards that are caught early and are fat, have generally been thought to yield one hogshead of oil from ten hogsheads of fish. But it frequently happens that double this quantity will not yield more. The oil varies in price, from £20 to £28

per ton. The common price of pilchards may be estimated at about £2 2*s*. per hogshead. The skimmings which float on the water in which the pilchards are washed when taken from the bulks, is called garbage, and is sold to the soap-boilers at fifteen-pence per gallon. The dregs which remain in the oil reservoir, are sold to the curriers at about sixteen-pence per gallon on an average.

Few things are more precarious than the adventures in the pilchard fisheries. The first outfit of a seine, with its boats, oars, sails, ropes, nets, and a quantity of salt sufficient to cure 500 hogsheads of fish, if purchased new, cannot be estimated at less than £1000. On the southern coast, an average year of one seine may be estimated at 250 or 300 hogsheads; but it frequently happens that many seines scarcely take a single fish. In the year 1815, a seine at Charlestown caught only eight hogsheads during the season.

To meet the general uncertainty of the pilchard fisheries, government, in addition to the salt duty free, has granted a bounty of 8*s*. 6*d*. on every hogshead of fish actually exported to a foreign market. This sum is generally procured by the merchants, and paid to the adventurer with the fish-money. This bounty keeps the pilchard fishery alive. Were it to be withdrawn, the whole would languish and die, as the advantages resulting from the adventure would not be sufficient to meet the expenditure. And even under present circumstances, though fostered by the bounty and indulgence of government, a few fortunate adventurers gain considerable sums in some years, it is much to be doubted whether on the whole the pilchard fisheries are of any real pecuniary advantage to all who venture in them.

The employment however, which they furnish to boat-builders, rope-makers, coopers, to those who make the nets, to smiths, as well as masons and carpenters, who build cellars, ought not to be considered a matter of small importance. The manure which the land receives from broken fish and condemned salt, is also of considerable consequence to the agriculture of the county. And in addition to this, the resources which the poor find in these annual supplies, cannot but place the pilchard fisheries in a serious and respectable light. A suspension of the bounty granted by government, would dry up all these resources, and put an end to the industry which the fisheries excite. They also form an excellent nursery for seamen; which is another valuable consideration for England, whose prosperity depends upon its naval power, and the extension of its commerce. Connecting together the multitudes who are actually employed in taking fish, the sailors who bring salt to the ports, those who carry the annual produce to the Mediterranean markets, and the collateral branches of trade which associate with each department, we behold many thousands of seamen, who are prepared for any emergency that

THE MERCHANTS DURING THE LAST WAR EXPORTED PILCHARDS TO THE WEST INDIES.

may demand their aid. During the late war with France, the Italian ports being shut against us, induced the adventurers and merchants to explore a new market. This they found among the planters in the West Indies, who have occasionally purchased considerable quantities for the support of their slaves. The length of the voyage, and the heat of the climate, have however rendered some expensive precautions necessary. Instead of being closely pressed, and packed in loose barrels, it has been found necessary to carry them to market in tight casks filled with pickle. In some cases this adventure has been successful; but as a permanent market the consumption is not equal to the supply which the county can afford. The return of peace has re-opened the markets on the continent; and from the demands which have already been made, the intercourse promises to be again established in all its former prosperity.

CHAP. XIII.

Geographical Situation, General Appearance, Vegetable Productions, Soils, Landholders, Agricultural Resources, and Public Roads.

SECTION I.

Boundaries, Extent, Situation, Atmosphere, variable Weather, Rains, temperature of the Seasons, Influence on Vegetation, Storms.

THE county of Cornwall, which is nearly bounded by water, is washed on its northern shores by the Bristol Channel, and on its southern by the British. On the east it is nearly separated from Devonshire by the Tamar, so that with the exception of a few miles, where an artificial boundary is extended, Cornwall may be almost considered as an island. Being widest in its eastern extremity, and growing more narrow as it advances towards the west, the form which the land assumes may not improperly be said to resemble a cornucopia.

In the parish of Moorwinstow, about four miles from the north channel, there is a tenement called Shorston. On the outskirts of this tenement, on an extended common called Shorston Moor, Cornwall is divided from the parish of Bradworthy in Devonshire, by a hedge about forty yards to the east, then by another hedge about a quarter of a mile long from the parish of Hartland; it then joins the parish of Wellcombe, from which it is divided also by a hedge about a mile in length, extending to Goosham Mill, where a small stream supplies its place, and continues to divide Cornwall from Devon, from this place to the northern sea. All the other parts of Cornwall, with a few exceptions already noticed, are divided from Devon by the waters of the Tamar, which rise also on Shorston Moor, and flow onwards to the south. The parishes which come in contact with the western extremities of Devonshire, are Moorwinstow, Kilkhampton, Launcells, Bridgerule, Whitstone, North Tamerton, Boyton, Week St. Mary, Jacobstow, Warbstow, Tremaine, Tresmeere, Egloskerry, St. Stephens by Launceston, Lawhitton, Lezant, Calstock, Stokeclimsland, St. Dominick, Pillaton, Landulph, St. Stephens near Saltash, Antony, St. John's, Maker, and Rame.

The length of this county, according to Gascoyne's map, which is very exact in the outlines, though incorrect in the names and positions of many places, is

sixty-nine miles measured in a direct middle line from the Land's End to Harwood in the parish of Calstock. Its extreme breadth, measured from the Rame Head to Shorston, is forty-six. From Tintagel Castle to Pallant Point, is twenty-seven; and from St. Ives to Marazion, which, without including the influx of the tides, is the most narrow part of the county, the whole extent does not exceed six miles. The whole circumference, from the vast irregularity of the shores, is difficult to ascertain; but according to prevailing opinion, it is estimated at 200 miles; while its utmost length from the extremity of Moorwinstow to the Land's End, is not less than ninety miles. Martin however, in his map, which was made from an actual survey, states the extreme length at no more than seventy-eight miles.

To ascertain the latitude and longitude of the most conspicuous lands in Cornwall, many efforts have been made; but scarcely any two accounts have perfectly concurred. Martin considers the Lizard to be in latitude 49 deg. 45 min. north, and in longitude 5 deg. 36 min. west of London; but Dr. Halley conceives the former to be 49 deg. 55 min. and the latter 5 deg. 30 min. The Land's End Martin supposes to be in latitude 49 deg. 56 min. and in longitude 6 deg. 6 min.; Dr. Halley fixes the former at 50 deg. 5 min. and the latter at 6 deg. 7 min. But the difference in these calculations is inconsiderable; in the latitude of the Lizard, Tonkin concurs with Martin; but he determines its longitude in 3 deg. 44 min.; and that of the Land's End to be in 6 deg. only; and Hartland Point in 4 deg. 35 min. west of London. From these calculations he concludes, that the county of Cornwall is situated between 50 and 51 deg. of north latitude, and between 4 and 6 deg. west longitude.

The air of Cornwall, though not wholly free from noxious vapours, is less impregnated with unwholesome effluvia than that in most other counties. The fogs which occasionally load the atmosphere are of short duration, and very rarely spread themselves at once over any considerable tract of country. The air must therefore be esteemed pure and balsamic, notwithstanding the saline particles which it acquires from the contiguous seas. In most parts of Cornwall, the air thus impregnated, corrodes iron in a short time, but more particularly towards the sea; completely devouring the bars and frames of windows, and checking in many places the progress of vegetation in plants, shrubs, and trees. It quickly tarnishes the lustre of any highly polished metals, and takes from glue the power of retaining its adhesive qualities for any considerable length of time.

But although our rains are frequent, as we have no bogs, lakes, or morasses of any considerable magnitude, no noxious exhalations can arise from stagnant pools; and having no extensive forests which might obstruct the free circulation of the breezes, the air suffers nothing from these impediments, or from continued calms.

DELIGHTFUL SITUATION AND CLIMATE OF PENZANCE, THE MONTPELIER OF ENGLAND.

The diversity of hills and vales, of bays, projecting rocks and promontories, with which Cornwall abounds, cannot fail to intercept and to collect every current of atmosphere that moves within the range of its latitude and longitude. Both calms and vapours are therefore prevented from remaining till they produce pernicious effects; so that neither the saltness which the air acquires, nor the mineral evaporations by which it might otherwise be tainted, are permitted to render it so insalubrious as to be injurious to the life of man. Mr. Carew has observed, that "the air of Cornwall is better adapted to preserve health than to recover it; especially in case of any languishing disease, with which strangers are affected." In certain instances this may be true; but fact and experience teach in general a very different lesson. The temperature of the atmosphere, the mildness of the seasons, the beauty of the prospect, and the exhilarating purity of the gentle breezes which play upon the bosom of the waters, and scatter health upon the shores, have conferred on Penzance and its vicinity, a degree of celebrity, which few persons who have visited this neighbourhood, will think injudiciously bestowed. To this place many valetudinarians annually resort, and the benefits they receive, leave them in general but little reason to regret their journies. It is not without sufficient reason that Penzance has been denominated the Montpelier of England.

Approximating almost to an island, of no considerable dimensions, Cornwall may naturally be supposed to enjoy and to suffer all the vicissitudes peculiar to such insular situations. The weather is accordingly very variable, and more exposed to sudden transitions than the inhabitants of any other county in England experience. As steams are perpetually arising, both from the land and the water, and entering the atmosphere from these distinct elements, it is obvious, that the air will become more or less humid, in proportion as the neighbouring land or water shall happen to prevail. In the vicinity of Cornwall the area of water greatly preponderates; and as a natural consequence, rains descend in copious quantities through every season of the year. Hence it frequently occurs, that while other parts of England suffer from drought in the summer season, the lands of Cornwall suffer little or no inconvenience. The rains however, are rather frequent than violent; and they rarely do much mischief by the inundations they occasion. This may in no small degree be attributed to the narrowness of the county, the height of the land in the interior, the rapid descent from thence to the sea, and the shortness of the passage which the rivers have to accomplish, before their waters are discharged.

Nor can we view these diversified operations of natural causes, without beholding the superlative wisdom of that Being by whom natural causes are regulated. In open and flat countries, where no rapid declivities are to be found to carry off the

collecting waters, the same quantities that fall in Cornwall would deluge the surface, and lay it generally under water. The same quantity of rain on the contrary, that in a champaign district would be sufficient to preserve and promote vegetation, would consign, in Cornwall, the surface of the earth in many places to barrenness and desolation. For as the irregularity of the land permits all the water, except that which immediately enters the earth, to descend into the vales, a cessation of rain must operate as a suspension of moisture, and be productive of all those fatal effects which the Divine Wisdom has now prevented.

The uncertainty of the weather in Cornwall has long since become proverbial. The winds by which the clouds are propelled and supported, having but a short passage across the county, soon remove these sources of rain; and immediately after a severe shower, the sun frequently shines forth with an additional splendour. These sudden changes have given rise to this homely distich:—

"Each day in the year
The sun doth appear."

The truth however, of the sentiment thus expressed, is far more questionable than that of some other provincial rhymes, which mark the progress of fogs, and anticipate the effects they will produce. Hence

"A mist from the sea
Brings heat in the day;
But a mist from the hill
Brings water to the mill."

In the neighbourhood of St. Austell there is another homely distich, which expresses a presage of approaching rain. It is expressed as follows:

"When Carn-Grey Rock doth wear a hood,
Let Garker Moor beware a flood."

All these localities are founded upon the instability and precarious state of the weather in Cornwall. The seasons, though far from being regular in their degrees of heat and cold, are more uniform than the weather. These in general are much milder than in any other parts of England. In the winter season myrtles survive its rigour, unless the cold be unusually severe; and even when the nipping frost destroys its branches, the root in general retains the principle of vegetation, and in the ensuing spring, when the decayed limbs are cut off, sprouts again as vigorous as before. Some instances have occurred, in which the frost has continued for many weeks; and in a few solitary winters, the snow has remained in great depth for a considerable season, on the inland parts. Cornwall is almost a total stranger

to storms of very large hail. The winters are in general very mild; a kind of languid spring seems to accompany the solstice. This makes its appearance in the buds and blossoms that begin at an early period of the year to unfold themselves. But the progress of vegetation is less rapid than in many other places; the variable weather, chilling blasts, hoar frost, and blustering gales which sometimes succeed the warm days that have tempted the tender vegetative embryo to appear, frequently introduce a scene of desolation, and blast all the prospects of a promising year. Hence the fruits of Cornwall are very precarious. Dr. Borlase says, "The seasons with us in Cornwall are like the neap-tides, they neither ebb nor flow with any great energy; the heat of the atmosphere neither retires so far from us in winter, nor advances to that height in summer, as it does in more inland counties."

During the summer season, the heat is less intense in Cornwall, than in most other parts of England, although it occupies the more southern latitudes of the island. This happy temperature is occasioned in part by the counteracting influence of the breezes, which the contiguous tides, in conjunction with other causes, tend to keep continually alive. Hence, although vegetation is more early, yet being less rapid, the harvests of Cornwall are later than in the eastern parts, where the rays of a summer's sun are reflected back by the extended plains and vales of the interior districts.

The season of harvest is in some degree regulated by the weather that has preceded it. Wheat is not often reaped in large quantities in July. In August the harvest is most plentiful; but it is not usual for the stacks to be completely formed and secured against the winter, until near the end of September. A few instances have occurred, in congenial lands which have a southern aspect, in which barley has been sown, matured, and gathered in, in the short space of nine weeks.

From the peculiar situation of Cornwall, almost every season is exposed to violent storms. These blasts are perhaps more severe than those felt in the inland counties. To these counties the storms approach through many obstacles, arising from the hills which obstruct, and the vallies which absorb them in their progress, and thus finally divide and overcome their force. But in Cornwall almost every part being more or less exposed to the sea, they fall upon the land in all their violence, and frequently occasion considerable mischief. Nearly three fourths of the year the wind blows from some of the intermediate points between north-west and south-east; and those winds which issue from the south-west, not only bring rain, but also violent gales, from which mariners too frequently severely suffer.

Whatever the causes of winds may be, it has been found by experience, that in general these currents proceed from the sea; and passing over an extended surface of water, they naturally acquire the humidity of that element. Now as the large

body of water with which Cornwall is almost encompassed, lies chiefly between west and south, it is easy to conceive that the winds will usually proceed from this quarter. And consequently, by passing over the Atlantic, as they will be impregnated with watery particles, a discharge may be expected as soon as they become obstructed by the high cliffs, promontories and hills of Cornwall. The same cause that may be assigned for these frequent rains, will in some degree account for the violent gales with which these rains are sometimes accompanied.

The currents of air which are generated on the ocean, meeting nothing to obstruct them, retain their full power in ranging towards the contiguous shores, and even augment their energy while passing over the yielding waves. These tempests are sometimes accompanied with thunder and lightning. Having made these observations on the climate, temperature, salubrity of the air, and variations of the seasons, it will be necessary to turn to the varied appearance which the different parts of the county exhibit, and briefly to notice the most striking peculiarities that occur both in vegetable and animal life.

SECTION II.

General Appearance.—Landscapes.—Picturesque Beauties.—Romantic and sublime Scenery.

To a traveller who enters the county, and pursues his journey on the principal road from Launceston to Truro, the general appearance of the country is very unfavourable. The road over which he passes being carried on near the centre of the ridge by which the lands of Cornwall seem to be divided, he discovers little more than a dreary waste, stretching itself apparently from one extremity of the county to the other. This sterile scene is indeed broken by the highly cultivated meadows which lie near the towns and villages through which he travels; but these are too diminutive to impose a new feature upon the general aspect otherwise presented to his view. Nothing can be more delusive than an estimate of the general appearance of the county, formed from this unfavourable survey. For although the high lands have little or nothing to render them interesting, but the extensive prospects which they furnish, the declining grounds have innumerable beauties, which more than compensate for these bleak and forbidding regions. Descending to the lesser hills, to the occasional plains, and numerous vallies, the seats of cultivation and fertility begin to appear. On the banks of all the larger rivers, on the lands near the sea shores, on the declining areas which terminate in vales, and on the margins of several public roads, the progress of vegetation appearing in the woods, the rich meadows, the corn-fields, and the orchards,

discovers a prolific and vigorous soil, which many counties more celebrated for their fertility would be proud to boast.

On the delightful scenery exhibited on the banks of the Tamar, some remarks have already been made. Few scenes can be more beautiful than those near Calstock, Cotehele, Pentilly, and Port Eliot. Of Mount Edgcumbe the fame is known throughout all England. On the banks of the Lynher, near Trematon Castle, and Notter Bridge, the views are highly pleasing. The scenery near East and West Looe presents all the charms of landscape, and excites the admiration of all who feel an interest in the various beauties of fertility and vegetable life. The meadows, woods, and declivities, which diversify the banks of the Fowey, from the harbour to Lostwithiel, and the vales of Lanhydrock and Glynn know no rival in picturesque beauty in any of the western parts, except on the banks of the Fal, where, in the woods and lawns of Tregothnan, Mount Edgcumbe seems again to appear. The landscapes in the vicinity of Falmouth are also captivating; the parishes on the banks of Helford Creek please the eye, and even the district of Meneage is not destitute of charms. From almost every rock that is projected in Mount's Bay, some pleasing prospect may be discovered; and the various beauties round Penzance command universal admiration. On the northern coast these scenes of picturesque fertility are scattered with less profusion. But the banks of the Camb-Alan are marked with the strong productions of vegetative life, in the woods which seem to nod to the passing streams.

In the mining districts the surface of the country has been greatly broken by the works that have been carried on through a succession of ages. These present a scene of desolate sterility, and exhibit nature in an almost inverted order. The vallies also have been much disfigured where stream-works have been established; but the riches which these mining districts have afforded, have amply compensated in wealth for what they have deducted from the general beauty of the county. In various parts of the parishes of St. Agnes, Gwennap, Redruth, Camborne and others, the natural surface of the earth seems to be buried beneath the rubbish taken from the internal excavations.

The most remarkable hills in Cornwall are Roughtor, Brownwilly, Hingston, Hainsborough, Carradon, Castle-an-Dinas, St. Agnes Beacon, Carnbre, Carn-mark, Godolphin and Tregoning Hills, and Crowan Beacon. It appears from some observations made by Colonel Mudge, that Brownwilly is much higher than any other land in Cornwall, it being 1368 feet above the sea at low water.

From the hills of Roughtor and Brownwilly the prospects are more extensive than from any other part. These prospects carry the eye into a considerable part of Devonshire. The hill of Hainsborough furnishes a more enlarged view of this

county than any other eminence; both the northern and southern channels are discoverable from its heights; and the eye stretches from the hills of Roughtor to the vicinity of Liskeard; and from the parish of St. Agnes to the neighbourhood of Helford. To the picturesque scenery that has been noticed, many delightful views might also be added; but the present design is not to delineate every feature, but to give such a comprehensive outline as may furnish a correct idea of the general appearance of the county.

Among the sublime and romantic exhibitions of nature, the bold, abrupt, and frowning cliffs which present on the western shores a formidable front to the surges of the Atlantic, deserve particular notice. These display a great variety of magnificent objects, both in the projecting crags connected with the land, and in the loose and broken fragments that are scattered in wild irregularity along the shores. At the Land's End, Cape Cornwall, Castle Treryn, and on the adjacent coasts, the ideas suggested by the enormous blocks of granite, which seem to have been tumbled on each other in promiscuous heaps, are, that all nature has been convulsed; and that these piles having survived the general catastrophe, remain as the silent historians of departed phenomena. On the bold and projecting shores of the Lizard, the rocks of serpentine at Kynans Cove, exhibit nature in the sublime and terrible, to great advantage. Proceeding along the southern coast towards the east, the rocks have retained this sublimity, without perpetuating the magnificent horror of the western shores. But on the northern extremity of the county, in the rocks of Schistus, contiguous to the ruins of Tintagel Castle, the frowns of terror are again resumed, and they appear with additional solemnity, from the screams of sea birds, and the angry violence of the waves. Descending to the west, this terrible grandeur sometimes softens into broken shores and sandy coasts; but the frowning aspect of nature soon re-appears; and the horrid sublimity becomes more conspicuous, from the interruptions it had experienced.

In the inland parts, the hills which have been named, may be placed among the various objects which diversify sublime expression. To these may be added, the numerous rocks which have been surveyed among the memorials of Druidical superstition, which would have been regarded with admiration, even though they had not been venerated in departed ages. The lofty groupe of craggy granite, which rises like a wart of nature, among surrounding heaths in the parish of Roach, may be compared with the Wringcheese; and both may be considered as rivalling on the land in point of singularity, the celebrated Mount of St. Michael, which emerges from the ocean in Mount's Bay. In the parishes of Luxulian and Lanlivery, the enormous pebbles which appear scattered on the surface of the land, are not without their sublime appearance, nor can they be surveyed without

producing correspondent effects. The feelings excited among the enormous masses of Roughtor, coincide with those that are produced among the rocks of Tintagel, so far as the latter can be detached from the works of art, and the action of the watery element. In each case the effect is highly sublime, and the causes of all may be ranked among the wild and romantic scenery which Cornwall exhibits in a variety of picturesque forms. On the bleak moors which extend from Blissland to Northill, about ten miles from west to east, and from Davidstow to St. Neot, from north to south about twelve miles, including parts of four hundreds, and a great portion of thirteen parishes, the hills of granite are very numerous. But they so much resemble others, that they need no description.

SECTION III.

Destruction of ancient Timber, and reviving spirit of planting in modern Days.—General Survey of Vegetable Productions.—Fruitfulness and excellence of the Potatoe.

It has long been a prevailing opinion, that Cornwall, though now comparatively destitute of timber, was in former ages little less than one general forest. Of these trees, great numbers which grew near the ocean, have been overwhelmed by the encroachments of that element; others have been cut down for domestic uses; and many have been removed to other parts. Another principal cause of diminution arose from the consumption which the fusion of metals required. These general causes must have conspired to reduce the common stock throughout the county; but the approaching famine was not very severely felt, through the vast supplies which were afforded by Henry VIII. who disparked all the royal enclosures in Cornwall.

Prior to this time, and for a considerable period afterwards, all the metals of the county were fused with charcoal. Nor was it until the impossibility of procuring a constant supply of wood was discovered, that any substitute was considered practicable. Two centuries have not yet elapsed since the introduction of pit coal from Wales; and it is to the genius of Sir Bevil Grenville of Stowe, that the county is indebted for many valuable experiments, which led to the invention of the reverberatory furnaces that are still in use.

The fatal effects of destroying the timber of the county, without planting anew, was most feelingly deplored by Carew. The eastern part of the shire he describes as not destitute of coppice wood, but the price was high. In the western districts he observes, either that nature had denied that commodity, or that the want of good husbandry had lost it. Timber in Cornwall he represents as having taken

an universal downfall, which the inhabitants begin now, and shall hereafter rue more at leisure.

Of what particular species or quality the ancient trees of Cornwall were thought by its late inhabitants, it is as vain to inquire, as it is to ask whence that prevailing prejudice arose, that the soil and climate were not congenial to the growth of timber? It is however, an indisputable fact, that this opinion operated for ages with all the influence of a magician's spell; and it is only of late years, that the gentlemen of this county have awakened from the strange delirium of their ancestors, and begun to plant for posterity. Among those who have set so noble an example to their cotemporaries, and to succeeding generations, the names of Lord Grenville, Lord de Dunstanville, the late Lord Falmouth, Sir William Lemon, Sir John St. Aubyn, Charles Rashleigh, Esq. E. W. Stackhouse, Esq. Sir Vyell Vyvyan, and John Thomas, Esq. should be placed foremost. Many others have caught the spirit; so that planting has been a prevailing practice in many parts of the county during the last twenty or thirty years. "Most of the proprietors of land in this county," says Mr. Worgan, in his Agricultural Survey, "are directing their attention to planting, so that in thirty or forty years Cornwall will present extensive woodland scenery, both useful and ornamental."

From the peculiar situation of Cornwall, great care was necessary to preserve the tender plants from the blasts and storms to which they were exposed. The hill on which Mr. Rashleigh laid out his plantation, has an aspect fronting the north-west; and its declivity is on the margin of a deep and narrow vale that is enclosed between this hill and another, which has also since been partially planted. Through this vale a strong current of wind from the north and north-west often passes, the piercing qualities of which rendered every precaution necessary that prudence and foresight could suggest. Many efforts were accordingly made, before he succeeded. Trees of various kinds and in various stages of progression, were introduced; but his early exertions proved abortive. Experiment succeeded to experiment; some part of the hill was sowed with acorns; another part with beech-mast, and others with the seeds of ash and sycamore. But none of these seeds could easily be matured to perfection. In springing up they afforded a flattering prospect; but the spiry grass soon overpowered them, and the expence of constantly weeding them was too great to justify an unremitting perseverance. The pine aster fir was however at length introduced, as a shelter to the more tender trees, and being planted in situations the most exposed to the action of the piercing winds, all the advantages expected from them have been happily experienced. This hardy fir was first introduced into the county by H. M. Praed, Esq. about the year 1750, since which time its use has been almost universally acknowledged, and

the practice of planting has been almost as universally adopted. This fir, which grows more rapidly than any other, was intermixed with other trees, and planted all over the hill, so that from every quarter the protection which they afforded was complete against every attack. After the plantation began to thrive, it became necessary to thin these firs, to make room for such forest trees as were designed to remain. Much care however, was at first required, lest the exposure should be too powerful for the strength they had acquired. In the early stages their limbs were lopped off; afterwards some few were cut down; and as the forest trees became sufficiently large and strong to afford shelter to one another, the firs were gradually taken away, so that at present very few remain in the plantation. The whole now appears in a flourishing condition, and it is hardly perceptible that the firs were originally the most conspicuous trees in the forest. In less exposed situations such precautions may not be necessary; but on all elevated grounds the protection of the pine aster fir is almost indispensable to the welfare of the infant grove.

To enumerate the various kinds of trees that grow, and would grow in Cornwall, if planted and cultivated with care, would be to write the vegetable department of the natural history of the temperate zone. Fruit-trees of almost every description may be brought to perfection in all the southern districts. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, and nectarines, are to be found in most gentlemen's gardens, in all their varieties. Chesnuts, walnuts, mulberries, and fig-trees, find also in Cornwall a congenial soil. From the manner in which the mulberry flourishes, it has been thought that silk-worms might be propagated in this county to great advantage. No trial has yet been made on a mercantile scale, and the principal obstacle to be encountered is, the vast quantity of rain that falls during almost every season of the year. To distinguish in the flower garden, the fruit garden, the kitchen garden, the orchard and the forest, and also among the inexhaustible varieties of wild vegetation, such plants, fruits, roots, shrubs, and trees, as are exotics, from those that are natives, would lead us into all the minutiæ of botanical research. Many of each kind have been imported from the continent, and for many more we stand indebted to the conquering Romans. In all the warmer parts of the county the vine flourishes with much luxuriance, both in the hot-house and in the open air. In some parts hops have been cultivated with great advantage; and the culture of this valuable plant might be extended along the southern shores with still greater success, if proper means were adopted to effect it.

Among the exotics of Cornwall, there is no vegetable production entitled to more regard than the potatoe. If Ceres was deified among the ancients for the introduction of grain, surely Sir Walter Raleigh is entitled to the veneration and

gratitude of these kingdoms, for introducing this invaluable root. In Cornwall it obtains the highest degree of perfection; and it has added more to the benefit of mankind, than all the conquests of heroes, from Nimrod to Napoleon.

In most parts of Cornwall it is not less prolific than it is excellent in the nourishment it affords. "In the western parts, in the neighbourhood of Penzance, they produce two crops of potatoes a year. They plant the kidney potatoe about Christmas, or a few weeks before it, which they draw in May, and plant in the same ground the apple potatoe. Captain James of Marazion assured me, that two years ago he had by this management, in the first crop, from one acre, 100 Cornish bushels of twenty-four gallons each; and in the second crop, 200 bushels; so that from one acre Cornish, which is one acre and one eighth statute measure, he produced 900 Winchester bushels of potatoes in one year. The manure they use is sea sand, oreweed, and dung. This mode of forcing crops of potatoes is certainly not to be generally recommended. By the common mode of planting potatoes in the end of April and beginning of May, after paring and burning, 450, and from that to 600 Winchesters are no uncommon produce. This aptitude of the soil and climate in this part of the kingdom to this plant is easily accounted for. The summers here are always moist, and the ground is warm and dry."* But the general soil, and the fertility of some parts of Cornwall demand a few more particular observations.

SECTION IV.

General Characteristics of the prevailing Soils in Cornwall.—Manure.—Fertility.

If the soils of Cornwall were to be minutely examined, and delineated according to their distinctive properties, it would be necessary to give several descriptions of almost every parish. Besides these varieties, their general characteristics may be ranged under the two principal denominations of the black growan, and the shelfy or slaty soils.

The black growan soil consists of a thin stratum of light black earth, occasionally intermixed with small gravel, the detritus of the granite or growan, from whence it obtains its name. This soil is chiefly found on the summits and sides of the hills in the more uncultivated parts; and consequently it greatly prevails in the interior of the county; and it is to be found in the few swampy plains, which, during the winter months appear to be the seats of desolation. In some parts of the mining

* Fraser's General View of Cornwall in 1794.

districts also this soil is predominant; but throughout the county it varies in its degrees of depth, and consequently in the fertility which appears in its various productions. On the more elevated parts, this soil is exceedingly thin, having been washed by the descending torrents into the plains and vales below. In addition to this, a considerable portion is annually cut from the surface, and dried in the sun during the summer, by the peasantry, as their principal article of fuel. This practice, by taking off the grassy sod, exposes the remaining parts to the action of the rain, which carries off a great portion of the gritty particles thus exposed to its violence. The natural produce of this soil is a miserable heath, that seems stinted in its growth for want of proper nourishment, and a species of furze called *tame furze*, that is perfectly correspondent with the heath and the soil, the companions of its tardy vegetation.

Beneath this stratum of black growan, which varies in depth from three to seven or eight inches, there is almost uniformly found a thin layer of cubical quartz. These stones are of various sizes, but in general they are very small, and therefore can only be separated from the soil with considerable labour and expence. The thickness of this layer of quartz varies also from three to five or six inches, and the uniformity exhibited by its regular disposition is very remarkable.

Under this quartz there is an embodied stratum of clay, which in some places is nearly white, and in others inclined to a yellow hue. Nothing can be apparently more sterile than the appearance which it exhibits. But it has been found, that in places where the quartz has been removed, and this clay has been mixed with the growan soil above, the whole has acquired a loamy nature, and has been rendered congenial to almost every kind of grain. To cultivate this soil, the miners in many parts of the western districts have of late years been much encouraged by the proprietors of the land, who have granted to them for long periods as much as they felt disposed to enclose, for a small annual rent by way of acknowledgment. As the miners have much leisure, those among them who are industrious, have gladly availed themselves of these generous offers; and the effect of their exertions gives a degree of pleasure to the spectator, and confers a rich reward on the possessor, which are heightened by the dreary appearance of the contiguous wastes.

The shelfy or slaty soil consists of a certain species of earth which is the detritus of the softer schistus. This kind of soil abounds in the west and south-west parts of the county, particularly near the sea, where it is stratified into regular strata. In many of the inland parts it is also found; but in these it is so detached, that no regular connexion can be traced between the patches. Mixed with the more viscuous earths and sand, the finer parts of this soil soften into an excellent compost,

which has been found productive of highly advantageous crops. It is to this soil that Cornwall is chiefly indebted for its more abundant harvests.

In the eastern part of this county there are two considerable districts, favoured with this species of fertile soil. One is on the north, and extends on the banks of the Camb-Alan towards Padstow, stretching to the west so far as the parish of Cubert, and from thence on the north-east so far as Lanteglos near Camelford. On the southern side of the county another district is very extensive, stretching from the banks of the Tamar to the parishes of Tywardreath and St. Blazey, and embracing the fertile parish of St. Germans, the lands contiguous to Liskeard, and all those which lie to the south of Braddock Downs. These districts may in some degree be considered the granary of the county. On the northern part, vast quantities of barley are produced, and on the southern both wheat and barley in proportionable abundance.

Farther west, another fertile district appears, partaking of this slaty soil. This extends from Mevagissey to Tregony, and from thence to Probus, embracing all Roseland, and terminating on the banks of Falmouth Harbour. Around the river Heyl, in the vicinity of Trelowarren, in the parishes of St. Anthony and St. Keverne, in the lands round Stratton and Penzance, and in various other parishes, certain portions of this soil may also be discovered. These soils are sometimes so intermixed with each other, that it is not easy to determine which predominates. In any other county besides Cornwall, this soil would probably have been less prolific than it is here. The moisture which it receives quickly runs through the crevices of the slaty stratum that lies beneath; and such humidity as is retained in the cultivated glebe, soon evaporates before a fervent sun. But little inconvenience is experienced in this county from long and excessive droughts.

In some small spots, chiefly of level grounds and gentle declivities, another species of soil appears. This has a reddish hue, is close in its texture, inclining to clay, and retains its moisture for a considerable time. In this soil vegetation is rather tardy at first, but as it retains the genial influence it receives, without suffering from the variations which other soils immediately feel, grain ultimately ripens rather sooner in this than in any other. Many soils of various descriptions may be found in several portions of the county; but as some result from distinct compounds of those which have been mentioned, and others are too diminutive to demand particular notice, those already described may be considered as comprising the radical varieties which characterize the surface of Cornwall.

With regard to manure, the methods pursued by the agriculturists of Cornwall depend very much upon their relative situations. In the eastern part of the

county, particularly near the sea, or navigable creeks and rivers, great quantities of limestone are imported from Plymouth, and burnt with culm and mixed with other manure, as a preparation for wheat. This cannot be obtained without too great an expence on the northern shores, on which account the soil is generally cultivated for barley. Sea sand is however used in all the maritime parts, to which old salt and broken pilchards are mostly added by the best farmers in those districts where the fisheries are established. Dung of various kinds, and rotten earth, form a valuable compost, and oreweed enriches the composition. From 80 to 100 bushels of lime, and about 150 or 200 horse-loads of compost, is the common quantity of manure allotted for an acre of land. The manure which is produced by broken and decayed pilchards is by far the richest. The next in quality arises from the bay-salt which is condemned as unfit for any further use as salt. This, when purchased by the farmers, consists of oil, salt, and fragments of broken pilchards. It is very rich thus saturated with oil, and is sold from ten-pence to fifteen-pence per bushel. These relative species of manure are far superior to any other; and though apparently expensive when first purchased, both have been found to be more productive, and more durable in their effects, than manure procured in larger quantities for much less money. When carried from the fish-cellars, it is mixed with earth and sand; the general proportions are about forty or fifty Winchester bushels to 150 or 200 horse-loads of sand and earth. Thrown thus into heaps to incorporate with sand and earth, it soon dissolves, and being turned and mixed together while lying in the heap, the general mass becomes enriched, and the farmer calculates upon a prolific crop, and an advantageous harvest.

Of the extraordinary fertility which the soil thus manured acquires, some idea may be formed from the subsequent produce of certain districts, in some prolific parts. Mr. Fraser says, " After a dressing of this kind for barley, on some lands near the Lizard, I have been assured that ninety bushels of barley, Winchester measure, have been produced on an acre, statute measure; and that it is not uncommon to have from seventy to eighty bushels, seventy-five being considered as a middling crop. Such a surprising fertility may perhaps hardly be credited; but it is supported by undoubted authority. Although there are not many districts equal to this, yet there are some other extensive tracts extremely fertile. In the district extending from Cubert to Padstow, and from thence to Lanteglos near Camelford, the land is so wonderfully fertile, that with the common dressing of sea sand, earth, and dung, they first sow wheat, and then barley, without any fallow or intermediate crop, with which crop they sow grass seeds, which they cut for hay the ensuing year; and leaving it one year at rest, repeat this practice perpetually. Yet even with this manure and management, they get wheat from twenty-four to

thirty and thirty-five Winchester bushels per acre statute measure; and from thirty to forty-five bushels of barley."

SECTION V.

Principal Landholders in Cornwall at the present Period.

Among the various proprietors of large landed possessions, the Duke of Cornwall, although his estates have been considerably diminished by the sales that have taken place, must be placed in the foremost rank. Next to him the three principal landholders are Lord de Dunstanville, Lord Eliot, and Lord Falmouth. To these may be added the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, whose possessions in Cornwall are considerable, notwithstanding his residence and the more valuable part of his estates are in Devonshire.

Large as the possessions were which Lord de Dunstanville inherited from his ancestors, those which his distant progenitors enjoyed were still more extensive. But the losses which they sustained for their attachment to the cause of Charles during the civil wars, prevented them from transmitting the patrimonial inheritance unimpaired to posterity. These losses have in some degree been counterbalanced by the large estates acquired from alliances with the ancient families of Hele and Pendarves.

About two thirds of the large and fertile parish of St. Germans, belong to Lord Eliot, besides other valuable landed property in different parts of the county. The lands which this nobleman claims on the west of the Tamar were chiefly acquired in the year 1565, in exchange for estates in Devonshire, from whence this family came, when they took up their permanent residence in Cornwall.

Although the paternal estates of Lord Falmouth have been considerable from time immemorial, the various branches of this family have greatly augmented them by honourable alliances with several rich heiresses of Cornwall. Among these may be reckoned the families of Tregothnan, Erisey, Albalanda, Bret, Tregarrick, Halep, and Carminow. Next to these, the Hon. Mrs. Agar (to whom the lands of the Robartes' family have descended,) claims a great extent of landed property. Sir William Lemon, bart. who for many years has been an independent member of parliament for the county, possesses large and valuable estates, which were purchased by one of his ancestors. Sir Vyell Vyvyan, whose ancient paternal inheritance was considerable, possesses estates which his less remote ancestors have augmented by their alliance with several Cornish heiresses. One of these was a descendant of Ferrers, by whom Trelowarren and several other valuable

estates were brought into the family. The Right Hon. Reginald Pole Carew inherits the ancient estates of the Carews of Antony. Lord Grenville, in right of his lady, possesses the ancient estates of the Mohuns, which were purchased by Governor Pitt, an ancestor of her ladyship. Sir Christopher Hawkins, bart. whose estates were acquired partly by purchase, and partly by inheritance, from the two families of Tredenham and Scobell, may be justly placed among the principal landholders of the county. To these must be added Sir William Call, bart. whose estates were chiefly purchased by the late baronet; Miss Gregor, only child of the Rev. William Gregor, of Creed, and heiress of the late Francis Gregor, Esq. of Trewarthenick, whose large estates have been acquired, partly by purchase and partly by inheritance; and Francis Glanville, Esq. of Catchfrench, whose large possessions were purchased in the early part of the last century. The estates of William Rashleigh, Esq. of Menabilly, are also very large, of which a considerable portion was purchased by one of his ancestors, either in the reign of Elizabeth, or of James I. James Buller, Esq. of Downes, near Crediton, in Devon, has also large estates in Cornwall, which have been inherited from Trethurfe (who married Courtenay Earl of Devon) and Grosse. Sir John St. Aubyn, bart. whose ancestor settled in Cornwall in consequence of his marriage with an heiress of Hellogan, and whose more recent progenitors have since married with the heiresses or co-heiresses of Tremere, Godolphin, Jenkin, Trenowth and Whittington, has large possessions in Cornwall, independent of which he has landed property of great value in the town of Plymouth Dock. Some of the heiresses with whom the ancestors of the present baronet married, brought into this family certain portions of the estates of Hiwis and Coleshill. Sir Arscot Ourry Molesworth, bart. besides having large estates in Devon, has considerable landed possessions in Cornwall. His estates in this county were chiefly acquired in the reign of Elizabeth, partly by purchase, and partly by a match with the co-heiress of Hender of Bottreaux Castle. Francis Hearle Rodd, Esq. of Trebartha Hall, has valuable estates in Cornwall, which were acquired, partly by bequest about a century ago, from the heiress of Spoure of Trebartha, and partly by a marriage with the co-heiress of Hearle. John Tillie Coryton, Esq. who has a considerable estate in Devonshire, has also large possessions in Cornwall. They were inherited by bequest from the Corytons, whose ancestor married the heiress of Ferrers, of Newton Ferrers. John Rogers, Esq. of Penrose, whose estates have been acquired partly by purchase from the heirs of Penrose, from the Arundells, and others, has considerable landed property in the county; but the greater part of his possessions has been inherited from the families of Bawden, Crews, and Bishop. E. J. Glynn, Esq. of Glynn, possesses large estates, of which some parts have been acquired by purchase, and

others are his patrimonial inheritance. The Rev. Henry Hawkins Tremayne, of Helligan, in St. Ewe, has a large portion of landed property in this county, as well as extensive possessions in Devonshire. His estates in Cornwall were purchased in the reign of Elizabeth, by one of his ancestors, who had descended from a branch of the family that had left Cornwall for several generations before, and settled in Devonshire. These lands have been greatly augmented by subsequent purchases, and by a match with the co-heiress of Hearle. To these names may be added those of many more who are equally respectable, and whose possessions are scarcely inferior to some that have been enumerated. But the descent is so gradual, from the most opulent possessor to the most diminutive claimant, that it is scarcely possible to obviate the charge of making partial selections and invidious exclusions, without including all the freeholders, which in the year 1790 amounted to 2328; and this would be to fill our pages with nothing more than a list of names. In addition to this, the changes which are continually taking place in the acquirement and alienation of landed property, render an accurate statement little less than morally impracticable. A list that might be accurate when the page was written, would frequently become erroneous before it could be committed to the press; and even what might be perfectly correct when the first numbers appeared, must become uncertain before the work would be completed. Nothing therefore but a general view can reasonably be expected; and this is now presented to the public.

SECTION VI.

Ancient public Enclosures.—Deer Parks now in Cornwall.—Waste and cultivated Land.—Agricultural Resources.—Tenures of Estates.

Among the ancient enclosures in Cornwall, a considerable portion of its land was appropriated to the keeping of deer. The parks belonging to the dutchy, Mr. Fraser asserts, were nine, besides those possessed by individuals. Among the latter was one at Trelawney, belonging to the family of that name. There was another at Pawton, in the hundred of Pyder, belonging to the Bishop of Exeter; another called Bodrugan Park, belonged to the Bodrugan family; and another belonging to the Arundells, called Lansladron Park, which, according to Norden, was the most respectable that the county could boast.

Among those belonging to the Duke of Cornwall, there was one at Launceston, stated in the days of Edward III. to be one league in circuit, but to contain only fifteen deer, although it was capable of containing forty. In Trematon Park,

which was on the north side of the castle, there were forty-two deer. In Liskeard Park there were 200, and in Restormel Park 300. In the park at Kerybulock, in the parish of Stokeclimsland, which was nine miles in circumference, there were 150 deer. Another park was at Hellesbury, and another at Lanteglos, both in the hundred of Lesnewth. These parks, together with a few others belonging to the dutchy, besides many belonging to private gentlemen, were all well stored with fallow deer, not long before the days of Henry VIII.

This monarch being persuaded that those parks belonging to the duke could yield him little pleasure and less profit, in so remote a situation, was induced to dispark them, supposing that if the ground were let out at an yearly rent, it would turn to better advantage. Lanteglos, Kerybulock, Liskeard, and Restormel, fell together; but the advantage resulting from the farming system did not answer the king's expectation. Most of the Cornish gentlemen thought the conduct of Henry so worthy of imitation, that they pursued the same practice. Some few however, survived this general revolution, and continued to the days of Carew. Among these, in the hundred of East, was one at Pool, the property of Sir Jonathan Trelawney; another at Halton, belonging to Mr. Rouse, and another at Newton, belonging to Mr. Corington. In the hundred of West, there was one at Boconnoc, belonging to Sir Reginald Mohun. In the hundred of Powder there was one belonging to Mr. Trevanion at Carhayes, and in Stratton there was another at Launcells belonging to Mr. Chamond. In Kirrier there were two, one belonging to Mr. Vyvyan at Trelowarren, and another at Merthyn. The only parks which at present remain in the hundred of East, are Werrington and Mount Edgcumbe; a part of both these are in Cornwall. In the hundred of West, Boconnoc stands alone. In Powder are Tregothnan, belonging to Lord Falmouth, Carhayes, the seat of J. T. P. B. Trevanion, Esq. Penrice, belonging to Joseph Sawle Sawle, Esq. and Trewithian, belonging to Sir C. Hawkins. In Pyder there is a small park belonging to the Rev. Prideaux Brune; and in Kirrier are Godolphin, belonging to the Duke of Leeds, Carclew, belonging to Sir William Lemon, and a small paddock at Penrose, the seat of John Rogers, Esq.

Cornwall, according to the measurement made by Martin, contains 758,484 statute acres of land; about one third of which, or rather more, is under a regular course of husbandry; nearly one third is in furze crofts, which are only broken up once in twenty-five or thirty years; and the remaining third is wholly unenclosed, and consists of marshy ground interspersed with rocks and mountains, and in the western parts with extensive tracts of barren land stretched out in extended plains. In all the eastern parts of the county, these waste lands belong almost wholly to the dutchy estate. They are let out to tenants at a low rent; and in the summer

season cattle are taken in for pasturage from various parts of the county. The most profitable district lies between the towns of Bodmin, Liskeard, Camelford and Launceston; it is also more capable of improvement than most other uncultivated tracts of land.

The great exertions made by Charles Rashleigh, Esq. of Duporth, near St. Austell, to improve these long neglected wastes, are highly deserving of public notice. Mr. Fraser in his report to the Board of Agriculture, speaks as follows: "Adjoining to Mr. Rashleigh's harbour, there is a large tract of waste ground belonging to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which has been granted to Mr. Rashleigh by the council of his royal highness, on terms which do honour to the liberality of the council, and which will hereafter be a great improvement to the dutchy. This is a striking instance of the advantages which arise from the example of individual enterprise in all parts of the kingdom. Mr. Rashleigh has leased out a considerable part of this waste in small lots, for which he receives a rent of about 7*s*. 6*d*. per acre. The occupiers by the advantages of pilchard salt and broken pilchards, and of dung from St. Austell, and sea sand, will soon be able at a moderate expence to make these fields worth 30*s*. or 40*s*. per acre. This example has awakened the general attention; and I have received several proposals for similar grants, to be laid before the council of his Royal Highness. And although none of them can boast of so advantageous situations, yet all of them will, no doubt, turn out very advantageous to the adventurers, to the improvement of the county, and of the dutchy."

Since these efforts made by Mr. Rashleigh, have been perceived in their effects and consequences to be so highly beneficial, the laudable example set by him has been followed in several other places. On some of the waste lands near Bodmin, many enclosures have been made, and are still making, which promise to repay the sums that have been advanced by public spirited individuals, with ample interest. To enable him to enclose an extent of waste ground on Boconnoc Downs, an act was procured by Lord Grenville a few years since. The work was accordingly begun, and abundant crops have been already reaped from these cultivated wastes. E. J. Glynn, Esq. has also contributed much to the improvement of the county; and on a smaller scale the exertions of the miners furnish monuments of what persevering industry can effect. But much yet remains to be done; Mr. Fraser says, "I am persuaded that there are at the very lowest calculation, 100,000 acres of waste lands in this county, which may be valued at 7*s*. 6*d*. per acre, which would produce an annual rent of £37,500, and leave a sufficiency of turbary for fuel, if properly regulated. What an advantage would arise to the force and wealth of this country from such improvements. In the waste lands of this island

there are sources, both in the improvement of the soil, and the production of its mines, for the employment of additional millions of people. Far from having arrived at its acme in agriculture and internal improvements, this kingdom may be still considered in its infancy. Defended as it is by nature, and by the spirit and good sense of its inhabitants, against the attacks of external or internal enemies to its happiness and independence, we may look forward with confidence to a state of prosperity hitherto unexampled in the annals of mankind."

It is much to the advantage of the inhabitants of Cornwall, that most of the estates are parcelled out in small tenements. This prevents a monopoly of the necessaries of life, should any individual farmer, overgrown with riches, avarice, and rapacity, presume to make the attempt. In former years the greater part of the land that was let out at an yearly rent, was divided into parcels from £50 and under. Some few estates indeed produced a large rent, but these were few in number, and bore no proportion to the annual amount of large estates in other counties. Of late years however, the rent of small estates has kept pace with the exorbitant price of their produce; so that what was £40 per annum about half a century since, has lately produced upwards of £100.

Estates, whether large or small, that are let at an yearly value, are generally secured to the tenant by a deed of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years. This deed specifies the condition on which he shall hold his estate, the taxes he must pay, the manure he shall carry, the crops he shall raise, the grain he shall till, the repairs he shall put, and the final condition in which the estate shall be left when his term expires.

Another mode of holding estates from the proprietor of the land is by lease. These leases generally run in their utmost extent, for ninety-nine years; but this term is suspended on three lives of the purchaser's nomination. If therefore he enters the names of three persons, either of his own family, or of strangers, on his lease, he holds his estate so long as either of these survives, provided their lives do not extend beyond the term of ninety-nine years specified in his lease. At the expiration of this term his right expires, even though all his lives should still survive. But in case his lives drop before the expiration of ninety-nine years, his right instantly ceases, and the estate again becomes the property of the lord. On certain occasions, when waste lands are to be cultivated, and great improvements are intended to be made, a condition is introduced, through which, on payment of a given sum, he is permitted to add a new life when one dies, and sometimes a second, or even a third, to render his tenure more permanent. In other instances, tenements are held on the right of perpetual renewal, by paying a given fine on the death of every life, when a new one is introduced, so that the property remains

continually in the tenant's possession. But this mode of tenure more generally applies to dwellings, warehouses, and shops, than to fields and estates. The death of every life gives to the lord a right to demand a heriot, the amount of which is specified in the deed. The value of a lease granted in this manner, is generally estimated from the annual amount of the estate. But this varies according to the price of grain; the average number of years also varies in different parts of the county. About fifty years since, fourteen years' value was deemed a fair purchase; but this now reaches twenty, and frequently exceeds it. Much however, depends upon the complexion of the times, and the number of competitors. In all cases a conventionary rent is paid to the lord, in proportion to the size of the estate, from 5*s.* to £5, or upwards. In most parts of Cornwall this method very much prevails. Almost every farmer who can advance a sufficient sum, even on the mortgage of his premises, prefers having a life inheritance for himself and family, to the hazards that may ensue on the expiration of a specified term. This method is preferred also by most liberal minded landholders, from a full conviction, that the tenant's interest is connected in the utmost improvement of his estate. And by securing to himself the fine originally paid, he is relieved from those returning perplexities which any other mode would inevitably ensure.

Of the dutchy tenures the customs and peculiarities vary with almost every manor. The manors belonging to the dutchy estate are seventeen; these are the remains of the 128 manors originally granted to the Earl of Moreton. On general principles, the tenants of the dutchy manors are either free tenants, or those which are denominated customary or conventionary. The former of these hold their lands as freehold inheritance, subject only to what is called in Cornwall a high-rent to the lord. The customary tenants hold from seven years to seven years, under a small reserved rent. But these tenants must do suit and service at court, and be subject to the payment of heriots. The custom of the manors is, that the widow of the tenant claims an estate a free bench for life, and in case of no male heir the eldest daughter inherits. In former times there were also bond conventionary tenants, the other being free conventionary tenants. These bond conventionary tenants' estates were subject on the death of the holders, to the payment of all their chattels to the lord. There were also tenants termed bond in blood; these held upon like terms; but they could neither put their sons to school, nor marry their daughters, without obtaining the lord's consent. The youngest son inherited the estate.

Of the nature of these tenures, so far as they are at present retained, of the reasons for them, and of the various but unsuccessful attempts that have been made to disinherit the possessors, the notes published in Lord de Dunstanville's edition

of Carew, page 112, contain a detailed account. But no account can be expected to comprise the freakish singularities which distinguish some manors, and are still observed in some courts, unless it were to become the history of a manor rather than of a county.

SECTION VII.

Condition of the Inhabitants in the days of Carew, and prior to that Period.—Public Courts of Justice, and Places of privileged Jurisdiction.—Irregularity of public Weights and Measures.

In times past, says Mr. Carew, the Cornish people gave themselves principally, and in a manner wholly, to the seeking of tin, and neglected husbandry. In consequence of this neglect, the farmers of Somersetshire and Devonshire hired their pastures at a rent, and stored them with their own cattle. The tillage of the county corresponded with the grazing farms, the inhabitants of the county being supplied in their weekly markets with many hundred quarters of corn, and horseloads of bread. The people, in time not past the remembrance of many living in the days of Carew, continued this miserable mode of existence. "Their grounds," he observes, "lay all in common, or were only divided by stick-meal. They had little bread corn; and their drink was water, or at best but whey. The richest farmer in a parish brewed not more than twice in a year. Their meat whitsue, as they call it; namely, milk, sour milk, cheese, curds, butter, and such like as came from the cow and the ewe, which were tied by one leg at pasture. Their legs and feet naked and bare, to which sundry old folk had so accustomed their youth, that they could hardly abide to wear shoes, complaining how it kept them over hot. Their horses were only shod before; and for all their furniture they had a pad and a halter, on which the meaner country wenches of the western part do yet ride astride, as all other English folk used to do, before R. the II. wife brought in the side-saddle fashion."*

Their habitations and household furniture were exactly suited to their modes of life. Their cottages consisted of walls of earth with low thatched roofs, few partitions, no planchings or glass windows, and scarcely any chimnies, except a hole in the wall to let out the smoke. Their beds consisted of straw and a blanket. As for sheets, so much linen cloth had not been brought over the narrow channel between them and Brittany.†

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, pp. 19 and 66.

† Ibid. p. 67.

LAUNCESTON AN ASSIZE TOWN LONG BEFORE THE TIME OF RICHARD KING OF THE ROMANS.

Addicted wholly to the procuring and purifying of metals, without agriculture, and without commerce, the great mass of the inhabitants remained a distinct community, being almost wholly regulated by the laws of the stannaries, until within about 250 years, when the civil jurisdiction that extended over other parts of the kingdom, fully embraced Cornwall, the inhabitants of which had then begun to emerge from the barbarism of their ancestors. There is nothing therefore in these periods of its history, connected with its civil government, that is not principally included in the stannary laws, to which we shall soon turn our attention. At present it will be only necessary to notice its courts of justice, and the changes that have taken place in their situation.

From time immemorial the assizes for Cornwall have been held at Launceston. The first alteration that took place in this established order, was in the days of Richard king of the Romans, who is said to have built a palace at Lostwithiel (but of which fact many doubts have been entertained) and removed the assizes thither. The inhabitants of Launceston unwilling to lose a privilege to which they had been so long accustomed, presented a petition to him, praying for a restoration of their customary rights. Richard complied with their request on condition that they paid him a stipulated fine; this they agreed to, and the assizes once more returned to their ancient seat. In this place they continued without interruption, until the ravages of the plague rendered a removal necessary. They were then held at Saltash; but when the pestilence subsided, they again returned, and continued till the days of George I. In the second year of his reign an act was passed, which declared, that after the month of May, 1716, the assizes should not be exclusively confined to Launceston, but should be alternately held at Launceston and Bodmin. The practice was accordingly adopted, and it continued until the year 1727, when Bodmin was abandoned, and Launceston resumed its ancient monopoly. Eleven years elapsed from this time, before Bodmin could again encounter its rival with success. At length, in 1736, the neglected arrangement was again revived; and from that period to the present, both towns have enjoyed the privilege; the Lent assizes being held at Launceston, and the Lammas assizes at Bodmin.

The only competitors for the quarter sessions of the county, in early times, were Bodmin and Truro. The business usually began at Bodmin on the Tuesday; from which place it was adjourned to Truro on the Friday to be finished. To obviate an arrangement so absurd, an alteration took place about the year 1580, when it was determined that the business should begin and end in the same town, but that the privilege should be enjoyed alternately by each. Rational as this division may appear, it was not permitted to continue. About the year 1602, another plan was

adopted, namely, that the sessions should interchangeably begin at Bodmin, and end at Truro; and that the next should begin at Truro and end at Bodmin. This plan however, was too absurd to remain permanent. After some years Lostwithiel shared in the honour; and to the present time the Michaelmas sessions are held in Bodmin, the Easter sessions in Truro, and the Epiphany and Midsummer sessions exclusively at Lostwithiel.

Launceston formerly contained the only common gaol in the county. This stood within the precincts of the ancient castle, and was the prison of despotic times. Few situations could be more horrible than this dungeon. The description given of this place by Sewel, in his History of the Sufferings of the Quakers, many of whom were confined within its walls in the days of Cromwell and Charles, will scarcely admit of a parallel. For filth, gloom, and unwholesomeness, it was rendered proverbial throughout the county. Its infamy has survived the occasion of it; for even in the present day, when a finished description of the wretchedness of any situation is to be given, the climax frequently terminates in this: "It is almost as bad as Launceston Gaol."

This abode of misery has been cleansed and repaired, and its management has undergone an entire revolution. In addition to this, it is less crouded with felons and suspicious characters than formerly; so that several causes have combined to render its accommodations equally as tolerable as delinquents can deserve, or justice allow. To alleviate the horrors of confinement in this place, an act was humanely passed in the year 1778, through which a new county gaol has been erected at Bodmin, on a plan founded upon the humane principles of the illustrious Howard. It was completed in the year 1780, from which period to the present time, it has stood as a striking contrast to what Launceston Gaol originally was. The situation is healthful, the building large, airy, well watered, and very strong. It is placed under the direction of Mr. Chappel, by whom it is kept in excellent order, and whose firmness and compassion towards those committed to his care, do honour to humanity; as much so as the accommodations which the building affords to the unhappy victims immured within its walls, reflect an honour on the county at large.

Both of these houses of confinement still continue in use, and in each there are distinct apartments for criminals and debtors. The central situation of Bodmin causes its gaol to be more in use than that at Launceston; and prior to the assizes in either place, the culprits are removed from the other, to take their trials.

Besides these public courts of justice, several of our corporations and boroughs are privileged with the administration of justice within their respective precincts, according to the tenor of their charters. But from the statements of Mr. Carew,

it appears, that not many of these courts, or those who presided in them, were in high repute for their domestic justice in his days.

When a statute was made in the reign of Henry VII. for regulating weights and measures throughout the kingdom, an exception was made in favour of the stannaries of Cornwall; they were permitted to continue their former usage. But notwithstanding this statute, the privilege granted to the miners appears to have extended its influence throughout the county; so that custom and local attachment sanctioned for some ages the wildest irregularities. In the eastern part of the county, the bushel varies from sixteen to twenty-four gallons; but in the western districts the standard is regularly fixed at twenty-four gallons. The measure was brought to this regular standard by the spirited exertions of the magistrates, about the year 1730; who, according to Mr. Tonkin's notes, had regulated the liquid measure some time before. It is much to be regretted, that in many towns and parishes little or no attention is paid to the weight of bread, or to the measure of beer and cyder; so that the whole is left to the discretion and humanity of the bakers and victuallers. In diminutive weights the standard is equally variable. Salt butter imported from Ireland contains sixteen ounces to the pound; but fresh butter is in some places sixteen, in others eighteen, and in others twenty ounces to the pound. Nothing therefore can be more delusive than to estimate the current price of such articles, from the amount stated in the public prints, unless those who read are acquainted with the local customs of the county.

In the measure of land, custom in Cornwall is more prevalent than statute law. Mr. Norden, who was surveyor to Henry Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, asserts, that one Cornish acre formerly contained 270 statute acres. In the days of Dr. Borlase, the customary perch of land contained eighteen feet, while the statute perch included only sixteen feet and half. The present dimensions of an acre of 160 square perch of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet were settled in the reign of Edward I.; and in the succeeding reign, 800 such acres made a knight's fee. The customary acre still prevails, though robbed of its extravagant dimensions; and in the sale of estates this is uniformly understood, unless the statute measure is particularly expressed. It were much to be wished, that weights and measures were uniform throughout the kingdom; and that local customs were wholly abolished. Such a principle would tend to promote general intercourse, and cause the articles of commerce and domestic traffic to find their common level. Much indeed has been already done; but much still remains; and the arrangements of internal regulations may ere long be found worthy the attention of the legislature, now happily delivered from the distracting cares of a long and an expensive war.

SECTION VIII.

General Survey and Description of the Turnpike Roads in Cornwall.

Although there are many roads in Cornwall that might be justly entitled to some description, the only ones to which our attention can be particularly directed must be the turnpike roads. These, independent of their subordinate branches, are two; one of which enters Cornwall at Poulston Bridge, and the other begins at Torpoint. These roads both meet in Truro, from whence they again separate, pursuing their distinct courses to meet no more.

The road which enters at Poulston Bridge, and is called the great northern road, is more frequented than the other. This passes through the most uncultivated district in Cornwall; on which account travellers are induced to entertain such unfavourable opinions of the fertility of the county. From Poulston Bridge to Launceston, to which this road directly leads, the distance is nearly two miles. From this town, proceeding in nearly a westwardly course, it passes through two or three small villages, over the dreary wastes of Alternon, and from thence over the race ground to Bodmin, through a distance, between the two towns, of about twenty-one miles. From Bodmin the road proceeds over the Goss Moors, which are several miles in length, and through several villages to Truro, a distance of twenty-two miles. Formerly, the great northern road passed through Camelford, Wadebridge, and St. Columb; but these towns are now much deserted by travellers since the more eligible road to Bodmin has been made. From Bodmin towards Lostwithiel there is likewise a branch about six miles in length, which connects the two great northern and southern roads together.

The great southern road that stretches from the east of Cornwall to Truro, begins at Torpoint, opposite Plymouth Dock. At this place is a well-frequented ferry to Morrice Town on the Devon side of the harbour. This road proceeds westward about fifteen miles, to Liskeard; from which it passes through a small village and a part of Braddock Downs to Lostwithiel, about twelve miles farther; after which in about eight miles it reaches St. Austell; and proceeding from thence about fourteen miles, it reaches Truro, the metropolis of Cornwall, where it meets the northern road. There are many branches from this southern road, and among others, between St. Austell and Truro, are several which lead to Tregony, from which place the road stretches to St. Mawes.

From Truro there is a turnpike road that leads to Redruth, Camborne, and Penzance, and another northwardly to St. Agnes. Another turnpike road passes in a south-west direction to Penryn and Falmouth through Perran-arworthal; at

which place another branch stretches westwardly to Helston, which is eighteen miles from Truro. This branch enters the turnpike road from Penryn to Helston, which passes through Marazion over a beautiful level green about three miles long to Penzance, where the turnpike road finally terminates in Cornwall.

From Penzance the Land's End is about eleven miles distant, and the public road thither is not inferior to many of the turnpike roads. The fertility of the country seems to abate as we approach this extremity of the island. In several other parts of the county many public roads are worthy of notice, from the manner in which they are frequented, and the order in which they are kept. But this would lead to minute details, which would furnish materials for a volume without becoming proportionably interesting.

CHAP. XIV.

Animalculæ, Insects, Reptiles, Birds, and Quadrupeds.

SECTION I.

Animalculæ, Insects, and Reptiles.

TO trace the insect tribes through all their species and modes of existence as they appear in Cornwall, would be an Herculean task. Mr. Ray supposes that there are not less than 20,000 distinct species, many of which are invisible to the naked eye; and doubtless there are myriads which no glass can reach. These have their instincts, their aliment, and powers, and they are conspicuous to man rather by the effects which they produce, than by their individual magnitude and local energies.

Cornwall enjoying a happy temperature of air, the insects and animalculæ which are congenial to the climate, make their appearance much sooner, and continue much later in the year, than in other parts of the kingdom. As their food is usually the leaves of plants, herbs, or flowers, it is but natural to conceive that they will abound in Cornwall, where the climate and temperature are so favourable to their increase. It is to these swarms of insects that many of those disasters among fruit-trees may be attributed, which are frequently ascribed to some noxious or corrosive quality in the air. The uncertainty of fruit in this county may in some degree be traced up to this cause; so that the same principle of nature that is congenial to vegetation, frequently brings those destructive myriads which defeat the planter's care, and blast his hopes.

It has been frequently remarked, that the honey of Cornwall is rather superior in quality to that of any other part of England; which proves that its climate and vegetable productions are perfectly congenial to the nature of bees. The superior excellence of this valuable article is also to be attributed to the proximity of the shores, which the bees have an opportunity of constantly frequenting. The air also being strongly impregnated with saline particles, scatters the sacred deposit over the heaths and flowers which they visit, so that they reap the advantages of the ocean without always making their selections on the maritime rocks. But it

has been found that the effluvia from our burning-houses and smelting-houses proves fatal to these valuable insects. The hive cannot be preserved near these pernicious exhalations; and if by accident the fugitives of a colony happen to be involved in a cloud of smoke that is tainted with these noxious vapours, they lose their activity, grow languid, and die.

It is to the myriads of animalculæ living among the waves which surround the Cornish shores, that some naturalists have attributed the singular appearance of the water, if on certain occasions it be thrown into violent agitation. Mr. Carew says, "If the sea water be slashed with a stick or oar, the same casteth a bright shining colour, and the drops thereof resemble sparkles of fire, as if the waves were turned into flame, which the sailors term *briny*" or *briony*. This singular appearance is thought to be more conspicuous on an approaching storm, than at any other time. When in the fishing season a large shoal of pilchards is enclosed, the luminous appearance which the water exhibits obtains the same appellation, and an estimate of the enclosure is made accordingly.

It does not however appear that this phenomenon is confined to the shores of Cornwall. Near the Cape de Verd Islands, this luminous appearance is so strong, that passengers have seen the very keel of their ship by it, and beheld fishes playing beneath it. In some parts of Staffordshire Dr. Plot has observed that the water in the ditches on being disturbed, emits a light like that of embers, and covers whatsoever it touches with a languid flame resembling that of burnt brandy. Near Callington, in a misty dewy night, a similar appearance has been noticed on a swampy soil; so that the impression made by the feet of horses and men, seemed tinged with fire, and their track appeared like a stream of glow-worms. The grass on being gathered, retained its lustre for some time; but this gradually fading, nothing remained to distinguish it from the natural production of the common.

To account for these phenomena, various causes have been assigned. Some have attributed it to electric fire; but this is too rapid in its coruscations. Others have concluded, that this luminous appearance is occasioned by certain bituminous matter, thrown up by fermentation from the earth and the bottom of the sea. But no such impregnations have ever been discovered; and where there is no particular agitation, no luminous effect is ever visible. The insufficiency of these causes has led to a conclusion that this appearance is occasioned by a certain species of aquatic glow-worm, too diminutive for the eye to discover; and this opinion has received much sanction from several experiments that have been made.

The most dangerous of the reptiles in Cornwall is the adder, or English viper. Its usual length is about two feet; the poison of this creature is very acute and penetrating. The bite is attended with immediate swellings and severe pain; and

in a short time, if not prevented, proves mortal. Dr. Mead recommends the extraction of the poison from the wound. This he asserts may be done with safety, either by the patient, if he can reach the place, or by another sucking the wound, having his mouth washed with warm oil. Sallad oil taken internally, and applied externally to the wound, is generally recommended; and Dr. Mead prescribes emetics worked off with oil and warm water, when the poison is extracted.

In Cornwall the snake is much more plentiful than the adder, is more prolific, and grows to a larger size. There are two species; one of which has a whitish circle round the neck, and a sharp pointed tail; the other has a yellow circle with a short tail, and more obtuse. Some of these snakes are three feet in length, and they have been found four feet long. They generally deposit their eggs in heaps of rotten dung, which retain a sufficient degree of warmth to hatch them. Dr. Borlase speaks of a heap of dung near Stratton, out of which no less than 300 eggs were taken at one time. These snakes are said to be of a darker brown than the viper, to be less irritable, and less deleterious in the effect of their poison.

Another species of the reptile kind, is sometimes called the deaf adder, but more generally known by the name of slow-worm. This rarely exceeds twelve inches in length; it is slender, and is smooth and glossy, and remarkably brittle. Its bite is said to be poisonous; its chief residence is in furze brakes, and among heaps of stones that are overgrown with brambles and bushes.

Of the lizard species we have only one; this is generally called the evet or ebbet. In shape it bears a strong resemblance to the crocodile, and is said to move its upper jaw in opening and shutting its mouth. It seldom exceeds five or six inches in length, and seems to have an aversion to water, as it is rarely found near either pool or stream. It is visible only in the summer; and it is most plentiful when the seasons are warm and dry. The places of its haunts are sequestered crofts of furze, or piles of furze or wood that have been long concealed from the wet. It is said to be very harmless, and when uncovered by accident or design, it retires with fearful precipitation.

In the Scilly Islands they have neither adder, snake, nor slow-worm, nor any species of the serpent tribe; and it has been said, that if any are carried thither, they very shortly die. To what particular causes this may be attributed, must be for naturalits to discover. There can be no doubt that the soil and atmosphere must contain qualities which are repugnant to their nature; and that these would have operated if St. Patrick had never been born.

SECTION II.

Birds.—Varieties, resident, and migratory.—Character and Description of the Cornish Chough.

The birds of Cornwall bear in general so strong a resemblance to those of other counties, that a minute account is wholly unnecessary. The principal tame birds are geese, ducks, turkies, Chinese geese, Guinea hens, and poultry. To these may be added swans, pigeons, peacocks, and a few others that are domesticated. In ancient times hawks were considered of this description; and no farther back than the days of Elizabeth, to train the hawk was a favourite amusement with the gentry. This custom has however, fallen into disrepute; and the nice discriminations by which the various kinds of hawks were distinguished, have forsaken the county, and permitted the marlions, hobbies, and lannards, to live at large.

Of the wild birds, it is scarcely possible to recount even the simple names. The most useful are the pheasant, partridge, wood-dove, jay, quail, snipe, heathcock, landrail, starling, curlew, and plover. Most of these are to be found, either in the inland parts, or on the shores, through all seasons of the year. In addition to these, the county receives an annual visit from wild geese, wild ducks, widgeon, teal, fieldfares, and woodcocks. Some of these occasionally remain throughout the year; and in the vicinity of Dozmery Pool scarcely a season elapses in which wild ducks do not hatch their infant broods. In these places many attempts have been made to domesticate the young, but few efforts have ever been successful. In general, as soon as they become capable of flying, they bid adieu to the fostering care of man, and join their tribes. Sometimes, their nests having been discovered, the eggs have been removed, and placed for incubation under tame ducks. But the power of instinct in general proves too strong for the contrivances of art; as their being fully fledged is to them a signal of departure, and they take their leave accordingly.

Although both woodcocks and swallows are considered as birds of passage, many instances have occurred in which some of each species have continued throughout the year. Mr. Carew has noticed, that "In the western parts of this county, swallows have been found during the winter season, in old deep tin-works, and also in holes of the cliffs." And Dr. Borlase gives the following instance of woodcocks hatching their young in Cornwall:—"Some gentlemen hunting in the neighbourhood of Penzance, in the summer time, 1755, flushed a woodcock. Surprised at seeing a winter bird at that season of the year, they hastened to the bush, and there found a nest with two eggs in it. One gentleman more curious than the rest, carried the eggs home; but one being broken by accident, he

discovered in it the body of a young woodcock. This encouraged him to try if possible to bring the other to perfection. He accordingly put it under a pigeon, and in a few days a living bird was discovered."

Among the singing-birds are the thrush, blackbird, throstle-thrush, holm-thrush, linnet, lark, goldfinch, ruddock, and bullfinch. Some have asserted that the nightingale has been seen and heard in some parts of the county; but general opinion discountenances the belief, and attributes the vocal harmony to some other birds, which are too scarce to be distinctly known.

Some birds that are in general strangers to this county, occasionally visit its shores and groves. The most remarkable among these are the little peterel, the hoopoe, the green woodpecker, and the golden-crowned wren. Mr. Carew has observed, that in his time, a flock of curious birds found their way into Cornwall about the time of harvest, which proved very destructive to the apples. They were nearly the size of the swallow, but were rendered remarkable by the peculiar formation of their bills, which, at the extremities were terminated by a transverse part, from whence they obtained the name of cross-bills. Seizing on an apple, this bird would instantly divide it into two parts, and eating the kernels only, proceed to the destruction of another. On their first appearance they caused great alarm, and were considered as presages of some impending judgment.

In the parish of Madern, in the year 1807, four birds of the species called the bee-eater, were discovered. Two of them were shot, but the other two escaped. This description of birds is rarely seen in England. In the year 1813, a singular bird, nearly white, was taken up in a very exhausted state, near Stratton. It was rather larger than the thrush, and resembled the cuckoo species. It had long feathers reaching from its thighs to the extremities of its feet.

Among the native birds of this county, the Cornish chough is entitled to some notice. This species of bird is known in the island of Crete, in the Cyclades, and is constantly to be found on the Alps. On the shores of Ireland, in the vicinity of Cork, and in some parts of Wales, these birds may also be seen; but they are not found in any part of England besides Cornwall. The Cornish chough is the most slender, graceful, and finely proportioned of all the crow species. Its legs, toes, and bill, are of a strong vermillion; and the bony substances of these parts are clear even to transparency. When the bird is young, these parts are yellow; and in the hens the colour never rises to that perfection which it acquires in the cocks. Its feathers are of a much richer velvet than those of any other crow.

It may be domesticated when taken young; and if its tongue be slit, it has been said to imitate the human voice. At the approach of any thing strange, it shrieks aloud, as if apprehensive of danger; but when free from all agitation, its chatter

is mild, soft, and engaging, especially when it applies for meat. It is remarkably courteous to its friends, but it will not submit to the caresses of a stranger. In its wild state it seems instinctively apprehensive of danger, constantly building its nest in the most inaccessible parts of the cliffs. On all occasions it retires to roost at an early hour. It is fond of shelter, and in stormy weather it is rarely seen; but when the tempest subsides, it marches in state along the margin of the cliffs, or upon such hills or greens as are secure in solitude, and furnishing an extensive prospect. In its tame state the same instinctive propensities are visible, only they appear in another form. Docile, regular, and constant in its application for food at the accustomed time, it affords amusement to those who feed it; and when permitted, it will furnish presages of serene weather by mounting on the tops of houses, and enjoying the air and the surrounding prospect. But with all these amiable qualities, Camden calls it an incendiary, and Carew accuses it with theft, and calls it "the slander of our country." It is certainly much captivated with glittering objects; and it will not hesitate to remove such pleasing articles as it can carry, such as money, papers, and sticks of fire. Perched on houses covered with thatch, it frequently commits many depredations; piercing with its long bill the moist and rotten parts, dispersing them in quest of insects, and sometimes tearing the lime from the walls in order to reach either flies or spiders that were concealed within. Dr. Borlase however, thinks that this bird has been traduced, the tricks of the jack-daw having been imputed to it.

SECTION III.

Quadrupeds.—Sheep, Black Cattle, Horses, Mules, Asses, Goats, Hogs, &c. &c.

In ancient times, when the lands of Cornwall were uncultivated and unenclosed, the sheep that ranged its hills and plains were of little value. Both their bodies and fleeces resembled the pastures in which they fed; they were remarkably small, and their flesh was very coarse. Their covering was deemed unworthy the name of wool, and was uniformly denominated Cornish hair; and as such, the cloth made from it was permitted to be exported without payment of the customary dues that were imposed upon woollen cloth. And even after the inhabitants began to cultivate their lands, and their cattle of every description had been considerably improved, the same privilege was confirmed to them by the first Duke of Cornwall after the Norman conquest, in consideration of their paying four shillings for every hundred weight of white tin that was coined. And even so late as the days of Elizabeth, another grant perpetuated their rights, and enabled them to export cloth

manufactured with Cornish materials free of all duty. From that time to the present our sheep have so improved, that they hold a common rank in the markets of England. Within the memory of some persons now living, it was a constant practice in many places for the farmers to wash, card, and spin their own wool, and carry their yarns to the public markets, particularly in the northern parts of the county, where the scarcity of mines directed the inhabitants to agricultural improvements. But of late years, since the Cornish wool has acquired a greater degree of perfection, the farmers have found a more advantageous mode of traffic, in disposing of the fleece to the manufacturers of the county.

The sheep in general to be found in Cornwall, bear a strong resemblance to those of Devonshire. Some of these, especially in Roseland, St. Keverne, and near St. Columb, grow large, and fetch a good price. The sweetest mutton is uniformly estimated to be produced from the smallest sheep. These usually feed on the open common, and even fatten in some places where the grassy sod seems scarcely sufficient to cover the barren sands. Their nourishment in these places is attributed to a small species of snail, bred in the sands, and issuing forth in the dewy mornings in search of food. The sheep are said to lick them up with their scanty pasture, and find in them a degree of nutrition which the stinted vegetation of the surface cannot afford. Many of these sheep may be found among the sandy hillocks of Perran, Phillack, and Gwithian. The sheep of this latter place are remarkable for the elegance of their form, and the smallness of their tails and bones. At Boconnoc they have introduced a stock from Dorset, and appropriated about 500 acres of land for their range. These furnish annually about four pounds of wool each, and the wether sheep were sold off a few years since at about £1 5*s*. and from that to £1 8*s*. Mr. Fraser doubts whether these sheep, though 1000 in number, were sufficiently productive to pay a fair rent for the land they occupy. A few of the Leicester breed were introduced by Sir William Molesworth, who found them to answer well. Sir John St. Aubyn adopted the same plan; and some valuable improvements have been made in the sheep of the county by Lord de Dunstanville, and many gentlemen and wealthy farmers.

The black cattle of Cornwall may be said to bear a strong resemblance to its sheep. Such as live on coarse lands, and chiefly browse among the furze and heath of the moors, are in general small; but if taken into better pastures, they improve rapidly, and grow as large as those in other counties; and the markets of Cornwall are supplied with beef of an excellent quality. But with the veal the case is otherwise; the calves in some places are frequently taken off at too early an age, and carried to the markets in such a premature state, as sometimes to exhibit a spectacle highly disgusting to a stranger.

CORNISH METHOD OF PREPARING MILK FOR BUTTER DIFFERENT FROM OTHER COUNTIES.

The cattle of Cornwall, Mr. Fraser observes, are chiefly of the North Devon breed. And although the breed is not kept up in its greatest perfection, yet they are very much in request, and are sold off in great numbers for fattening. "Their milch cows are therefore kept chiefly for the sake of rearing young stock, the dairy being very little attended to. On account of the wetness of the land, all their cattle are housed in the winter, and are kept chiefly on straw; the buildings are on this account numerous on every farm. The walls of these buildings are in general made of clay and straw, called cob, and the covering is of reed. Sir Harry Trelawney, a good many years ago, procured some of Mr. Bakewell's breed of cattle, of the long horned kind; they answered pretty well with him; but neither his own people, nor the farmers of the neighbourhood, could be induced to attend to them. He has changed them for the North Devon breed, but has kept one cow which he had from Mr. Bakewell, and is now about twelve years old, but is always in good condition. Mr. Bakewell shewed his candour to Sir Harry Trelawney, by telling him it was very unnecessary to come so far for his cattle, when he had so good a breed as the North Devon so near him. The best of that breed are certainly a most excellent stock, either for rearing or fattening. They have a small sort of cattle on the commons, and in many other parts, which they call the Cornish breed, which when fat do not exceed five or six hundred weight. They are too large boned for their size, and coarse shouldered. The best Scotch Highland breeds would answer much better. It is however difficult to get them of the best sorts."

Although but little attention is paid to the dairy in Cornwall on any extensive scale, the management of its produce is regarded with care for domestic purposes. The manner in which the cream is prepared for butter is remarkable. Instead of skimming off the unctuous parts, as they naturally settle on the surface of the milk, the earthen or brass pan in which the milk taken from the cow has stood about twelve or fourteen hours, is cautiously placed over a slow fire till it is heated to a considerable degree. By this means, the cream growing hard on the surface of the pan, settles into a wrinkled furrowed pellicle. Taken from the fire, the whole is left to cool, when the cream grows hard and clotted, in which state it is taken to the churn. The prevailing opinion in Cornwall is, that this method increases the quantity of the butter; but from experiments which have been made, the reverse has been found to be the case. The same quantity of milk taken at the same time, from the same cows, yielded in raw cream ten ounces and three quarters of butter, while that which had been scalded produced only nine ounces and a quarter. Nearly one seventh part of the cream is therefore lost by the process of the fire, besides the trouble, care, and expence, which accompany it.

The milk however, that has been scalded, is far superior to that left in its natural state; it does not so soon turn sour, it is more palatable, and more nutritive.

It has been asserted, that prior to the days of the Romans, the saddle horse was unknown in England; although previous to that period, the wild hobbies of several forests had been used both in peace and war. These native horses were small, but remarkably strong, sure-footed, and active. "Of all animals," says Mr. Polwhele, "the most sure-footed and nimble are these Cornish horses. In the neighbourhood of Tintagel, I have seen them run up and down the most precipitous places with riders on their backs, with an almost wonderful agility. These probably are among our aboriginal horses. The Goonhilly, of which not a genuine one is left, was of a late age." As it is only of late years that the use of carts has been introduced, less attention was paid formerly to the size of horses, than at present. Most of the Cornish horses were therefore of no great rising; but they were adapted to the country, being strong and hardy, sure-footed, and protected by hoofs of a peculiar hardness, fit to resist the rough and stony roads over which they had to travel. Mr. Tonkin says, "We formerly had an excellent breed of horses on Goonhilly, in Meneage, (stretching almost from Helston to the Lizard Point) occasioned, as I have heard, by a Barbary horse being turned loose there by one of the Erizy family. But though this race be in a manner lost, yet we still call our small western horses Goonhillies, which are in request all over the kingdom, being very strong, and most of them natural pacers."

What tended to exterminate this celebrated race of horses, was a statute of Henry VIII. which permitted any person to seize upon all horses below a certain standard, that were found depasturing a public common. The sheriff's officers and others availed themselves of this privilege, and Goonhilly was soon bereft of its famous inhabitants. The name however, still survives, and the appellation is given throughout a great part of the county, to all such small strongly made horses which correspond with the description of the ancient Goonhillies. But although the breed of horses in Cornwall has been considerably improved since this edict was passed, it is only of late years that the packsaddle has been exchanged for the cart. Within the memory of the present generation, carriages of all descriptions were very rare. But in the present day both oxen and horses are trained to the business of agriculture, and unite together in one team to turn the furrow, and draw manure to the fields. On many occasions both oxen and horses now draw together on the public roads, when the journey is not long; but the roughness of their surface seems to be too severe for the tender footed ox.

In some of the mining districts in the western parts, mules have of late years acquired great repute. Their chief employment is in carrying the produce and

MANY POOR FAMILIES IN CORNWALL SUPPLIED WITH MILK AND BUTTER BY THEIR GOATS.

supplies of the mines; many of the roads to which are impassable for carriages. Naturally strong and hardy, they nearly provide for their own support, in the coarse grounds, furze crofts, and commons, allotted for their range when the labour of the day is finished. They live to a great age, and are admirably adapted to the country they inhabit. At the mines, where they are chiefly employed, they appear in large droves, under the direction of drivers, to whom neither mildness nor severity can at all times make them yield obedience. The number of asses in Cornwall is very small; the greater part being the property of poor people. The goats, which are also generally the property of poor people, are more numerous; by these many families are supplied with milk and butter. Their kids fatten without any trouble, and are frequently exposed to sale in the public markets. By many their flesh is highly esteemed. The hogs of Cornwall are numerous, and thrive in most places remarkably well; they have been known to weigh upwards of thirty score pounds; but in general that pork which is young, and rises only to the moderate weight of six or eight score, can most easily command a sale.

Of badgers, otters, foxes, hares, rabbits, squirrels, and weasels, Cornwall has its share, in proportion to other counties; but there are few singularities in either to distinguish these from others of the same species. In St. Merryn, Perran Sand, and some other places, where the sand has covered the soil, there are warrens well stored with rabbits. These in their proper season are fat and well tasted, and are frequently carried to the neighbouring markets for sale. Some others have been attempted on the southern coast, where the appearance of vegetation afforded a more flattering prospect of success. But the proprietors not finding them to answer their expectations, they have been abandoned, and the ground has been applied to more profitable purposes.

CHAP. XV.

Ochres, Clay, Stones, Semi-metals and Gems.

SECTION I.

Ochre and Clay of various kinds, and their respective uses.

HAVING already noticed the diversified soils of Cornwall, and taken a general survey of their fertilizing qualities and productions, it will be necessary to penetrate beneath the surface, to observe the varieties which nature exhibits in clay, stones, fossils, and semi-metals. Of ochrous earths Cornwall has its share and its varieties. It has the rusty ochre of iron, which is called gossan; the green and blue ochres of copper, the pale yellow of lead, the brown yellow of tin, and the red ochre of bismuth. Some of these mix well with oil, and might be used in coarse paints with considerable advantage. These ochrous earths are generally called feeders of the metals, and when found, are considered as happy presages that metallic substances are near. Of chalk, some small quantities have been discovered in the parish of St. Cleer.

Throughout the county there is scarcely a parish to be found, in which clay for making brick may not be procured. This is not confined to any particular soil; but it is less plentiful in that which is slaty, than in the other kinds of strata. In the parish of St. Agnes there is a white clay, which was formerly used in making tobacco pipes; but of late years this has been discontinued, the expence of land carriage exceeding the freight of some other by water, although brought from Pool in Dorsetshire. In the parish of Towednack, about twenty feet below the surface, there is a stratum of white clay, which is highly prized for making brick that will bear intense heat. The furnaces of smelting-houses are generally made of this clay, whenever brick formed of it can be procured; and it is admitted to stand the fire without vitrifying, much better than any other that has been discovered. In the parish of Lelant there is a yellow clay, that in other parts is much coveted for building furnaces; and vast quantities were formerly carried to Bristol and Wales for this purpose. Bricks made of this clay soon melt and vitrify in the fire, and uniting together form one solid body. Brought into this state the mass becomes

immoveable, enduring the fiercest fire, until the whole is completely calcined or reduced to ashes.

In the parish of St. Keverne there is a yellow clay, which is considered superior to any in this county for casting articles of silver, brass, or lead. Near the Long Bridge, in the parish of Ludgvan, there is a yellow sandy clay, much esteemed for making bricks and plaister. In the same pit there is another kind, of a bluish colour, which, when mixed with some of the white clays already mentioned, makes an excellent lute for the crucible. Near Liskeard, there is a species of fine slaty clay, which is found in great abundance. It is remarkably smooth, and its colour is scarcely inferior to the Naples yellow; but it will not mix with oil. From this circumstance, and from its turning fat and greasy, it has been denominated a steatites, a name given to all clays that bear any resemblance to tallow. On Tregoning Hill, in Breage, at Treasso in Ludgvan, in St. Enoder, and near the town of Lostwithiel, several species of white clay are to be found, all corresponding with those already mentioned. Of the white clay that is raised in the parish of St. Stephens, and which is in so much request for making English porcelain, a particular account will be given in the history of that parish.

The most remarkable of the steatites, is the Soapy Rock, near the Lizard. The first place in which it begins to appear, is about a mile and half north-west of the Lizard Point, at Kynans Cove; but here it is not very abundant. The most pure and the greatest plenty is to be found about a mile farther to the north, "Where," says Dr. Borlase, "descending into a narrow valley, about two hundred paces from the top of the hill, we found on our left hand, a straw coloured greasy clay, mixed with brown red, laid bare by the tumbling down of the green sod which covered it. This course of clay was about a yard thick, easily cut by a knife, and compressed by the hand. As we walked a few yards farther down, the left hand cliff became a perpendicular solid face of black hard stone, at the foot of which was a channel or vein about eight feet over, of the steatites of different colours, milk white, straw coloured, and veined with green, ruddy, and purple. There are also in this wide course, several stony substances, of no affinity to the steatites. As we came farther down, and nearer to the level of the sea, we observed the vein of steatites contracted into a course of fourteen inches wide, but of a more uniform consistence, the smooth rock making a wall for it on either side."

Possessing an absorbent quality, it is found in its domestic uses to take out spots from silks and linen without injuring the colour. The pure white is deemed the most excellent; and, as an article of trade, it is carefully selected from the other kinds, and secured in barrels, in which it is sold to the agents of the porcelain manufacturers, to whom it is of considerable value.

EXTENSIVE SOAP TRADE CARRIED ON NEAR SMYRNA.

In Barbary soap earth is considered as a softener and beautifier of the skin, and as such it is in high repute. Near Smyrna there is a fine soapy earth, which bubbles up in a fluid state from the ground. This is collected with care; and being boiled with oil, is manufactured into soap, and dispersed throughout the country. This trade is carried on to such an extent, as to consume annually 10,000 quintals of oil, and to employ a thousand camels daily. The soapy rock or clay near the Lizard, is admirably adapted to withstand the fiercest fire, in which it acquires an additional whiteness, and finally loses those variations in its colour which appear in its natural state.

SECTION II.

Stones.—Varieties.—Slate, Pebbles, and Gems.

The stones in Cornwall are not less numerous than the clays are diversified and various. But of many of these little more notice will be necessary than merely to mention their names. The quartz is a species of debased or imperfect crystal. It is found near the surface of the ground in most parts of Cornwall, is full of angles, and is generally denominated white spar. Another very common stone is called elvan or hêl-vaen; it is remarkably close in its texture, and very hard. It is rarely found in any regular strata, but in detached independent masses, which are sometimes impregnated with tin. A stone more common than the elvan is that known by the name of killas. Of this stone there are three kinds, yellow, blue, and brown. In its solid strata its crevices are nearly perpendicular and horizontal, but generally inclining a little towards the west. When used in buildings the yellow has been thought to imbibe the water. The blue being of small grit is easily squared, and if it could be raised from the quarries in large bodies, it would admit close joints and make dry walls; but in general the masses are too small. Many buildings are formed of the brown killas, both in the eastern and western parts of the county; but this like the yellow, imbibes the damp, and exposes the inhabitants to many inconveniences. From quarries that have been opened near the Tamar, vast quantities of slate have been brought down the river, and exported to various places. From these sources the neighbourhood of Plymouth is supplied with covering for their houses. On the banks of Fowey Harbour a slate quarry was lately opened, which exhibited some flattering appearances; but it is suspended at present without having been fully explored. At Trenarran, near St. Austell, a slate quarry has been worked for many years, and it still remains unexhausted. In

many other parts of the county slate is also raised; but in all, the quality is vastly inferior to the celebrated slate of Delabole in St. Teath, of which a description will be given in the history of that parish.

That stone which most resembles free stone, is to be found in the parishes of Crantock and Lower St. Columb. Its grit is a fine yellow sand, cemented together by spar; when taken from the ground, it is soft and easy to be worked; but after being exposed to the air for some years, it grows much harder, as is evident from the stone in Crantock church and tower, which are principally erected with it. The Polrudon or Pentowan stone, in the parish of St. Austell, partakes of the same nature, and it was formerly in high repute. The tower, the western part of the church, and many gentlemen's houses, have been built of this stone. Among stones of the larger grit, the most conspicuous is the granite or moorstone. It is found scattered over the surface of the inland parts in enormous blocks or pebbles. Hitherto no quarries of this stone have been opened, neither can any occasion for it be soon anticipated. This stone, which is more durable than any other, is to be found in most parts of the county. It is cleft from the enormous rock by iron wedges; it is of various colours, and is susceptible of a very high polish. But the nature and uses of moorstone are too universally known to require any further observations.

Scattered on the shores of Cornwall vast numbers of flints are frequently found. These were formerly attributed to accidental causes; but of late years pebbles of flint have been taken from the strata of clay in the parish of Ludgvan, at no great distance from the sea shore. These we have every reason to believe are in their native beds in this clay; therefore the prevailing opinion that Cornwall produces no flints must be erroneous. Of the black and yellow jasper, many rich specimens that are susceptible of a most beautiful enamel, have been discovered. Cornwall has also furnished several specimens of porphyry, alabaster, talc, asbestos, topaz, ruby, chrysalite, and amethyst. Its native diamonds are in great estimation; the most pellucid of these are supposed to exceed all others in England in their native beauty. The textures of these crystals are various, although some are of one uniform consistence throughout. One remarkable kind has hexagonal sheaths, one enclosing another. These are frequently found in clusters, having one end fixed in a bed of less pure crystal into which they seem to be inserted, and this bed serves to secure them from the still coarser matter in which these embodied gems are embedded.

SECTION III.

Fossils and Semi-metals.—Their Uses and Qualities.

The most distinguished among the semi-metals of Cornwall are bismuth, zinc, antimony, cobalt, arsenic, wolfram, manaccanite, molybdena, manganese, and mundic. These have their distinct properties and uses, although in some instances they partly enter into the composition of each other. Bismuth, when taken from the earth, presents to the eye a glossy white, bearing some distant resemblance to silver. Occasionally it appears in granules of a cubical form; but frequently its structure is irregular, and somewhat leafy. Except tin it is more fusible than any other metal. Exposed to the air, its surface soon becomes tarnished, and acquires a degree of roughness which seems to be the effect of corrosion. Mixed with other bodies it produces a sensible alteration in them, and renders them subservient to a variety of purposes. A small portion of bismuth infused into a body of tin, renders this metal more bright, more hard, and more sonorous, than it is in its natural state; and connected with a due proportion of lead and tin, it forms the composition of pewter. In making foils for mirrors, in imitating silver on wood, in the formation of printing types, in purifying gold and silver, in soldering some metals, in rendering others more fusible, and in anatomical injections, the value of this semi-metal is very generally known. Bismuth is better known in Cornwall by the name of tin glass. It is not plentiful in the county, but some specimens have been found in the parishes of St. Just and Gwennap.

Calamine, which is an ore of zinc, is found in great abundance in many parts of Cornwall, and its quality is thought to be superior to that of most other parts. When taken from the mine it is of a brownish grey colour, is of a hollow spongy nature, and is frequently mixed with some portions of lead. Cemented with copper, it enters into the composition of brass, and the excellence of its quality is estimated from the quantity that the copper will incorporate. To extract the zinc, the calamine is reduced to a powder, and being mixed with about one eighth of charcoal dust, is confined in a close retort, and exposed to a fire sufficiently violent to melt copper. In this state the zinc after some time rises, and appears in the neck of the retort in the form of metallic drops. "This mineral" says Campbell, "has been long known to our miners by the name of spelter; but they knew not that spelter was zinc, or that it could be extracted from *lapis calaminaris;* much less had they any conception that this spelter, which they despised as an encumbrance, was in reality the same thing as that boasted metal from China, so highly esteemed under the sounding appellation of *tutenag*. These are however, indisputable facts. This discovery was made by Dr. Isaac Lawson, about the

commencement of the last century. Zinc combined with copper is employed in making Prince's or Bath metal."

Although antimony has never yet been embodied as a real metal, it is uniformly thought to contain the radical principles of one, and to hold a middle station between gold and silver. This is inferred from the texture and weight of its ore. In the parishes of St. Austell, St. Minver, St. Stephens, St. Kew, and Endellion, some specimens have been found; but in no mine in Cornwall has it been an object of primary pursuit; and in many it is probable that large quantities are thrown away. In its ore it is hard, brittle, and heavy, closely grained in its texture, and exhibiting to the eye long shining filaments. To facilitate the fusion of other metals, and to refine gold to its utmost purity, the chemists have found it to be of essential service. It is much used by letter-founders and opticians; it hardens pewter, and bell-founders use it for the same purpose, and for rendering their metal more sonorous. In 1774 and two following years, about ninety tons were raised in the parish of Endellion, and about twenty-five tons near Saltash; but at present little is raised in any part of the county.

It is well known that cobalt is both scarce and valuable. In the year 1754 a society in London offered a premium of £30 for the best specimen that could be procured in England. This premium was awarded to a sample that was sent from a mine at Pengreep, in the parish of Gwennap. But this, though considered the best in England, was not so pure as what was imported from foreign countries. And even to the present time, although cobalt has been raised in several other places in Cornwall, its universal impurity has caused this country to draw its supplies from foreign markets. It is to this fine semi-metal that we are indebted for the beautiful blue tints with which the enamel of porcelain, the painting on glass, and various other works of art are enriched. In the preparations of linens, muslins, threads, laces, and cloths, it is also of essential service.

Arsenic, which is generally found combined with the ore of various metals, from which it is disengaged by roasting, is too well known to require any description. Wolfram is found in many mines, particularly Poldice, which formerly produced many specimens. Its colour is in general brown, or inclined to a greyish black, but sometimes it is indistinctively variegated. When thrown on red hot nitre, it effervesces with a light blue flame. Manaccanite was a name given a few years since, by the Rev. William Gregor, of Creed, to a metallic substance which he discovered in the parish of Manaccan. It was found in a vale, in small substances resembling grains of gunpowder. On being analyzed by this ingenious gentleman, it was thought to contain a new combination of properties, and to present a new mineral substance to the world. It has not hitherto been applied to any of the

purposes of art. Molybdena is a species of lead which is used in pencils. It is very scarce; but such as has been discovered, is not inferior to the molybdena of Cumberland. It has been taken from Wheal Crafty, in the parish of Camborne. Hitherto it has been found only in small masses; its colour is of a light grey, occasionally variegated with red; it feels greasy, and stains the fingers with a touch. A piece of rosin rubbed with it becomes positively electric. The quantity hitherto discovered has been too small to apply it to mercantile purposes.

Manganese has been discovered in large quantities in various parts of Cornwall. It is raised and rendered fit for the market at a trifling expence; but hitherto the price has not warranted even the trifling exertions that have been made; nor, unless some new market shall be discovered, does it seem probable that the demand will ever bear a due proportion to what Cornwall can supply. It is a ferrugineous mineral, and is used to attemper glass, and bring it to its proper lustre.

No mineral substance in Cornwall has more frequently occupied the attention of the naturalist, and the art of the chemist, than mundic. This has sometimes been called marcasite, and sometimes pyrites; but mundic is the most familiar name. Scattered throughout all the mining districts, it has been found adhering to most metallic bodies, and exhibiting every variety of colour. Many of our waters are strongly impregnated with its noxious principles, and are of a red turbid colour. Arsenic, sulphur, vitriol, and mercury, are its constituent ingredients. These being communicated to the streams, so far pollute them, as to kill the fish within them. Dr. Borlase mentions that a flock of geese in the parish of Ludgvan having drunk of a river at a time when it was strongly tainted with mundic, nine of them died immediately on their return to the bank. He also mentions an instance of a man having washed a wounded leg in a stream of mundic water, which brought on a gangrene that terminated in his death. Mixed with earth and thrown upon the soil, it destroys all vegetation, and corrodes iron by means of the vitriol included in its composition. The care of the burning-house, in which ores are roasted to separate the arsenic from them, is one of the most dangerous employments in which the managers of metals can engage. The sulphur which concealed the arsenic, being consumed by fire, the poison becomes dispersed; and tainting the air with its noxious effluvia, operates within the sphere of its activity upon animal and vegetable life. Ores committed to the furnace for purification, must not be heated sufficiently to bring them into a state of fusion. The fire must be moderate, and frequently stirred with an iron rake; the arsenic, which has been separated by the heat, adheres to the head of the rake, resembling a whitish yellow dust, while other parts pass through the chimney in streams of pestilential vapour.

Although mundic by its specific gravity exceeds that of most other fossils, and has to all appearance the properties of a real metal, bearing a strong resemblance to brass, no flux hitherto discovered has been sufficient to reduce it to a metal. Some parts of it will melt in a very fierce fire; yet when cold, on being struck with a hammer, it may be reduced to powder. To fix it as a metal, no experiments have been omitted, and no expence has been spared. It has engaged the attention of the most celebrated characters in foreign parts; but every effort has hitherto proved abortive. Specimens of all the varieties that could be procured, were sent to Leyden to Dr. Boerhaave, to be examined by him; but his death taking place soon after, deprived the world of the gratification expected from his researches.

From the decomposition of mundic both sulphur and arsenic may be procured in tolerable quantities; but the trouble and expence of procuring them by other means, being much less than in these, no temptation is held out to the chemical adventurer.

In most places the chimnies of burning-houses are raised at a considerable distance from the houses themselves, to which the fumes are conveyed through subterranean passages. The orifice of the burning-house chimney at Polgooth Mine opens on the side of a distant hill, which seems too barren for cultivation. A large area of this steril spot is enclosed with a hedge, that no cattle may approach to crop the poisoned vegetation which lies in its vicinity. Were such precautions every where adopted, many of those fatal effects which have been experienced at different periods, might probably have been prevented.

CHAP. XVI.

Metals, particularly Tin and Copper.

SECTION I.

Vicissitudes of the Tin Trade.—Charter in favour of the Tin Trade.—Origin of the Stannary Laws, of Coinage, and Rights of Bounding.—Progress of Privileges.—Appointment of Officers.—Operation of the Stannary Laws.

IT appears from the best accounts, that, on the departure of the Romans from this country, the mines of Cornwall began to decline. The Saxons who succeeded them, being either ignorant of the value of metals, or wholly bent on ferocious conquests, treated them with neglect; and the distracted state of the country scarcely allowed the inhabitants an opportunity to open an intercourse with foreign traders. In the early periods of the Saxon dominion, these invaders had no authority in Cornwall; and after it was subdued by Athelstan, their attention was so much engaged with the Danes, who were become their formidable rivals in war, that they had little leisure to cultivate the arts of peace.

The victorious Danes displayed the same degree of inattention; so that the mines were utterly neglected until the Normans came. How far this new horde of invaders rectified the errors of their predecessors, seems very uncertain. By some they have been said to derive great advantages from the mines of Cornwall, but by others this fact has been viewed in a very doubtful light. It is however established upon indisputable evidence, that in the days of king John, the mines which were then considered as exclusively under his jurisdiction, were productive of very little profit. Committed to the management of mercenary Jews, by whom the revenues of the tin were farmed, the rights of the miners were rendered too precarious to keep alive that spirit of adventure upon which the existence of the mines invariably depends. Disgusted at his conduct, a momentary torpor again succeeded, and the trade languished to such a degree, that the annual produce which the king received amounted only to 100 marks. According to this valuation, the bishop of Exeter then received, instead of his actual tenth part, the sum of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* which sum he still receives from the Duke of Cornwall. Devonshire at this time was so far superior to Cornwall, that its tin revenues were let at £100 per annum.

FAVOURABLE CHARTER GRANTED TO THE CORNISH ADVENTURERS IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

To prevent the tin trade of Cornwall from sinking into utter ruin, king John found it necessary to relax the severity of his former measures. He accordingly disforested such parts of the county as were subjected to the arbitrary forest laws, and placed the whole under the operation of the general law of the realm. To this he is said to have added a charter in favour of the miners, but its specific grants are not known. In the days of Richard king of the Romans, the mines of Cornwall were very rich, and highly productive to the revenue; and what tended to enhance their value was, that the mines of Spain were forbidden to be worked by the Moors; so that the tin trade of Europe was concentrated in these two western counties. The Jews were at this time farmed out by Henry III. to his brother Richard; in consequence of which, the profits of the mines became little less than an individual monopoly. This and the rapacity of the Jews, created discord, and caused a degree of languor which once more proved highly injurious to the trade. Edward I. to remedy these alarming evils, banished the Jews; but even this was insufficient to reanimate the mining adventurers, who had little encouragement, and even less protection, against royal prerogative.

The gentlemen of Cornwall, but more particularly of the Blackmoor district, in which the more productive mines lay, on perceiving the languishing state of the trade, and the disposition of government to revive it, boldly addressed themselves to Edmund earl of Cornwall, soliciting his interference in the establishment of some regulations that should be permanent; beseeching him at the same time to confer upon them certain grants that were essential to the working of the mines. This application proved successful; the grants were conferred, confirmed by his own seal, and included in a charter, which gave certain privileges that had never been enjoyed before.

By this charter they were enabled to hold courts of judicature, to manage and decide all pleas of action, and all stannary causes, excepting such as affected land, life, or limb. At their own discretion they were permitted to hold parliaments, and to receive as their own due and property, one fifteenth part as a legal toll of all the tin that should be raised. In consideration of this privilege, these lords of the soil engaged to pay to the Earl of Cornwall one halfpenny for every pound of tin that should be brought to perfection; and that no suspicion of any fraud might arise, it was furthermore agreed, that all the tin thus raised and manufactured, should be brought to certain towns or places purposely appointed, to be weighed, coined, and kept, until the impost was paid. At the time when this exorbitant tax was consented to be paid in Cornwall, the tin raised in Devonshire was taxed no more than eightpence per hundred. To this charter there was a seal affixed, with a pick-axe and shovel in saltire. It was to be kept in one of the church steeples

within the jurisdiction of its influence; and it had been seen by a gentleman with whom Mr. Carew was acquainted, but it was irrecoverably lost in his days.

But although Mr. Carew is supported by the authority of Camden, and followed by Dr. Borlase in the preceding account, the fact is otherwise stated by Tonkin in his notes on Carew, and he founds his statement on a book called "The Bailiff of Blackmore." According to this book, the charter was procured in the third year of Edward I. 1305, by several gentlemen dwelling chiefly in the several parishes of St. Austell, Luxulian, Lanlivery, St. Ewe, Roche, St. Stephens, St. Mewan, and St. Dennis. This charter, he asserts, was kept in the tower of Luxulian church, secured in a coffer with eight locks, and eight keys, each of which was kept by the parties of the parishes above named. He furthermore adds, that during the civil war, this charter, together with several other papers and rolls of much importance to the stannaries, was removed to Lostwithiel, where it was unfortunately destroyed in the year 1644, by the army of Essex.

It was about this time, and probably by virtue of this charter, that the rights of bounding, or of setting bounds to certain portions of land, for the encouragement of men searching for tin, were either first appointed, or at least more regularly adjusted than they had been before. According to these rights, if any man found shode or tin in any ground that was enclosed, but not bounded by another, the leave of the lord was to be first obtained before he could work. But if the land was bounded, then whether enclosed or not, to obtain leave of the previous bounder was all that the law required. And finally, if the land were neither enclosed nor bounded, then any person was at liberty to mark out bounds to the territory which he intended to examine; and observing the legal forms, he might then begin to search for tin. These bounds were in general formed by certain hillocks raised at the extremities of the given right, sustaining certain relations and bearings one towards another, so that lines drawn in given directions from them would circumscribe the rights to be secured. These bounds were to be renewed at stated periods, by cutting a small turf and placing it on the hillock; and, under some trifling variations, the same practice continues to the present day.

In the thirty-third of Edward I. the previous charter received an additional confirmation, which incorporated the tinners of Cornwall as a distinct body from those of Devonshire. Prior to this time the tinners of both counties held a kind of general convocation every seventh or eighth year on Hengston Hill, in which they concerted measures for their mutual advantage; but this was now succeeded by the chartered independence of both. By this new charter the Cornish tinners were permitted to hold two coinages annually, at Midsummer and Michaelmas; and each tinner had the liberty of selling his own tin, unless the king chose to take

it for himself. These were privileges, which by the previous charter it seems evident that the adventurers were not permitted to enjoy.

Some new regulations were introduced in the reigns of Richard II. Edward IV. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth; in consequence of which the tinners of Cornwall were subdivided into four bodies. These were denominated from such places as furnished the principal workings for tin, Fawy Moor, Black Moor, Trewarnhaile, and Penwith, (now called Penwith and Kirrier) and to each of these divisions a separate court was assigned, over which a lord warden was appointed to preside, both in equity and in law. By the lord warden a vice warden was appointed, who held his court once every month, to determine all cases belonging to the stannaries. By him were constituted four stewards, one for each of the districts already mentioned; these were to hold their courts respectively, once every three weeks, and to decide by juries of six persons, such cases as might be brought before them; the right of appeal being always reserved to the vice warden, thence to the lord warden, and finally to the lords of the prince's council.

The towns appointed for these four stannary courts, were, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Truro, and Helston. Each of these towns was authorised to choose six members; and the twenty-four so chosen, who were called stannators, constituted a parliament of tinners. They have been frequently convened by the lord warden on particular occasions. When convened, they choose a speaker, whom they present to the lord warden for his approbation. They then proceed to business; but it is only when their resolutions are sanctioned by the lord warden, or the vice warden in his absence, and also by the Duke of Cornwall, that they can operate with all the force of law. The last stannary parliament was held in Truro, in the year 1752, and continued by some adjournments until the autumn of the following year.

From time immemorial the stannary prison has been kept at Lostwithiel; and debtors among the tinners are still confined there. In this place the most ancient and valuable records of the stannaries were deposited; but they were destroyed by a general conflagration in the civil wars. An octavo edition of the stannary laws was published in the reign of queen Anne; these were again published in a folio edition, connected with those of Devonshire, in 1725, and also in 1750. Since that time another octavo edition was published at Truro in 1808, which is still in use.

Tenacious of their rights, the stannary courts in ancient times protected their privileges against the interposition of parliamentary power with the most undaunted resolution. In the reign of Henry VIII. when an attempt was made by a Mr. Strode, a member of the House of Commons, to bring in a bill respecting tin, he was seized by order of this court, fined and imprisoned, without being able to obtain any redress. This display of power was founded on a dearly purchased

privilege, which had been procured of Henry VII. and which was afterwards confirmed by Elizabeth. By the charter which guarantied this privilege, it was declared, that no law relating to the tinners should be enacted, without the consent of twenty-four gentlemen tinners, six of whom should be elected out of each of the stannary divisions.

SECTION II.

Stream Tin, where and how found.—Manner of procuring it.—Process of cleansing it.—Manner of melting it.—Various kinds of Stream-works.

It will hardly be doubted, that all the tin ore that is to be found, though scattered near the surface of the earth, was originally deposited in certain veins or fissures running through the primitive strata of the county. Great quantities of ore have been broken from these veins by some violent concussion of nature, and carried from the hills most probably by water, into the vallies which verge towards the sea. The ore is found in these vales at various depths; much depends upon the quantity of loose matter that has been washed from the hills, and the declivity of the vallies. It appears in a greater degree of purity in this state, than in the lodes, from which it must have been originally severed. Scattered thus in all probability by the general Deluge, it is found in particles and concretions of various sizes. It is sometimes found incorporated with stones, and is occasionally mixed with other metallic substances. When found in stones, which are scattered beneath the surface on a gentle declivity, it is generally called *shode*. The shode varies from one foot to ten in depth; the whole succession is called a stream-work; the regular bed of stone and sand resembling a stream, and a stream of water being necessary to work it. When thus discovered, the first step taken by the tinner is to procure from the land-owner, or bounder, or both, a right to work. This right is called a *sett*. This being ratified agreeably to the rules prescribed by the stannary laws, a stream of water is conducted on the surface to that spot where he intends to begin his operations. A level is also brought home to the spot from below, as deep as the ground will permit, and the workings require, to carry off the sand and water. The ground is then opened at the extremity nearest the sea, or the discharge of the water; from which place the *streamers* (for by this name these tinners are known, to distinguish them from miners) proceed towards the hill. On the ground which is laid open, the stream of water is turned in from the surface, which, running over an almost perpendicular descent, washes off the lighter parts of such ground as

had been previously broken by picks, carrying them through the under level, which is called the *tye*, and leaving behind the sandy ore, and such stones as are too heavy to be thus removed. In this stream the men, provided with boots for the purpose, continue to stand, keeping the sand and gravel at the bottom in motion. From it they select the larger rubbish, throwing it on one side, picking from their shovels such shode as appears. The precipice over which the water runs is called the *breast;* the rubbish thrown away is called *stent;* the sand, including tin, is called *gard;* the walls on each side of the tye are called *stiling;* and the more worthless parts which are driven away by the stream are called *tailings*. In this manner they continue to dig or break their ground until the whole is exhausted, which is sometimes the work of many years.

The gard, the shode, and occasionally the pebbles of tin ore that are found, being carefully selected from the stent and tailings, undergo a separation. The pebbles if pure are reserved for melting, until the other parts are prepared. The shode, when the stones are large, is broken by sledges until it is reduced to a convenient size for a mill, in which it is placed to be pulverized. The gard on the contrary, though prepared for the same mill, passes through another process. Being taken from the tye and laid on its banks, it is collected together, and carried to a small floor, where an oblong pit is made, resembling a grave, but not more than two or three feet deep. This pit is called a *gounce*. Above this is placed on an inclined plane, a frame of iron bars called a *ruddle*, bearing some resemblance to a gridiron. At the head of this a stream of water is continually running, into which the gard is thrown with a shovel. This gard being carried to the ruddle by the water, undergoes a separation; the more stony parts being thrown off by the bars, while the finer, in which the tin is chiefly lodged, is carried by the water through the ruddle, and from thence into the gounce below. In this gounce the gard is wholly confined; but as its bed lies on a gently inclined plane, the heavier and richer parts lie near its head, while the more inferior are carried towards its extremity. The gounce being full, these parts are taken out and deposited in distinct heaps, from which they are taken to the stamping-mill, where the whole, as well as the shode, is beaten to powder.

The stamping-mill, which is a simple machine, is said to have been invented by Sir Francis Godolphin; prior to whose days crazing-mills, somewhat resembling grist-mills, were made to supply their place. The sand, from which the tin has been extracted, still retains the name of *craze* from this circumstance. It consists of a water wheel, and four, six, or eight, large pieces of timber, placed under a shed perpendicularly within a frame, close by the side of the revolving axle. At

the bottom of these timbers, which are called *lifters*, are inserted large pieces of iron, each weighing from 80 to 180 pounds. The axle being armed with projecting timbers called *tappets*, come into contact with each revolution, with timbers projecting from the lifters, called *tongues*. By this means each lifter is raised by the revolution of the wheel to a given height, until the circular motion of the axle destroys the contact; in consequence of which, it descends with its load of iron immediately upon the gard and shode placed under it, to receive the violent and successive blows which reduce them to powder. Behind the lifters the shode and gard are thrown into a large aperture called *the pass*, which being of steep descent and supplied with a small stream of water, provides the mill with work. Before the lifters is placed an iron grate, about a foot square, placed perpendicularly, and perforated with holes generally about the size of a moderate pin, to which size all the materials under the stamp-heads must be reduced. These stamp-heads working continually in water, dash it against the grate at every blow, forcing with it such atoms as are small enough to escape, while the grate keeps back those that are too large, for further reduction. The pulverized materials having passed the grate, are carried forward by the same little stream, that passes through the mill, in a gutter, to a pit which is sometimes called the sump, in which the richer parts settle near the head, while those of inferior quality are carried farther on. This first pit is sometimes succeded by a second, and sometimes by a third, so that the parts separated by the mill may find a settlement in either, according to their purity.

The pit being full, its contents are divided into distinct portions, that at the head being invariably the best. From this place the more refined parts are carried to another pit called *the buddle*, where a man is constantly employed to keep the whole in motion, under another stream of water, dividing and smoothing with his shovel, the small quantities placed on the buddle-head, which is elevated nearly three feet above the floor of his buddle, in which he stands. He also frequently makes use of a broom, adopting every method to expose the ore which is now refining, to the utmost action of the water. The buddle being full, its contents are also divided, according to the judgment of the man who superintends the process, the better parts still lying nearest the head. Taken from the buddle, the more refined parts are carried to a large tub called *the keeve*, into which they are thrown cautiously with a shovel, while the water is in a state of agitation, by being constantly stirred and thrown into a circular motion. By this process the tin verges towards the bottom, and another separation again ensues. The water being drained when this keeve is nearly full, and the lighter parts being skimmed from the tin ore to undergo another process, the more perfect parts are passed through

a sieve adapted for the purpose, immersed in another keeve, in which the water is kept in a state of agitation as before, that the impurities still adhering may be removed. To increase the motion of the water while this is doing, some men or boys are employed to beat the sides of the keeve with mallets, hammers, or shovels. This process is termed *packing*, and is calculated to promote the separation, and to leave the ore in a pure state. From the top of this keeve also, the upper parts are skimmed off with a shovel, when the water is drained, to undergo another purification, while the remaining parts are frequently rendered fit for sale. But these processes are not always sufficient to purify the ore; sometimes many of the latter parts must be again repeated, and on some occasions the cleansers or dressers are obliged to resort to some new expedients. In the mean while the more impure parts which were found in the pit at the mill, and towards the extremity of the buddle, containing the minuter particles of ore, being mixed with slime, require another mode of purification. From the heaps in which these slimy parts were deposited, they are sometimes carried to trunks or slime-pits; in which, by being stirred in a small stream of water, which gently carries the particles that float within it, over a board placed horizontally on its edge, into a larger excavation, on an inclined plane, the parts are again lodged as in the buddle, according to their specific gravity. This process is sometimes repeated two or three times, under some trifling variation of forms, until the fine ore has been so far separated from its slime, as to be fit for the *frame* or *reck*. This bears some resemblance to the wooden guard bed of soldiers, and is suspended on two iron axes, one at each extremity. This is also on a gently inclined plane, and is so contrived that the finer parts of the ore may be washed gently over its surface. This coincides in some respects with the process of the buddle, the work thrown on it being moved with a shovel, a rake, and a broom, that the rill which runs over it may penetrate every part. The frame having received a sufficient quantity, is instantly turned on its edge, and all its contents are discharged into wooden coffers placed below for this purpose; when, after being washed by a little water, it is again restored to its horizontal position, and the process is again renewed. The principal coffer being full, its contents are carried to undergo the same operation that has been already described.

In all this process of purification, the great agent is water; in the regulation of which the skill of the cleanser is principally displayed. His employment is an art with which neither the mere miner nor the streamer pretends to be acquainted. It is only to be acquired by habit, observation, and long experience; and in some particulars variations take place in almost every parish. These depend upon the

skill of the persons, the nature of those impure substances with which the tin ore is connected, and the various experiments that are constantly making to lessen the expence and trouble, to save time, and to bring the ore to marketable perfection.*

The ore thus purified, although of various colours, bears the general name of black tin, and as such it is carried to the blowing-houses for sale. Until of late years there were in modern times but three of these in the county, all of which were in the parish of St. Austell, and were worked with one stream of water. But recently two others have been erected in the western parts, by which means the trade has been divided, and the competition has been of great advantage to the tinners, who, in time past have complained of an injurious combination against their interests.

It must not, however, be understood, that the black tin, although properly cleansed, is alike in quality or value. Some impurities will adhere to the best, which no water can remove. When carried to the blowing-houses, each *batch* or parcel from different stream-works, is laid by itself, in distinct hutches; from each of which, when all the parts are indiscriminately mixed, a small quantity is taken and carried to the assay furnace, where it is melted, and its produce estimated according to the weight of the ore, and that of the metal, with the utmost exactness. Sometimes two or three samples are taken from the same heap. These determine the quality and value of the whole. Sometimes twenty pounds of ore will produce thirteen or fourteen pounds of metal; but oftentimes much less. By these various estimates the parcels are purchased, and the tinners are paid per hundred according to the prices established at the coinages.

The ore thus purchased being corrected and qualified by the melters, is fused with charcoal; the fire being kept in a state of vigour, in some places by enormous bellows, and in others by iron cylinders, which are made subservient to the same principle, each being worked with a water wheel. At present the iron cylinders prevail, and the furnaces are constructed upon a new mode, that is deemed far superior to the old. The ore being brought into a metallic state, passes through an aperture that had been stopped with clay, into an iron gutter, through which it runs like liquid fire into an enormous kettle sunk in the ground. In this place it remains several hours in a fluid state, during which time it is stirred about that the dross may rise to the surface, and be skimmed off. It is then taken from the

* In the manner stated in this section, the stream tin is procured in the neighbourhood of St. Austell. This also is the mode of cleansing it, as pursued by Mr. Thomas Allen, of St. Austell, who has been engaged in this employment sixty-five years.

kettle with iron ladles, and thrown into quadrangular stone moulds, in which places the blocks of tin of about three hundred weight each are formed, each bearing the initials of some conspicuous names in the firm of the blowing-house adventure. In this state they are carried to the coinage towns to undergo an examination, and to receive the impression of the dutchy seal.

As the manner of cleansing the ore when taken from the stream-works varies in many places, so also are the streams themselves, from which the ore is procured, widely different from those which have been described. In some places, a pit being sunk in the middle of the vale, if tin be discovered, an engine is erected to draw off the water and raise it to the surface. In these vales, as the tin ore is generally found at the bottom, on the solid and unbroken earth, the ground is laid open towards the sea and towards the interior, so that the engine draws the water from both workings. In these vales, it is rarely the case that any ore is ever discovered dispersed among the different strata that lie upon the bed, so that the whole incumbent body is emphatically called *burden*. All this, to the thickness of twenty or thirty feet, and sometimes more, must be removed, that the ore below may be taken away. Some of this is occasionally committed to the rivers which run along in the same vales, and is by them carried in vast quantities to the sea, to the great injury of our creeks and harbours. Other parts are piled in heaps on the sides, and others are carried behind and thrown into such excavations as had been previously made by the removal of the ore and rubbish. This can only be done at a vast expence, which even the treasure beneath is sometimes insufficient to defray. These workings are much exposed to inundations; and in places near the sea, to the violent effects of storms. By one or both of these causes these works have often suffered, and by one or both of them they seem ultimately destined to perish.

The tin ore taken from these works is generally of the purest kind. It is found in a loose pebbled stratum, and appears in masses of nearly solid ore, from pebbles about the size of a goose's egg, down to the finest sand. It frequently requires no other preparation for the blowing-house than washing on the spot. In this state twenty pounds of ore will produce thirteen pounds of pure metal. The most remarkable works of this kind are Carnon Stream, near Perran-arworthal, Pentuan Work, in the parish of St. Austell, and Porth, near St. Blazey. Carnon has repaid the adventurers with an amazing profit; but its riches are exhausted, and for several years it has been abandoned. Pentuan Work still continues to flourish, and to yield the adventurers a regular but moderate produce. It has lately suffered severely from an inundation occasioned by an extraordinary tide; but the breach

has been repaired, and the work promises to furnish both riches and employment for many years. Porth about fourteen years since was overwhelmed by the sea, which destroyed the embankment. Though exceedingly rich when this misfortune happened, no efforts were made to re-open it till within these three years. This attempt was made at some little distance from the old workings, since which time it has been worked as a mine, extending under a bed of mud and sand beneath the tide, where its riches were discovered to be undiminished. About twelve months since the shell gave way, and the ore was again buried; but new preparations are now making to re-open this dangerous treasure.

In several stream-works, particularly in the parish of St. Stephens in Branwell, some small lumps of melted tin have occasionally been found. These are supposed to be nodules that have been scattered from the ancient melting-houses originally erected by the Jews, whose places of working have been discovered in many parishes. The metal in these slabs is harsh and brittle, which shews that in their days the art of manufacturing tin had not acquired much perfection.

SECTION III.

Conjectures on the Origin of Lodes.—Positions and Impregnation.—Means of working the Mines.—Traditionary Origin and Description of Whims.—Difficulties of describing a Mine.—Duty and Responsibility of the Captains.—Mode of working among the Miners.

Among the various attempts which have been made to explore the hidden recesses of nature, and to account for existing phenomena on natural principles, there are few things which have more completely baffled all human ingenuity, than the structure and appearance of the lodes that are scattered through the earth, and stored with metallic substances. In attempting to account for their origin, some have imagined, that at creation, when the ocean was about to be formed, and the dry land was appointed to appear, the fluid elements retiring from the chaotic mass formed certain channels in the more solid parts, and that these channels were either wide or narrow as the stream passing through them happened to be large or small. Others conceive that these fissures ought not to be traced up higher than the Deluge, when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the whole globe was in a state of convulsion. They have supposed, that the subsiding of the waters, and the restoration of order, left these materials to transmit in indelible characters, the certainty of this event to all generations of the world.

But each of these theories has its difficulties. In the first place, the course of these fissures chiefly tend from east to west, or from north to south. Whereas

if they had been occasioned by the general subsidence of the fluid elements, particularly the water rushing to the cavities destined to contain the ocean, it is natural to suppose that they would have tended towards the sea in all directions; but nothing of this can be discovered. In the second place, to suppose these lodes or fissures to have been formed by the Deluge, is to pre-suppose that no lodes existed prior to that grand disaster. But it seems indisputably clear, that the tin which is found in the stream-works, was washed from the lodes by this general inundation, and carried towards the sea with the retiring waters. The Deluge, therefore, rather proves that lodes did previously exist, than gives them existence.

But how easy soever it may be to point out the absurdity of erroneous theories, it is very difficult to establish one that is genuine in its stead. To the operation of natural causes, no doubt, the various phenomena that thus exist may be assigned; but no theory yet discovered will give any tolerable solution of the difficulties that appear. We know with certainty that lodes exist, but all our attempts to account for their formation, is little better than visionary conjecture.

Although there is no perfect uniformity in the direction of lodes, yet those in Cornwall, as well as most of the coal and lead mines throughout England and Wales, generally run from east to west. But in the mines of Potosi and Oruro, in Peru, and in those of Hungary and Bohemia, the general uniformity is from north to south. But in every place they have been found to deviate from these cardinal points in some oblique directions. In addition to this obliquity of bearing, these lodes are rarely perpendicular in their positions. Some decline to the right hand, and others to the left; and this in variable degrees. Sometimes the same lode inclines to one side of a perpendicular, and sometimes to the other. They rarely run in a straight direction, but seem to pursue a wavy course. Approaching to the sides of hills, to the vicinity of vales and rivers, and to the borders of cliffs, their declination is found almost invariably to increase; but as they proceed through a level plain, they are more perpendicular.

One of their most remarkable singularities is, that of their being fractured, heaved, or started from their original combinations. Thus a lode that may be pursued with regularity to an indefinite depth, is found to terminate on a sudden, and no vestige of it remains. But on sinking a little below its termination, and then driving in a transverse direction, the continuation of the same lode, or the appearance of a new one, in every respect resembling that which terminated, is discovered. This is pursued until a second phenomenon appears, and sometimes a much greater number. The distance between these broken parts of the lode varies from six to twenty-five feet; these singular appearances have been attributed to various subsidences of the earth, occasioned by some secret but powerful causes,

through which certain districts have been unfooted and moved. The time of their operation has in general been attributed to the period of the Deluge, to which also have been ascribed with some probability, the various declination of lodes, from their primitive state of perpendicularity. To confirm this theory, it is known by observation, that the interstices between the lodes are filled with earth, clay, and gravel, and such broken materials, which bear no resemblance in composition to the surrounding and solid strata. This incongruous mass of matter is generally called *flukan* among the miners, and is vulgarly considered as the cause through which the lode has started, although to the eye of investigation it appears to be its natural effect.

When ore is found in any fixed strata, it is either in a lode or a *floor*, or scattered in detached grains throughout the solid rock. Floors of tin are found in many mines at uncertain depths, and sometimes it happens, that the same ore, which for many fathoms has descended in a lode approaching towards a perpendicular, will spread into a floor at a considerable depth. These floors of tin are sometimes very rich, and are rendered very dangerous on this account. For as the floor spreads itself horizontally, the greatest precaution is necessary to secure with strong timber the pendent rocks which the men have been tempted to undermine. In some places they have also found it necessary to leave strong pillars of very rich ground to support the extending roof; and some instances have occurred, in which the incumbent mass has given way, and involved all beneath it in one indiscriminate grave.

Although in many instances the expence of extracting the scattered grains of tin from the rocks through which it is dispersed, has exceeded the value of what has been procured, yet on other occasions the adventurer has been amply repaid for his exertions. When this has been the case, the tin has generally been found in rocks of granite, which have either been blown asunder with gunpowder, or split with wedges. Tin in this state is frequently found in a substance which the miners call *growan*, but which in reality is nothing more than decomposed granite, consisting of transparent quartz, a small portion of decomposing feltspar, and silvery mica partly in a decayed state.

In carrying on the work of a mine, three principal objects must always be kept in view. These are, the convenience of removing the rubbish, the facility of carrying off the water, with which every mine more or less abounds, and the means of raising and purifying the ore. In carrying off the water, mines which have elevated situations have an advantage over others, in having drains or adits cut from the vales, and carried on to the workings. But even this is in some degree counterbalanced by an opposite inconvenience. For, as on elevated grounds,

streams of water are not easily procured, the mills which are necessary to pulverize the ore, must be removed at some distance, where water can be obtained. But in all cases the advantage of procuring a drain or adit outweighs every other consideration; and in some cases it has been cut through the distance of one or two miles, in order to accomplish so desirable a purpose.

As all the tin stuff, and sometimes all the water, and a considerable portion of the rubbish, must be raised to the surface, it is obvious that the difficulties of working a mine, as well as the expence attending it, must increase in proportion to the depth of the mine. On this account every effort of human ingenuity, and all the aid which mechanical powers and machinery can afford, are introduced. And although these have of late years displayed a degree of perfection to which former generations were total strangers, the depth of some mines have occasioned a weight of expence which the produce has been insufficient to support; and, as a natural consequence, their subterranean riches have been abandoned.

To raise these materials from the bottom, one of the most simple, and yet most valuable machines in use, is called *a whim*. This is said to have derived its name from a gentleman called Coster, who was a man of genius, being one day observed by his associates busily engaged about something that resembled machinery, was asked what he was doing. "I have a *whim* in my head, and am trying to reduce it to practice;" was the reply. Coster's whim at first produced much mirth, and many sarcastic observations; but as it approached towards perfection, ridicule gave place to respect, and the whim was found to be a most valuable contrivance. Its name and use have been transmitted to posterity, but its inventor only lives in the tales of tradition.

The whim is composed of a perpendicular axis, from twelve to eighteen feet in height, the upper end of which is confined within a transverse fixed beam, while the under end rests on some solid substance in which the pivot turns. Round this axis a large hollow cylinder of wood, called the cage, is extended in a circular parallel, which being connected with the axis, turns round with it. Around this cage a large rope is carried in a horizontal manner, having its two extremities carried over two pullies, which are erected immediately over the shaft, down which the ends of the rope descend. At each end of this rope is fastened a bucket, which still retains its ancient Cornish name, *kibbal*, in which the tin stuff is raised from the bottom to the surface. Immediately below the cage, but immoveably connected with it, being fixed to the axis, is a transverse beam, which when put in motion, operates with all the properties of a lever. At one or both ends of this beam, horses are fastened, which being put in motion, describe a large circle; and the cage on which the rope is wound, moving in an horizontal direction, one kibbal

rises by the rope which is thrown over the perpendicular pulley, and the other descends; so that the full one is always on the top to be discharged, while the other is at the bottom to be filled. The horses turn in their circle at every discharge. When the mine is deep, the weight they draw up is very great. In such situations instances have been known where the harnesses have broken; in consequence of which the beam and all its dependencies escaping, have returned with such velocity and force, that the horses have been killed on the spot by the iron to which they had been fastened. In some small mines the water is raised from the bottom to the surface in kibbals; but this is rarely continued if a stream of water can be procured to work an engine, or if the prospect be sufficient to justify the erection of a steam-engine.

To describe the manner in which the workings under ground are conducted, none but a scientific miner, whose life has been engaged in this employment, is fully competent. And even with men of this description, of whom Cornwall can produce vast numbers, were they to descend to minutiæ, such diversity would appear, as would bid defiance to specific rules. The same mode that might be pursued with advantage in one mine, would be very improper in another. Hence the practice of one man might be condemned by a second; and the conduct of both might with equal propriety be condemned by a third, whose energies had been influenced by different circumstances. There is scarcely any department of life in which the exercise of judgment and discretion is so much required, as in the management of the mines, where local circumstances must be allowed to dictate to reason. A description of a mine, however accurate, can amount to little more than a description of that mine alone; and this can only be given by men who have seen experiment triumph over hypothesis; and perhaps this would be scarcely intelligible to any who were totally unacquainted with the art of mining.

The subordinate management of the mines is consigned to the care of captains; the number of whom increases in proportion to the size of the concern. It is their business to inspect the various departments of the work; to see that the men employed are properly distributed; to notice their industry or idleness; to observe the increase or the decline of the prospects before them; to regulate the price of labour according to the hardness or softness of the ground; and to mark the variations which appear. It is also their business to see that the more dangerous parts are sufficiently propped with timber; that some men are employed in making new discoveries, while others are raising ore to meet the common expenditure; to notice the consumption of candles and gunpowder, and the injury done to the working tools; to see that the slopes and levels are fairly worked; that the channels

conveying the water are in a state of repair, and that they conduct their various streams to the engine shaft, from which it is raised from the mine; to observe that there is neither a deficiency nor an unnecessary waste of materials; and to take care that no fraud is committed in the private distribution of the ore that is broken. It must be obvious that these captains sustain offices of high responsibility; and to their honour it may be spoken, that with few exceptions, they have been found worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

The miners work sometimes for daily wages, but more generally on tet-work or tribute. This is an engagement into which they enter to work for one or two months, at a given price per fathom, forming their judgments from the appearance of the ground when they take their bargains, and running all hazards of its becoming more hard or soft. In these bargains the price varies from twenty shillings to twenty pounds per fathom; and it frequently happens that by the smaller sum the men get the better wages. Working on tribute, the men receive a given price from the value of all the ore they can raise in a given time, subject to such rules as belong to the mine. This also varies from sixpence to eight or ten shillings in the pound, according as the ground is rich or poor. In both cases the men labour on mere adventure, without being able to anticipate when they quit their work, what the earnings of the next day may be. These men in both modes of employ regularly succeed each other, through day and night, every six or eight hours, with the exception of Sundays. It is the business of the captains to see that every man fills his appointed place and time. On a superficial survey this inspection, and the fines that are levied on defaulters, may seem unjustifiably severe; especially as the men who neglect their labour cease to earn wages while they are idle. But it must be recollected, that the regular expence of the mine in engines, coals, and other concomitant disbursements, will admit of no suspension. And consequently, if the idle were to be encouraged, general confusion would ensue, and in proportion to their neglect of labour, the best mine in the county must inevitably sink.

SECTION IV.

Engines of various kinds enumerated and described.

Among the various contrivances hitherto formed by art, for raising the water from the underground workings, the bob-engine, and the fire or steam-engine may be considered as the principal. Some others of inferior power are occasionally

used for temporary convenience, when the mines are shallow, but none among them are important. Common hand pumps are sometimes used under ground, to raise the water to a given level; but these are too well known to need description. Of the whim an account has been already given.

In places where the workings are shallow, where the quantity of water to be raised is small, and where only a little stream can be procured above, a curious species of engine has been contrived, which has answered its intended purpose at a very small expence. This is called a flopjack. This engine consists of a single beam or bob, suspended in its transverse centre, on an axis. At one extremity a rod descends into a hollow tube placed in a perpendicular position, in which it works as a pump. On the opposite end is placed a large open box, having nothing but its position to prevent the water from running out at its utmost extremity. This bob is so contrived that its fixed weight always inclines it to preponderate towards the pump. In consequence of this inclination the bob always rests in an inclined plane. The box being parallel with the bob, always partakes of its inclination; and consequently it will hold water when the bob is inclined towards the pump, although it is open at the extremity. Thus formed, the end having the box on it is placed under a wooden frame, in which the water of a small stream collects into a body. At the utmost extremity of this frame is placed a perpendicular hatch, which can be easily lifted. The bob therefore, lifting that end on which the box is placed, as the other extremity descends to the pump, raises the hatch, and receives into the box the water that had been collected. This continues to increase until the balance turns in its favour; when by descending, the hatch above shuts of its own accord, and collects water for another stroke; while the opposite arm of the bob lifts water from the pump, as it rises, and this continues until the box so declines as to discharge its water at the descending extremity. It again rises, lifts the hatch, preponderates, and sinks as before; and thus keeps a small pump continually at work, without the expence of a water wheel.

The rag-engine is still more powerful than the preceding; but even this will not raise water from deep mines. This engine consists of a long circular chain, carried through a wooden pump, and thrown over a small wheel above, armed with iron spikes, which entering the links, causes the chain to rise incessantly through the pump as the wheel revolves. This wheel is worked by a water wheel. On this chain, at the distance of two or three feet from each other, are placed circular protuberances, which, when covered with leather, suit the bore of the pump. These being kept in continual motion by the revolution of the wheel, draw forth an incessant stream of water from the pump.

The bob-engine is a still more powerful machine than either of the preceding; and where a large stream of water can be procured, and the level is sufficient to introduce a large wheel, the water from below can be raised from a considerable depth. This engine consists of a water wheel, and two beams or bobs suspended on their respective axes. From one extremity of each, perpendicular to the axis of the wheel, two moveable rods descend. These are fastened to two cranks inserted in the axis of the wheel, so that its revolutionary motion causes them to rise and fall alternately. At the opposite extremity of the bobs two rods descend into pumps placed perpendicularly in a shaft. Hence the movement of the wheel, by carrying round the cranks, keeps the pumps in constant work. The quantity of water raised is in exact proportion to the diameter of the wheel, the quantity of water used in turning it, and the length of the levers or bobs. The want of water to drive the wheel, and the difficulty of procuring levels when it is of large diameter, limit the power of this machine, and prevent it from being more in use.

But the advantages resulting from the bob-engine are not to be compared with those derived from the fire or steam-engine. This is comparatively of modern invention; and it may be justly reckoned among the noblest efforts of human ingenuity. Without the aid of these engines, most of the mines of Cornwall must have been long since abandoned; and perhaps it may be doubted whether even pit-coal would have been within our reach.

The first account of these curious machines is recorded by the Marquis of Worcester, in his History of Inventions. This was published in the year 1663; but the description is so vague, uncertain, and indefinite, that little more can be gathered from his account, than that the formation of engines to be worked with steam, was practicable. The hint however, being thus given, many mechanical heads were immediately set to work, and several important improvements were soon made in many parts of Europe. Captain Savery was the first who attempted to realize the project of the marquis. This was done by causing steam to act immediately on the surface of water contained in a close vessel, and by forcing it to ascend through a pipe. But this was found insufficient for any valuable purpose, as the waste of steam coming in contact with cold water, was too great to be borne.

To obviate this inconvenience, Newcomen contrived to introduce steam gradually into his cylinder, and then suddenly to condense it with a jet of cold water. By this means the piston was forced down with great violence by the pressure of the atmosphere, which produced the effective stroke. Engines constructed on this general principle, subjected to variations and improvements, continued in use in this country till the inventions of Bolton and Watts formed an era in this species

of machinery. Besides these, many important discoveries and improvements have been made by Cartwright, Hornblower, Murray, Bramah, Maudsley, Woolf, Trevithick, and others. By some of these many advantages have been introduced; and scarcely a year has passed lately, in which no application has been made for a patent, to secure the rights of genius. At present the rival geniuses in Cornwall are Woolf and Trevithick. Both have already rendered their names immortal by their improvements and inventions. The principal advantages resulting from their engines, consist in the saving of fuel, and the giving of greater elasticity and use to the steam they respectively raise. Woolf has been happily successful in generating steam, and Trevithick in the giving of it new force, and in the simplicity of his machines.

As steam-engines when invented, were first applied to do the labour of horses, it has been customary to estimate their force by comparing their work with what a given number of horses could perform. This is certainly a vague mode of estimation, because the muscular powers of horses differ so widely. But to men unacquainted with calculations of the mechanical powers, this mode conveys a more specific idea than is gathered from a given number of pounds being raised through a given space in a given time.

Proceeding according to this comparative estimate, it appears, that an engine whose cylinder is thirty-one inches in diameter, and which makes seventeen double strokes in a minute, is equivalent to forty horses working day and night. Such an engine would consume 11,000 pounds of Staffordshire coal per day. In the same proportion, when the cylinder is nineteen inches, and makes twenty-five strokes of four feet each per minute, it does the work of twelve horses, without intermission. Mr. Bolton, in making his calculations on the effect of steam-engines, proceeds in a different manner, which is still more intelligible and more definite. He asserts that one bushel of Newcastle coal, weighing eighty-four pounds, will raise thirty million pounds one foot high; that the same coals if so applied, will grind and dress eleven bushels of wheat; that it will slit and draw into nail-rods 500 cwt. of iron; that it will drive 1000 cotton spindles with all their apparatus, with proper velocity; and that these effects are equivalent to the work of ten horses.

Prior to the days of Bolton and Watts, the power of the steam-engine was wholly confined to the raising of water from the mines; nor would the enormous expence attending it justify its application to any other purpose. But since the great improvements made by these gentlemen, the steam-engine has occasionally been substituted for horses in the working of whims, and for water in the working of machines for pulverizing the ore, and has been applied to many other purposes equally valuable and important.

The most important improvement was that of introducing steam to perform the work which had previously been consigned to the atmosphere. In the engines of Newcomen, Watts discovered that the steam was not the impelling power. It was merely raised to produce a vacuum when it was condensed below the piston, which was driven down by the weight of atmosphere pressing on its surface. To receive this pressure, the piston was constantly exposed to the external air; and in its descent into the cylinder this also suffered by a similar exposure, a considerable diminution of heat; and consequently, to raise the temperature much steam was wasted. To obviate these inconveniences, Watts, in one grand effort of thought, invented an expedient that gives new dignity to the human intellect. He covered over with a strong plate of iron the exposed part of the cylinder, leaving only a small aperture for the rod to slide up and down in, and by concealing the piston preserved the temperature of both, and also the steam. And finally, to complete his discovery, he introduced steam both below and above his piston, in order to elevate and depress it, in conjunction with the partial vacuum, which, when it is condensed, is always made. For many years this was considered as the acme of mechanical perfection. And it is only of late years that its justly merited celebrity has been transferred to the art that has been discovered of working steam twice over before it is condensed; and of giving to it an expansive elasticity, of which it was thought to be wholly incapable. For these advantages the world is indebted to the genius of Woolf and Trevithick.

SECTION V.

Melting of common Tin.—Coinage Towns.—Process of Coining.—Quantity of Tin generally raised.—Productive Mines.

The tin ore raised from the mines, which are drained of water by the various engines that have been described, passes through a process in its refinement nearly similar to that already noticed respecting the stream tin. In some mines the ore is equally as free from impurities as the stream tin. Of this description is the ore raised at Beam Mine, in the parish of St. Austell, and at another called Vounder, in the parish of St. Blazey. But about four fifths of the ore raised from mines is infected with mundic; in consequence of which it must be purified in the burning house before it is turned into metal. Carried to the smelting house, it is fluxed and melted in a reverberatory furnace with pit coals, and about one eighth of its weight in culm. This however gives to the metal a degree of brittleness which the charcoal does not beget; and, in conjunction with the effects of the mundic still

remaining, tends to lessen its value in the market. Common tin taken from the mines, procures, after having passed through the burning house, about thirteen pounds of metal for twenty pounds of ore.

The tin being cast into blocks, is carried to certain towns established by the stannaries, to be examined; and each block is coined by officers appointed for the purpose. In the days of Henry VIII. there were only two coinages in the year; at Midsummer and Michaelmas; but for the convenience of the tinners, two more were added, one at Christmas and one at Lady Day. For these additional coinages they were compelled to pay an additional impost of four-pence for every hundred weight of metal when coined. This impost is called the post groats.

The towns originally favoured with the privileges of holding coinages were Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Truro, and Helston. To these in the days of Charles II. Penzance was finally added, for the benefit of the more western miners. These are at present the coinage towns; and of these Liskeard and Lostwithiel are more nominal than real. The tin when brought to the coinage towns passes under the inspection of officers appointed by the Duke of Cornwall to assay it. This is done by taking off a piece of one of the under corners, about a pound weight; and the operation is performed partly by cutting and partly by breaking, that its texture and toughness may be discovered. If it be found marketable, the block receives the impression of the dutchy seal, and is thus pronounced fit for sale.

Every hundred weight of tin so stamped or coined pays to the Duke of Cornwall four shillings, besides the post groats; the whole of which amounts at present to a considerable revenue. It is said in an ancient record dated 1337, that the revenue arising from tin did not exceed 3000 marks per annum during an average of many preceding years; but in that year it was augmented to 4000. It was however, reduced in 1374 to £1016 1*s.* 4*d.* In the reign of Henry VIII. the revenue was £2771 from Cornwall and Devon; but in 1602 Cornwall alone produced £2623. In the years 1799, 1800, and 1801, Cornwall produced on an average 16,820 blocks of tin. In the year 1811 the total quantity was 14,043; in 1812 it was 16,698; in 1813 it was 13,891; in 1814 it was 15,125; and in 1815 it amounted to 18,022. To the raising of this unprecedented quantity several accidental causes have conspired, which may never again occur; and indeed the whole has been found to be more than the markets could conveniently take. The return of peace has already had a considerable influence on the price of mining materials; but many years must elapse before the adventurers in the mines can expect to realize their hopes.

It is stated by Dr. Berger, in his Treatise on the Physical Structure of Cornwall and Devon, that in the year 1800 there were twenty-eight tin mines working in Cornwall. Of these there were seven in St. Agnes, four in Wendron, three in

Gulval, two in Lelant, two in Redruth, and two in Perranzabuloe. Besides these there were thirteen mines that produced both tin and copper, and one mine in Madern that produced tin and cobalt. To this statement he might have added Polgooth, in the parishes of St. Austell and St. Mewan, which as a productive tin mine has perhaps justly acquired more celebrity than any other in Cornwall. Dr. Borlase states, that in his days it appeared by old books that the adventurers gained for many years successively £20,000 per annum. During the last period in which this mine was worked, which terminated in 1807, the adventurers divided among them, after defraying every expence, upwards of £100,000. This mine was turned idle for a season, that its produce might be returned, during which time the depression in the price of metal, and the advance in the various articles necessary for the work of a mine, conspired to render that suspension permanent. Polgooth is still idle; but it is the opinion of many competent judges, that it holds out to a company of adventurers one of the most inviting prospects in Cornwall.

At present the most productive tin mines in this county are Cook's Kitchen in Illogan, Wheal Unity in Gwennap, Botallack in St. Just, and Beam Mine in St. Austell. To these may be added Wheal Breage in the parish of Breage, and Wheal Vor in Breage and Sithney.

SECTION VI.

Comparative Estimate between Tin and Copper Mines.—Indications of Copper.—Varieties of Ore.—Manner of dressing it.—Sampling.—Ticketing.—Smelting.—Unhealthiness of the Employment.

The machinery, and manner of procuring copper ore, are so correspondent with those employed in raising tin, that a particular description is wholly unnecessary. It has generally been found that the mines of copper run much deeper than those of tin; and consequently the expence of working them must be proportionably greater; but they frequently yield a much larger quantity of ore, and the ground is broken with much less difficulty.

Although it has been admitted for many ages, that the mines of Cornwall were plentifully stored with copper, yet but little more than a century has elapsed since this valuable metal has been rendered any way beneficial to the adventurers. Lying deep in the mines, and throwing off but a small quantity of shode, but few opportunities were afforded for procuring it, previous to the invention of steam engines; and consequently not many experiments were made to ascertain its real value. Sometimes copper lodes are discovered by the waters issuing from them, which are impregnated with the finer particles of ore; and occasionally it is found

in spots and bunches irregularly dispersed. Sometimes the lodes are discovered by the appearances which the cliffs exhibit, as the copper, from the brilliancy of its colour, is more easily discerned than tin. Ground that is inclined to a blue killas, which is easily broken, and intermixed with a whitish clay, is considered as a promising indication. But the most encouraging symptom is a train of ochrous stone, ruddy and crumbling, resembling the rust of iron. This is uniformly known in Cornwall by the name of gossan.

The ore both in the lodes, and when taken from the mines, appears in a variety of colours; the principal of which are green, blue, black, red, and grey. That which is grey, without including any other mixture, is generally the most valuable. Sometimes certain portions have been found in a malleable state. When broken from the lodes, each part, according to their quality, is carefully laid by itself; and when raised to the surface, these parts are laid in distinct heaps on the grass or floors. In this place the larger masses are reduced by sledges to the size of large eggs, which furnishes the man so employed with another opportunity of modifying the arrangements that had been previously made, and of selecting a portion sufficiently pure for the market. From these heaps the ore is carried to sheds or houses, where either men or boys, and frequently women and children, with a slab of flattened iron beat it to small pieces, or to powder, upon a hard stone fixed before them. From these bucking-mills, as they are termed, the ore is made to pass through a griddle, which forms the criterion of its reduction. Such as is too large to pass, must be again beaten; after which the whole is carried to a heap and is ready for sale. In some mines many are employed in breaking from the ore such parts of the solid rock as adhered to it when taken from the earth, so that the valuable may be separated from the *caple*. This employment is called cobbing. The inferior parts in the meanwhile being carried to an enclosed pit full of water, are agitated in an iron sieve. In passing through the sieve, the pure ore descends to the bottom, while the impure parts rest upon the surface of the heap; what remains in the sieve is divided in a similar manner. The latter being separated from the former, undergoes some other purifications equally simple. Thrown into heaps, the ore is picked from the remainder by children; and sometimes portions that are poor, together with the halvings, are carried to the mill to be fully pulverized, in much the same manner as tin ore; but the whole process is neither so tedious nor so expensive.

In disposing of the ores, when rendered fit for sale, the manner of proceeding varies also from that of tin. When a sufficient quantity is prepared for the market, notice is given to the agents for the various merchants in the copper trade. These attend, and taking due care that the quality of all throughout the heap, is precisely

similar, they select from different parts a small portion, which each assays as a sample; and he estimates the value per ton accordingly. Having thus ascertained the quality of all, each sampler attends on a given day, appointed both by the buyer and seller, to give in on sealed paper, the price at which he will purchase any specified pile. These sealed tenders or tickets being collected, all are opened and exposed to view, when the highest bidder becomes the purchaser.

The only houses established in Cornwall for fusing copper ore, are at Hayle, where these works are prosecuted on an extensive scale. The furnaces erected in this place, which are all reverberatory, are between twenty and thirty, some of which are employed in roasting, and others in fusing the ore. Those employed for roasting, contain about three tons of ore each, which is spread in such a manner as to be exposed to the action of the fire for several hours. Taken from these furnaces in a crude but somewhat purified state, the ore is carried to smaller furnaces, where it is melted with a certain flux which neither the proprietors nor the workmen seem willing to publish. During this operation the scoria is removed from the liquid metal once in three or four hours, and such variable modes of management are pursued as the appearance of the metal may seem to demand. After remaining in this state ten or twelve hours, the glowing mass is let out into a large tub sunk in the ground and full of water. By this means it is reduced to small grains, generally known by the name of regulus. In this state the granulated matter is carried to another furnace, where it undergoes another process somewhat similar to the preceding; and from this it is carried to a fourth, when it becomes coarse copper, being cast into quadrangular moulds called pigs. But although through these processes it has been acquiring additional degrees of purity, it is not yet sufficiently refined. It must once more pass through the fire before it can be finally cast into moulds and rendered fit for market. After it is sufficiently refined, it is poured into neat iron moulds coated with clay, where it is left to harden as fit for sale. The whole process necessary to bring the ore into perfect metal, requires about a fortnight. The quantity of ore annually fused at Hayle, varies from 4000 to 6000 tons. All besides, that is raised in the county, is carried to Wales, and is smelted near Swansea, where coals can be procured in abundance; it having been found more expensive to import coals into Cornwall, than to export the ore to Wales, in all other places except Hayle, which is situated on the northern coast.

In the museum of the Royal Geological Society lately established at Penzance, its scientific members have preserved specimens of copper, in all its various stages of refinement, from simple ore to the highest degree of purity which the metal is capable of attaining. From the specimens preserved, and the minute examination to which every stage of the operation will be frequently exposed, it is probable

PRODUCE OF THE COPPER MINES OF CORNWALL FOR THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.

that new discoveries may hereafter be made, which will lessen the expence by shortening the process.

In 1776 the quantity of copper raised in this county amounted to 29,433 tons. In 1786 the produce was 39,895 tons; in 1796 it was 43,813; in 1807 it was 71,700; and in 1812 it was 84,943 tons. From that time to the present year (1816) the annual quantity has fluctuated between 70,000 and 80,000 tons. In some cases one hundred weight of ore has been known to produce thirty-eight pounds of metal, and in others the same quantity has not produced more than two. In 1796 the fine copper amounted to 4950 tons; in 1807 it was 7271; in 1812, 7987 tons of fine copper were raised from the ore. In 1813 it amounted to 8000; in 1814 it was 7650; and in 1815 it was diminished to 6800 tons of fine copper, from all the ore raised in the county.

The copper thus brought into a state of metallic purity, and prepared for the market, is distinguished by five names, viz. *toigle cake*, *tile*, *shot*, *japan*, and *rolled* or *hammered*, which is generally denominated manufactured copper. The principal consumption of it in a manufactured state, is for sheathing of ships. The remaining parts are used for brazing purposes, and for composition with other metals. The smelting of copper is always attended with deleterious effects. Dr. Maton has given a most awful picture of this employment. He says "Nothing can be more shocking than the appearance which these workmen exhibit. Some of the poor wretches, who were lading the liquid metal from the furnaces to the moulds, looked more like walking corpses than living beings." The employment is certainly pernicious to human health; but the sallow complexion which the men exhibit while engaged in their work, is considerably heightened by the glare of their fires. Some among them however, though all have an emaciated appearance, reach the common age of man; but many others of less robust constitutions, frequently find an early grave.

SECTION VII.

Silver Ore occasionally found.—Lead Mines.—Iron.—Particles of Gold found in Stream-works.

Although silver ore is at present but rarely found in Cornwall, except in very small quantities, it is commonly reported that Edward I. and III. reaped in their days considerable advantages from the discovery of this valuable metal. On what foundation this report has obtained credit, it is not easy to determine. Carew refers to some ancient chroniclers, who refer to records that were deemed authentic; but both at present are viewed in a very dubious light. Carew also asserts, that

in consequence of these reports, several gentlemen had made some attempts to discover silver in the county, but that they had all failed of success. At Wheal Cock mine, in the parish of St. Just, native silver, in the days of Dr. Borlase, was discovered among the copper ore; among which this gentleman once found a portion about the size of a walnut, that was pure and unmixed. In the mines of Peru it is rarely discovered in a detached state. It is generally mixed with other metals, and has a corrosive sulphur or bitumen always attending it. Mr. Boyle says that "if any unknown ore fuses and runs before it ignites, it is most probably silver, and merits further inquiry."

We learn from the information of Pliny, that lead and tin were estimated in his days as only two different states of one and the same metal. Modern observations have rectified the error, by assigning to each its distinct characteristics. Although lead mines are not numerous in Cornwall, lead ore has been discovered in many parts of the county, and in most instances it has been found incorporated with silver, but in no very high degree. These ores exhibit a great variety. That which is most frequently found is galena, or pure sulphuret of lead, which is met with both in crystals and masses. Its colour is in general a bluish grey, and its texture foliated. The veins in which it is found are very irregular, sometimes being only a few inches in extent, and at other times several feet. Lead, it is well known, when refined, is the softest of all the metals; and its uses are so generally understood, that a minute description of them is wholly unnecessary. The oxides of lead are of much service in painting and dying; and for medicinal purposes they have been found equally beneficial.

At present most of the mines from which lead was formerly raised, are idle. Dr. Borlase mentions a productive lead mine in the parish of St. Issey. Mr. Tonkin speaks of a rich one in the parish of St. Allen, at a place called Garras. And Dr. Price observes, that there were anciently lead mines in the parish of Perranzabuloe. Dr. Berger asserts, that there were two lead mines in the parish of Sithney, and one that produced lead and silver in the parish of Wendron. At present most of these mines are abandoned, and the principal produce of lead is from mines in which other metals form the primary object of pursuit. A small quantity is occasionally raised at Crennis, in the parish of St. Austell.

Iron ore abounds in many parts of Cornwall; but being plentiful in several parts of England, little attention is paid to it. Some few years since, an inquiry was made respecting the quantity and quality of iron ore that could be raised at a trifling expence; but the result was not such as to justify the establishment of any workings. Quicksilver has never yet been discovered in any part of the county; but the opinions of scientific men concur in one result; that where copper abounds

in any district, quicksilver is always its companion. Perhaps the reason why none has been discovered, rather arises from its being entangled with other bodies, than from its non-existence.

Some specimens of gold have been found, but the quantity is small; and what has been discovered, is rather regarded as an object of curiosity than trade. Mr. Carew says, that in his time "some small portions were found in the streams, but these were so inconsiderable, that the finders generally sold them to the curious for a few pence." Mr. Boyle observes, that he had some fine gold taken out of tin ore which never would endure the fire. In his preface he remarks, "The tinners of Cornwall frequently find small quantities of gold among the tin ore; and that queen Anne granted a patent to a Mr. Robert Lydall, of Truro, for separating gold and silver from tin by precipitation in a reverberatory furnace by some peculiar fluxes."

In the year 1753 some persons streaming for tin in the parish of Creed, perceived in their ore some yellow grains, which they found to be so heavy as to resist the water. This excited their attention, and induced them pick out the largest. On carrying their tin to Truro, the yellow particles were so visible in the ore, that Mr. Rosewarne complained of mundic or copper being mixed with it. But on assaying it, he found that it yielded a large produce of exceedingly fine metal. The tinners finding his opinion altered respecting the mundic, pulled from their pockets the pieces they had selected, and with these a stone about the size of a walnut, in which was a vein of pure gold about the bigness of a quill. These were all assayed together, and produced about an ounce of pure gold. From this discovery they became more attentive to the yellow particles; and it was a general opinion that they procured a considerable quantity.

Stimulated by their successes, the tinners in the neighbouring parishes watched their respective streams with minute attention, and made discoveries of particles of gold in St. Mewan, St. Stephens, and St. Ewe. Mr. Rosewarne also attentively examined the various parcels of tin ore brought for sale from different parishes, and he found that the ore brought from Probus and Kenwyn, and several other parishes, was impregnated with gold in various degrees. One piece he procured was worth £1 7*s*. and another worth 17*s*. Some pieces from the parish of Probus had fallen under his observation, that were intermixed with white spar. But these were all inferior to a piece that was presented to Sir William Lemon, of Carclew, in the year 1756. This weighed in gold coin £3 15*s*. or 15 *dwts*. 16 *grs*. In the present day small particles of gold are frequently found in many stream-works, and sometimes they are incorporated with crystals of tin, and appear in streaks. Thus

far the facts are indisputable, whatever difficulties may attend our inquiries after its original bed.

If these particles of the precious metal or ore had been only found in solitary instances, and exclusively in detached masses, its original bed might have been thought to be remote. But under existing circumstances, this cannot be the case. At present, although in general the lodes are known from which the tin found in the stream-works has been broken, yet there are some portions of which the lodes have never yet been discovered. These may hereafter be brought to light, in places which are at present concealed from anticipation. Analogy says, that this may be the case with respect to gold, unless we can suppose that the unknown lodes, from which the fragments of tin and gold now found in the vales were broken, were so superficial, that the same concussion of nature that severed the existing fragments, abolished them altogether; and this is hard to be conceived. The particles which have been found may serve to stimulate the exertions of future adventurers, and may ultimately lead to discoveries that will enrich generations yet unborn.

CHAP. XVII.

Origin, History, and Privileges, of the Cornish Boroughs.

SECTION I.

General Observations on the Origin, Occasion, and Number of the various Boroughs.

IT is said of Elfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great, that she built eight castles, all of which were called burrows, from their fortifications being raised on hills, in the shape of burrows or tumuli. Hence in process of time, when such castles became numerous and were established in almost every town, these towns acquired the name of burghs or boroughs, till at length the term borough came to signify a town.

That these boroughs are more numerous in Cornwall than in any other part of the United Kingdom, has long been noticed; and that their political depravity is correspondent to their number, it is unnecessary to declare, and useless to deny. It was to the corruption of our boroughs, and the bribery which prevailed at elections, that Dr. Borlase attributed in his day, the low luxury and profligacy of manners, which disgraced the inhabitants of Cornwall. "This infamous traffic," he observes, "begins with intemperance and riot. These dissipate every generous sentiment of freedom, love of our country, and inclination to industry. Venality naturally succeeds, and is followed by extravagance and idleness; these by poverty (such is the round) by abandoning themselves to intemperance again on the first opportunity, and repeating the basest prostitution of the highest privilege. A corruption this both of principle and practice, of patriotism and morality, infesting more counties than one; but so much the more to be lamented in Cornwall, as this county has so much a greater number of boroughs than any in Great Britain, and sends as many members to parliament almost as the kingdom of Scotland itself, the former sending forty-four members, and the latter forty-five. However, the whole disgrace of this iniquity cannot rest upon my countrymen. It is the much to be lamented vice of the nation, and is not confined to the vulgar. The part of the corrupted is indeed most shameful; but that of the corrupter is at least equally guilty, and ought to share our detestation."

THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF MORAL DEPRAVITY IN CORNWALL ASCRIBED TO THEIR ELECTIONS.

"Nor was it" continues the same author, "any objection I imagine, to their sending up members, that these boroughs had little trade, few inhabitants, and these poor, and of no eminence. These circumstances in all likelihood did rather promote than prevent their being privileged, as rendering them more tractable and dependant than if they had been large and opulent towns, inhabited by persons of trade, rank, and discernment. It is true indeed that these places so summoned were old boroughs, in the legal acceptation of the word; that is, had immunities granted them by their princes or lords, exemptions from services in other courts, privileges of exercising trades, of electing officers within their own district, and invested with the property of land, mills, fairs, &c. paying annually a certain chie or fee-farm rent. Most of them also were parts of the ancient demesnes of the crown, and had been either in the crown or in the blood royal from the Norman Conquest, (with only one exception) and by passing to and from the crown often, and by having their privileges constantly reserved and confirmed at every transfer, these towns had acquired a kind of nominal dignity, but were in every other light inconsiderable, and no ways entitled to the power of sending members to parliament, much less in preference to so many more populous communities in the other parts of England."

The number of these boroughs, many of which may be considered the nurseries of political and moral depravity, amounts to twenty-one. These are Launceston, Liskeard, Truro, Bodmin, Helston, Lostwithiel, Saltash, Camelford, West Looe, Grampound, Tintagel, Michell, Newport, Penryn, St. Ives, Tregony, St. Germans, St. Mawes, East Looe, Fowey, and Callington. These boroughs send forty-two members to parliament, besides two that are sent by the county. The most ancient are Launceston, Liskeard, Truro, Bodmin, Helston, and Lostwithiel. All these excepting Lostwithiel, have enjoyed the privilege of sending two members each, from the reign of Edward I. Lostwithiel dates its origin from the time of Edward II. although it had been permitted on one occasion to send two members in the 33d of Edward I. From this time to the days of Edward VI. these boroughs were neither increased nor diminished in their permanent number. Tregony indeed had been permitted to send burgesses twice, once in the 23d and once in the 25th of Edward I.; but its claims were never considered as constituting a right, until the reign of Elizabeth. East Looe and Fowey had also in one instance, sent a merchant, then called a ship-owner, to a council at Westminster (not to parliament) in the 14th of Edward III. At the same time Mr. J. Shakelok was returned for Polruan (near Fowey) only, and these members of the council were allowed for their time and trouble in going to, staying at, and returning from Westminster, in all forty-four days, the sum of £4 12*s*. Elizabeth on this slender foundation

revived the claims of Tregony, Looe, and Fowey, when she found it convenient to extend her prerogative; but Polruan was neglected, although it stood precisely on the same ground, and in this state it still remains.

Towards the close of the reign of Edward VI. Saltash, Camelford, West Looe, Grampound, Tintagel, Michell, and Newport, were permitted to send two members each. In the 1st of Mary, Penryn was invested with the same privilege; and in the 5th of the same reign St. Ives was added to the favoured number. In the 1st of Elizabeth the claims of Tregony were revived; in the 5th St. Germans and St. Mawes were privileged; East Looe and Fowey in the 13th; and Callington in the 27th.

Why these comparatively modern additions were made, some strong political reasons may be assigned. The dutchy of Cornwall, which is vested in the crown when there is no other legal claimant, furnishes in tin and lands a larger hereditary revenue than any other county in England. Now eight of these boroughs, namely, Saltash, Camelford, West Looe, Grampound, Tintagel, Tregony, St. Mawes, and East Looe, had either an immediate or remote connexion with the demesne lands of the dutchy. This was a link, which in those days was of high command, because it formed an intimate bond of union. Four other boroughs either belonged wholly to religious houses, or depended entirely upon them. These also fell to the crown in the days of Henry VIII. on the dissolution of monasteries. Of this description were Newport, Penryn, St. Germans, and Fowey. Newport had risen on the ground adjoining the collegiate church of St. Stephen, that had been removed from the brow of the hill into a lower situation, about 300 years before, and had reared its head near the walls of Launceston. This town, which rose with the priory of Launceston, fell with it to the crown. Penryn was dependant in no small degree on the rich college of Glasney and its lands. The manor had indeed been alienated by Edward VI. but it was restored by Mary, by whom this town was privileged. St. Germans it is well known was the rival of Bodmin, for ecclesiastical superiority; and as Fowey belonged to the priory of Tywardreath, both fell together to the crown. Michell was under the immediate direction of the Arundels of Lanherne, to which family its lands belonged. St. Ives and Callington were claimed as the property of Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, and afterwards Duke of Bolton. This family, by marrying the heiress of Willoughby Lord Brook, sometime of Newton Ferrers in this county, could command both boroughs, and turn their influence into any channel which political expediency might require. Such were the connexions and conditions of these additional boroughs, at the time of their being favoured with their political privileges.

"Henry VII." says Dr. Borlase, "reduced the power of the ancient lords, and consequently advanced that of the commons. Henry VIII. enriched many of the commons with church lands; and in the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. the Duke of Northumberland could not but perceive of what consequence it was to his ambitious schemes to have a majority in the house of commons; and Cornwall seems to have been pitched upon as the most proper scene for this stretch of the prerogative, because of the large property, and consequent influence of the dutchy. Six towns therefore, depending on the dutchy and church lands, and one borough of a powerful family, were indulged to send fourteen members. The ministry of those days were not so defective in artifice as not to oblige powerful lords now and then with the same indulgence that they granted to these boroughs; thereby endeavouring either to reconcile them to their administration, or to make this guilty increase of the prerogative less invidious. Queen Mary in her short reign, probably from the same motives, admitted two more; and queen Elizabeth, who never rejected any political precedent which might confirm her power, (though always it must be owned, exerting that power for the prosperity of her people as well as her own glory) admitted six other boroughs."

We have already seen in the case of Tregony, East Looe, and Fowey, the slender pretext which Elizabeth had for establishing their elective franchises; but neither in these, nor in that of St. Germans and St. Mawes, was her power to be resisted, although her conduct might be questioned. In the fifth of her reign we are informed, that "Burgesses being returned for St. Jermyne's and St. Maws in Cornwall, Mr. Speaker declared in the house, that the lord steward agreed they should resort unto the house, and with convenient speed to shew their letters patent why they be returned in this parliament." But to these requisitions no replies were ever given, for the following reasons, which Dr. Willis assigns:—"The queen's inclinations being understood, they were no farther questioned."

As to Looe and Fowey, no room was even afforded for any question of their political rights to be agitated. Report was made by the house of the validity of the burgesses, and it was ordered by the attorney general's assent, that the burgesses shall remain according to their returns, for that the validity of their charters is elsewhere to be examined, if cause be. "By which means," says Dr. Willis, "little or no dispute being made against the queen's power, the house became greatly increased with representatives, especially by the sending of burgesses from those boroughs."

On the comparative antiquity of parliamentary representation, different opinions have been entertained. It seems to be admitted that we have no record of any

Drawn by J.P.Neal.

Published by W. Pendlebury, January 1818.

Engraved by J. Thacker.

LANDSCAPE WITH NOLSTEN AND ANWOL (CASTLE).

citizens or burgesses being in great councils or parliaments before the 49th of Henry III. But it is argued, that the right itself is of more ancient origin; and, that the fact only serves to prove, that the exercise of this right, which the Saxons universally possessed, was suspended by the Norman system of tyranny, until either their necessities, extravagance, or avarice, obliged them partially to restore it to such of the people as were their tools and dependants.

SECTION II.

Launceston.

From the great antiquity and influence of Launceston, in consequence of its castle and powerful possessors, it is very difficult to discover the origin, or trace the progress of its privileges. We learn from Doomsday Survey, that as William Earl of Moreton held Dunheved, in which his castle stood, this place was of great consequence at the time of the Norman Conquest. From him the title and honours descended to his successors, who, having also their residence here, caused the town to increase in buildings and riches, and to enjoy certain liberties and privileges. In the reign of Henry II. there were burgesses inhabiting this town and castle; but their power was rather nominal than real. In the days of Henry III. this town was made a free burgh. This favour was conferred by Richard Earl of Poictiers and Cornwall, and brother to Henry, in the fifteenth year of his reign. By the charter, which thus made Dunheved or Launceston a free burgh, but which is without date, the inhabitants were permitted to choose their own bailiffs. These were to answer the farm of the burgh, which was to Richard, one hundred shillings, to the priory of St. Stephen in Launceston, sixty-five shillings and ten-pence; and to the lepers of St. Leonard of Launceston, an hundred shillings of his alms. To these privileges were added the liberty of building a guildhall within the precincts of the burgh, which they were to hold of him and his heirs by a pound of pepper to be paid annually at Michaelmas for all services whatever. In addition to this, they were to be exempted from all taxes levied on the county, and were not to be tallied by the king when he tallied all his other burghs in England.

From the time of Edward I. Launceston has continued to send members to parliament. It was not however, incorporated until the days of queen Mary in the year 1555. The corporation consists of a mayor, eight aldermen, and a recorder. The right of election is vested in the corporation and free burgesses. The number of voters is only sixteen.

SECTION III.

Liskeard.

This ancient town, in connection with its now demolished castle, was held in the days of the Conqueror by William Earl of Moreton; and it is mentioned in Doomsday Survey under the name of *Liscarret*, and is described as an ordinary town in Cornwall. Afterwards it belonged to Richard, brother to Henry III. by whom it was made a free borough in an advanced period of that monarch's reign. By this charter, which is dated June 5, 1240, about ten years after that which had been bestowed on the burgesses of Launceston, he granted to the inhabitants all those privileges, liberties, free customs, and immunities, which he had previously conferred on the primary objects of his favour. In 1275, Edmund the son of Richard granted to them the fee of the borough, together with all profits arising from the markets, fairs, and tolls, on condition of their paying annually the sum of £18. This rent, which still continues to be paid, was granted by William III. to Lord Somers. From this family the right was transferred to Lord Eliot, whose ancestor acquired it by purchase.

At what particular period this ancient borough was incorporated, is not at present known, the original charter having disappeared. In the days of Elizabeth it was however, re-incorporated in the year 1580; and it appeared from some old records, when some important questions relative to the interests of the borough were agitated in 1803, that there had been a mayor so early as the days of Richard II. By the charter of Elizabeth, the ancient rights of the mayor and burgesses were confirmed; and by this it was also provided, that the corporation should consist of nine burgesses, who should be considered as the common councilmen of the borough. From these one was annually to be chosen mayor, who should have power to appoint a steward and recorder; and it furthermore ordered, that the mayor and recorder should be justices of the peace within the jurisdiction of the borough. From the time of Edward I. Liskeard has sent members to parliament. The right of election is vested in the freemen and corporation; and the number of electors amounts to about forty-five.

But although it is generally understood that this town derives its privileges from the charter of Elizabeth, it is a singular fact that none of its clauses are now deemed valid, except those that have been incorporated in another charter granted by James I. It appears, that in the reign of Charles II. the corporation was served with a *quo warranto*, in consequence of which the charter granted by Elizabeth was surrendered up by the mayor, recorder, capital and inferior burgesses, with the consent of the inhabitants, and under the town seal. From this period until the

accession of James I. this borough appears to have remained without any charter, unless the surrender be deemed invalid because it was not enrolled; on which ground an opposing party in a subsequent period presumed to stand. James however, having granted a new charter, enrolled the surrender of that of Elizabeth; and nominating the Earl of Bath as recorder, gave such offence to many, that a party soon afterwards arose in favour of that which had been surrendered, and even proceeded to elect a mayor under its cancelled authority. On the same day another mayor was elected under the charter of James. The event was, that both parties prosecuted their claims with so much vigour, as to bring the affair to a legal issue at the Launceston assizes. The verdict here obtained, was decidedly in favour of the new charter; that of Elizabeth being declared null and void, in consequence of its full surrender and actual enrolment. It is reported, that in more modern times these charters are less hostile to each other than they were formerly. The mayor, recorder, and capital and inferior burgesses, are generally understood to be elected under the charter of Elizabeth, under which they also exercise several judicial rights. This charter has long since obtained the humorous title of *The Grey Mare*. But as the charter of Elizabeth gave them no authority for holding two sessions of the peace annually, and this authority is included in that of James, they avail themselves of this also, and under its auspices several acts of the corporation are performed.

The advantages of having two charters must be great, so long as domestic peace can be preserved among those who are interested in keeping their powers alive; but should any period arrive in future, in which the inhabitants should be involved in domestic broils, this circumstance may lay the foundation of another appeal to law, and the decision may produce a new revolution in the borough. It is rarely that the inhabitants of these privileged places continue long in a state of social harmony. The seeds of discord appear to be incorporated in the soil on which most borough towns stand. It is worthy of remark, that the charters of this borough have lately disappeared, through some cause which seems to have escaped every eye but that of suspicion. But it is the province of the historian to state facts, without attempting on all occasions to develop motives.

SECTION IV.

Truro.

This ancient and celebrated town has been occasionally denominated in the old records, *Tre-ve-ru*, *Tre-urea*, *Treru*, *Tre-uro*, *Truru-burgh*, and *Truro*. In the Doomsday Survey it is called *Treurgeu*, and is said at that time to be held by the

BY AN ANCIENT CHARTER THE MAYOR OF TRURO WAS ALSO MAYOR OF FALMOUTH.

Earl of Moreton. This town was afterwards in the possession of Richard de Lucy, from whom it passed to Reginald Fitzroy, who was created Earl of Cornwall by king Stephen. Reginald by this charter granted to his free burgesses of *Triuereu*, that they should have all such free customs as were used in cities, and as they enjoyed in the time of De Lucy. He also granted to them an exemption from prosecution in hundred and county courts, and from all law proceedings that might call them from the town. That in all fairs and markets throughout Cornwall, they should be discharged from the payment of tolls in every thing they either bought or sold; and that for goods which they trusted, they should be permitted to distrain their debtors whenever they found them within the liberties of their town. This charter was confirmed by another in the reign of Henry II. and both were ratified and augmented with additional privileges by Edward I. in the 13th year of his reign. To this charter Edmund Earl of Cornwall was witness; by virtue of which, among other marks of favour, the inhabitants were permitted to send two members to parliament; but under what particular restrictions are now uncertain, as the original charters are all lost.

It appears from Dr. Brady, that Richard actually resided at the castle of Truro, as he is styled in an instrument of Henry II. Richard de Lucy de Trivereu. It also appears from the immunity which granted them an exemption from toll throughout the county, that Richard must have exercised, not merely the authority of lord of a castle, town, or borough, but must have been invested with that of Earl of Cornwall. From the loss of these charters it is also uncertain at what period the town was incorporated. Probably it was very early. Some have supposed that it was about the year 1140, as in this year Lucy resigned his possessions to Reginald.

But in all these charters, no mention is made of the jurisdiction which the town of Truro extended over Falmouth Harbour. This is said to have been granted by king John, and is thus recorded in the herald's visitation in 1620:—"We find that the mayor of Truro hath always been, and still is, mayor of Falmouth, as by an ancient grant now in the custody of the mayor and burgesses doth appear." As Falmouth must have been equally destitute of power and existence, when this right of jurisdiction was granted, it is easy to conceive why Truro might be invested with this general dominion. On the margins of the harbour Tregony must have been its principal rival town; but whether the grant of jurisdiction was primarily given to the latter, and from thence transferred to the former, is doubtful.

But whenever these grants were conferred, they are now wholly set aside by the successful efforts of the inhabitants of Falmouth. The mayor and corporation, so late as the year 1709, proceeded to establish their claim of independence by perambulating the town, and by including within its bounds all the country as

far as the Black Rock in the mouth of the harbour. This cause was afterwards brought to a legal issue, and decided in favour of Falmouth, the inhabitants of which now enjoy the advantages that were formerly connected with Truro.

By an undisputed charter granted by queen Elizabeth, and bearing date 1589, the government and political power of Truro is vested in a mayor, four aldermen, and twenty capital burgesses. These twenty-five persons engross the privilege of sending two members to parliament, although the number of inhabitants belonging to the three parishes in which Truro is situated, amounts to nearly 5000 persons. The patronage of this borough has of late years rested with Lord Falmouth, who acquired it by an exchange with Lord de Dunstanville for that of Tregony. It appears by an ancient custom, that on the election of a mayor, the town mace must be delivered up to the lord of the manor, by whom it is retained until he receives sixpence for every house in the borough, as an acknowledgment of his ancient authority.

SECTION V.

Bodmin.

At the time the Doomsday Survey was taken, Bodmin was a town of considerable importance. At that period the profits of its market, which belonged to the prior, were estimated at thirty-five shillings per annum. These were afterwards let to the burgesses, at a fee-farm rent, and in their successors the tolls of fairs and markets are still vested. The term burgess, according to Hals, "imports nothing more than an inhabitant of such a place as kept a tower, castle, fort, or hold; or had a college or court of *purgesses* or *burgesses* in it." On this principle it appears that the mere residence gave the title; and consequently that burgesses in Cornwall have been coeval with the castles &c. in which they have resided.

It does not however appear, that these ancient burgesses of Bodmin enjoyed any specific privileges, merely by virtue of their name; for we find that in the year 1179 they were compelled to pay a fine of one hundred shillings, for setting up a gild or guild, which signifies a company of merchants, or a religious fraternity, without licence. But soon afterwards they obtained a charter from Richard Earl of Cornwall, for establishing a guild-merchant; and which like that of Truro, exempted them from toll throughout the county. But this could only be obtained on the condition of their paying the yearly sum of 48*s.* 4*d.* This charter was confirmed by Edward I. who also added some new privileges, among which was that of sending members to parliament. This was again confirmed by Edward III.

who granted the burgesses the privilege of dealing in wool and other merchandise, free of toll throughout Cornwall.

Hals observes, that "long before the Norman Conquest, or a bishopric was here erected, this town of Bodmin was by prescription invested with the jurisdiction of a court-leet, (that is, a court which kept a law day, or solemn festival day) though the same was not confirmed by a charter, or incorporated, before king John, A. D. 1216, granted one thereunto, whereby he privileged the same with the tribunal also of a mayor, recorder, town clerk, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common council or assistant men; who have power to nominate and elect a new mayor annually, by a majority of voices, as also members of parliament. The mayor and town clerk, and last preceding mayor, are justices of the peace for one year after, within the said borough; the town clerk indeed during life. By the same charter it was made one of the towns for coinage of tin, though long since discontinued. It was also made the only staple town of Cornwall, where, in a public mart, merchants might carry their goods for wholesale; and thereby the mayor and town clerk also were authorised to take cognizance of statute and staple bonds between party and party as the law directs."

At a subsequent period the government was vested in a mayor and thirty-six burgesses, of whom twelve of the senior were called aldermen. These in another charter granted by Elizabeth in 1563, were called capital burgesses and counsellors, the remaining twenty-four being denominated capital burgesses only. To these were added a recorder and a town clerk, who was called the common clerk. The same privileges that Hals ascribes to the charter of king John, are still exercised by the corporation, in whom also the right of electing members for parliament is vested, which right has been exercised ever since the days of Edward I.

On making a comparative estimate between ancient and modern days, it will appear, that the spirit of liberality which at present prevails, was unknown to our ancestors. Our members of parliament at present pay all their own expences.*

* Among the curious items preserved in the ancient records of the corporation, the following particulars appear, respecting the electing of men to serve in parliament, and the payment of their wages in the reign of Henry VIII.

19 20 Henry VII. paide to Richard Watts and John Smyth, burgesses of the parliament for the towne, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Paide for the endentes for the burgesses of the parliament, 20*d.*

Paide and yeven (given) in Malmesey, to the under-sheryff, 4*d.*

Paide for the making a payr of endentes and an obligation, 12*d.*

It. Paide and yeven onto Thomas Trote in rewarde, 20*d.*

It. Paide to Sir Richard Downa, the wich was promysed by the maier and worshipfull in a reward towardes his wagys, 13*s.* 4*d.*

HELSTON MADE ONE OF THE COINAGE TOWNS IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

About the year 1798 a new charter was granted to the town of Bodmin by his present majesty, the corporation having been dissolved through some neglect. Its principles coincide with the charter of Elizabeth, and the privileges secured are of the same nature and extent.

SECTION VI.

Helston.

This town having formerly been connected with an ancient castle, which once stood where the bowling-green now is, has always been a place of considerable fame in the records of antiquity. William of Worcester, who wrote in the reign of Edward IV. speaks of Helston Castle as being then in ruins, but as having been formerly the residence of Edmund Earl of Cornwall. In the days of Leland scarcely a vestige of it remained.

The town, growing up under its auspices, enjoyed many privileges in various periods, which the inhabitants contrived to preserve when the ancient castle was mouldering to decay. Helston has at different times received no less than sixteen charters; in all of which some privilege has been either granted, confirmed, or augmented. Hals asserts, that this was a privileged place, and the voke land of a manor with a court-leet, long before the Norman Conquest; and he assigns as a reason, that in the days of Alfred, the whole hundred of Helston was principally denominated from it. In the Doomsday Survey the now demolished castle was called Hel-les-ton, or Hen-lis-ton; and by this name it was afterwards mentioned in the charter granted by Elizabeth in 1585.

The first of these charters is said to have been bestowed by king John in the year 1201, by which the town was made a free borough, and was granted the liberty of having a guild-mercatory. Besides this merchant's guild, the inhabitants were to be exempt from paying toll in any place except the city of London; were to be impleaded nowhere but in their own borough; and were to enjoy all the other privileges of the burgesses of Launceston Castle. These favours were purchased for a fine of forty marks and one palfrey; and in Doomsday Book the demesne is said to be held of the king of England by the townsmen, under a certain quit-rent of £13 6*s*. 8*d*. which they pay for the toll, mills, and thirty-three acres of land adjoining, to hold in fee-farm according to charter. By Edward I. Helston was made one of the coinage towns for the county; and the privilege of sending two members to parliament, was conferred on the inhabitants by the same monarch. In the reign of Edward III. all the preceding grants were confirmed, with the

additional privilege of holding a weekly market, and four annual fairs, together with the liberty of erecting as many mills as they found necessary, upon the western side of the town contiguous to the river.

It appears doubtful when this town was first incorporated. Browne Willis asserts that it was incorporated only in the days of Elizabeth; and in this opinion he is followed by Britton and Lysons. Hals attributes this incorporation to the original charters of John and Richard, and fixes the period at the time when it was made a free borough. In this latter opinion Mr. Polwhele coincides with Hals, and cites from Browne Willis the authority of the original charter.

But whatever privileges were originally granted to this town, there is no doubt that they were acknowledged and confirmed anew by Elizabeth, in the year 1585, to whose charter, in all doubtful cases, all appeals were formerly made. By this charter the borough was either incorporated, or its incorporation was confirmed, under the name of Helleston; and its government was vested in a mayor, four aldermen, recorder, town clerk, and twenty-four freemen. This charter continued in force until the year 1774, when the number being reduced to four aldermen and eight freemen, a new charter was obtained, which determined the corporation to consist of a mayor, five aldermen, a recorder, and an indefinite number of freemen. But this new charter being made to the disadvantage of the old corporators, six of them resisted its authority, and actually returned the two members to parliament on their original ground. These legalized oppositions produced some very singular law proceedings, which finally led to an appeal to the house of commons; the committee of which decided in favour of the members returned under the charter of Elizabeth, and thus virtually declared the new one of 1774 to be null and void.

Sanctioned by the authority of parliament, the decreasing number of corporators continued to exercise their rights until the whole power became concentrated in one person only, and by his single voice both members were actually returned. A second appeal to the committee of the house was the immediate consequence of this unprecedented return. The decision now was directly opposite to the former; and the members that had been returned under the charter of 1774 were declared to be legal. From that time to the present this charter is the only one that has been in force.

A few years since, either through the violence of adverse parties, or through some irregularities in the proceedings of this borough, its privileges were brought into serious danger; and in the year 1814 a bill was before parliament for altering the right of election, and for extending it to all the freeholders of Kirrier and Penwith. The bill however, though sanctioned by the house of commons, was finally thrown out by the house of lords, and Helston still continues to enjoy its

very ancient privileges, under certain limitations which were formerly unknown. The mayor at present is elected by a majority of the aldermen and freemen, from two aldermen whom the mayor and aldermen unanimously nominate. In the early part of the last century, the number of freemen was eighty, seventy of whom resided in the town, and ten were non-residents; the number now is eighty-four. For many ages past the patronage of this ancient borough was in the family of the Godolphins; but on the extinction of that celebrated name, it became vested in the Duke of Leeds, who has lately withdrawn his patronage.

SECTION VII.

Lostwithiel.

It is asserted by Dr. Willis, that Lostwithiel was permitted once, in the days of Edward I. to send two members to parliament. But this was a solitary favour, which was not repeated until the reign of Edward II.; since which time the inhabitants have enjoyed the same grants that have distinguished the preceding boroughs.

It is uniformly admitted, that this is a very ancient corporation. It originally belonged to the dutchy; and had many privileges conferred upon it by Richard king of the Romans. By a charter dated Watlington, in the 12th year of his reign, Lostwithiel, together with Penknek, a place then adjoining, but now included within the limits of the borough, was made one free burgh, and his burgesses obtained a grant of establishing a guild-mercatory. By whom the manor was held at the time of Doomsday Survey, Dr. Brady acknowledged himself unable to discover. It probably belonged to Robert Earl of Moreton, and was afterwards bestowed on Richard king of the Romans, with several other towns, by which means it became part of the dutchy. For the favours it enjoyed, the inhabitants have paid from time immemorial, the annual sum of £11 19*s.* 10*d.* In the reign of Richard I. it was part of the demesne lands of Robert de Cardinan, who was lord of Fowey. This gentleman was returned into the exchequer as a debtor of ten marks due to the king, for having a market at Lostwithiel.

Among other privileges belonging to this ancient borough, it obtained the right to the anchorage dues of Fowey Harbour, and also to various duties on coals, salt, corn, malt, and other commodities brought within the port. To these privileges it still supports its claim; and Fowey is not in a condition to contest this long acknowledged superiority.

By whom this town was first incorporated, is involved in some uncertainty. This has frequently been ascribed to James I. in 1623; it is however, known with certainty, that a charter of incorporation was granted in 1723, and renewed in 1732 by George II. By these charters the government and power of the borough are vested in a mayor, six capital burgesses, or rather seven, one of whom is annually elected mayor, and seventeen assistants or common councilmen, whose deficiencies are supplied by the suffrages of the mayor and burgesses. In these twenty-four persons the sole right of electing two members of parliament is exclusively lodged.

SECTION VIII.

Saltash.

This town, which in ancient records has been known by the several names of Esse, Essa, and Asheburgh, is indebted for many of its privileges to its vicinity to Trematon Castle. Among these, are its dominion over the Hamoaze, its right to an yearly rent for the anchorage of the harbour, and the exclusive liberty of taking oysters from the river. To these may be added its fairs and markets, and its ferry across the Tamar. The tolls arising from these various sources were stated in a chancery suit that took place in 1714, to amount to about £300 per annum.

It is difficult to ascertain the particular period in which Saltash began to enjoy any exclusive privileges; but it is known with certainty, that Reginald de Valle Torta, or Vautort, who lived in the time of king John, and died in the 30th of Henry III. being lord of the honour and castle of Trematon, under the protection of which it grew, confirmed to the burgesses of Essa, several privileges which they had enjoyed under his ancestors. To these were added another favour, which made Saltash a free borough; and in this was included a liberty granted to the burgesses to choose their own bailiff or mayor, and to receive the toll of bread, and the right of remaining in their own borough, if they could find among their peers satisfactory security, in case of personal transgression, without being carried to confinement in the dungeon of the castle. This charter, with all its privileges was confirmed by Richard II.

In the reign of Elizabeth another charter was procured, which continued in force until the days of Charles II.; and according to Browne Willis there had been several charters previous to this time, although that of Charles was in force in his days. It appeared from a chancery suit that was carried on in the year 1714, between the corporation of Saltash and the executors of Mr, Nicholas Tyack, that

Nicholas Tyack was accused of having obtained a resignation of the charter of Elizabeth, in order to procure that of Charles II. for purposes inimical to the interests of the borough. By this renewed charter of incorporation, the body corporate was defined to consist of a mayor and six aldermen, who were styled the council of the borough, (who had the liberty of choosing their own recorder) and thirty-three burgesses. In these was vested the right of electing the members of parliament, which under different charters had been exercised from the days of Edward VI.

The last charter of this borough was granted in the year 1774, in consequence of a petition from the members of the corporation, whose numbers at that time were reduced below twenty. This charter was nearly similar to that granted by Charles, only it reserved to the crown a power to displace any of the corporation at pleasure, and rendered the number of burgesses indefinite. By this charter also, the right of electing representatives was restricted exclusively to the holders of burgage tenements, whose number amounted to about seventy in the beginning of the present century, but they are now augmented to about 120.

SECTION IX.

Camelford.

This town, though not remarkable either for magnitude or splendour, is an ancient borough. Its first charter was derived from Richard king of the Romans. By this charter he granted to its burgesses the liberty of holding a market on Fridays, and a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Swithin. By this charter also Camelford was made a free borough; and all its privileges were confirmed by Henry III. in another charter dated June 12, 1259. From the days of Edward VI. it has regularly sent two members to parliament, being again authorised to exercise its privileges by queen Mary, who confirmed the liberties of the borough. By a new charter, dated 25th of Charles II. the corporation was appointed to consist of a mayor, and eight burgesses or aldermen, who, with ten freemen, elect their representatives. Of late years the number of freemen has not been confined to ten; but the privilege has been extended with much caution, so that at present they amount only to about seventeen. The market stands as it originally did, with the addition of a large one on the 10th of March. The fairs are augmented to three; the tolls of these fairs and markets are enjoyed by the corporation, with a

small estate worth about £15 per annum; the whole together making an annual revenue of about £80, sufficient to support a suitable magistracy. The patronage of this borough is vested in the Earl of Darlington.

SECTION X.

West Looe.

This town is originally indebted for its privileges to its connexion with the manor of Port Looe or Portpigham; by which names it has been occasionally known. This manor, in the days of Henry III. belonged to the family of Treverbin; and the first time that it appears in any record, it is thus mentioned by Browne Willis: "Ann. 22 Hen. III. Hugh de Treverbin plaintiff, and Odo de Treverbin and his wife defendant, levied a fine of the manor of Portloe." West Looe being included in this manor, passed with it from the Treverbins to the baronial family of Dawney, and from them to the Courtenays. But after the attainder of Henry Courtenay, marquis of Exeter, it was conferred on the dutchy of Cornwall, with several other manors, in lieu of the honour of Wallingford.

It appears that while under the patronage of the Treverbins, many privileges were granted to the inhabitants of West Looe which have been both perpetuated and augmented by succeeding patrons and charters. It is separated from East Looe by a creek, over which is laid a long narrow bridge; it had formerly a market on Wednesday, and the liberty of holding a fair for three days, which rights were secured by an ancient charter. The market has long been discontinued, and the fair is restricted to one day. In the days of Henry VIII. it had a small chapel; but this being abandoned on the dissolution of religious houses, tradition reports that it was turned into the guildhall of the borough; and the tower which formerly stood near it, seems to have confirmed the supposition.

The first time that any members were returned to parliament from this borough, was in the 6th of Edward VI.; and in the first indenture it is called Louborough, but in others Portpigham, Portloo, and West Looe. The town was incorporated by Elizabeth, in February 1573-4; at which time the corporation consisted of a mayor and twelve burgesses, who together had power to choose a steward, and to possess a common seal. These at an yearly rent of twenty-four pounds, held the manor of the dutchy of Cornwall. This inheritance is still enjoyed; but the right of election is now vested in the corporation and freemen, and the total number of voters is between fifty and sixty.

SECTION XI.

Grampound.

If the importance of this borough were to be estimated from its celebrity, few would be disposed to believe that it is a small scattered town, containing no more than about fourscore houses, many of which are very mean. When John of Eltham was Earl of Cornwall, he granted to the inhabitants of this place a guild merchant in the year 1332, and among other privileges permitted them to hold a weekly market on Tuesday, and also two fairs. Edward III. confirmed the first charter, and enlarged its privileges. Among others he made it a borough, and endowed it with some lands and mills, with a view of frankpledge, the assize of bread and beer, and an exemption from toll throughout all Cornwall. These privileges the burgesses are now said to hold of the dutchy in fee-farm, at the rent of £12 11*s.* 4*d.* per annum. Several of these favours were confirmed by Henry VIII.; but some of the ancient borough rights are now become obsolete.

Tonkin, speaking of the market, says, "It is come to little or nothing, St. Austell having ruined this, and done much hurt to Tregony. Of late they have endeavoured to recover a small market for victuals only, on Saturday in the morning, as subordinate to that of Tregony, on the same day." The market still remains inconsiderable; but one of its fairs, which was formerly held in a part of the borough in the parish of Probus, has deserted its original ground for many years, and it is now established in Probus church town, about three miles distant.

Although Grampound has returned members to parliament ever since the days of Edward VI. and has also had several charters, the rights exercised by the corporation exist at present by prescription. No charter of this borough is now extant; but the rights of its elective franchise are sufficiently known to be distinctly understood. The corporation consists of a mayor, eight aldermen, a recorder, and a town clerk. The mayor is elected from among the aldermen; on being elected, he chooses from among the aldermen two, who are called *eligers*, who with himself, have the power of selecting eleven freemen. These fourteen form a jury; they make presentments, appoint persons to fill municipal offices, and create new freemen. The number of these freemen is indefinite; and actual residence, when they are once elected, is not necessary to perpetual eligibility. To pay scot and lot is the only qualification that is previously necessary, in order to become a freeman. By these magistrates and freemen the representatives of the borough are chosen. The number that voted in 1812, amounted to sixty-three; but since that time they have rather increased than diminished.

SECTION XII.

Tintagel or Bossiney.

This borough, which is generally known by the name of Tintagel, from the celebrity of the ancient castle, which still exhibits its awful ruins in the vicinity, was formerly much more extensive than at present. In the days of Henry VIII. although it was in a declining state, the description given by Leland contains marks of its fading greatness, and comparative superiority. "Bossenny," he observes, "hath beene a bygge thing for a fischar town, and hath great privileges graunted onto it. A man may se there the ruines of a greate number of houses."

Connected as this borough appears to have been with the neighbouring castle, its antiquity must be very great; on which account it is difficult to trace the origin of its political privileges. It appears however, that Richard Earl of Cornwall, who was brother to Henry III. procured a grant from that monarch, that Tyntaivil, as it was then called, should be a free borough. The first members that were ever sent to parliament from this place, took their seats in the days of Edward VI. from which time to the present it has continued to send two.

In an indenture dated in the reign of Mary, it is occasionally called "Trevenna alias Bossiney," and sometimes "Trevenna" only. The right of election is vested in the mayor and freemen; but no records are extant to prove that it ever was incorporated. To be a freeman, it is necessary to have land within the precincts of the borough, and also to have a residence in some part of the parish. There are not twenty houses in the place, and only fifteen votes. The castle, manor, and borough of Tintagel, it is said, were settled by Edward III. on his son Edward the Black Prince, when he created him Duke of Cornwall. From this settlement it is become a parcel of the dutchy, and as such it is held by the inhabitants at the fee-farm rent of £11 16*s*. 9*d*. per annum.

SECTION XIII.

Michell.

This borough, which in old records is called *Villa Mychell*, *Mitchel*, and *Modishole*, is situated in the two parishes of St. Enoder and Newlyn. Of late years it has been called St. Michael, but for this name no authority can be produced.

The manor of Michell, with which this borough is connected, has been from time immemorial in the family of the Arundels of Lanherne; but at what period

A MARKET AND FAIR HELD AT MICHELL LONG BEFORE THE YEAR 1301.

its privileges were first granted, it is rather difficult to determine. It is however, known, that so early as the year 1301, John de Arundel asserted an ancient right to hold a market and fair in his manor of Modishole, which right appears to have been long disused. On the investigation of his claims, it was proved, that one of his ancestors, Ralf de Arundel, had purchased this right of a descendant of Walter de Ralegh, who had derived it from the crown. The necessary documents to substantiate these claims being produced, his rights were acknowledged, as being legally derived from Henry III. who had granted the contested privilege to Walter de Ralegh and Isabell his wife. The market has long since been discontinued; but two fairs were held annually for a considerable time; one of which only still survives. It also appears that Ralf de Arundel, on executing the office of sheriff for the county, under the auspices of Richard Earl of Cornwall, found means by his services to procure from the earl the additional privilege of raising this insignificant village to a borough.

Browne Willis says, "As to procuring markets in those days, it was easily obtained, and almost every town belonging to persons of eminence was vested with that privilege; I having seen frequent grants of markets and fairs in this age, to monasteries situate near no town, made on no other account than to indulge them liberty of buying at their own gates; there being anciently a penalty laid on persons who presumed so to do, in places not qualified by charter; which case I have here noted, to shew that I do not conceive this place ought to be reckoned more considerable on account of this privilege, which might scarcely be made use of. However, here is yet a fair observed on St. Francis's day, an Italian, founder of the Franciscan order of friars."

From the Arundel family, the manor of Michell, and with it the borough, passed by sale to the Scawens of Carshalton in Surrey. From these it passed to Lord de Dunstanville, by whom it was sold to Sir Christopher Hawkins, bart. the present proprietor.

Although Michell has sent two members to parliament ever since the days of Edward VI. it has neither mayor nor corporation. It is governed by a portreeve, who is annually elected at the court-leet of the high lord, by a jury consisting of the principal inhabitants of the borough, who are nominated to that office by the high lord. Such at least *was* the professed principle of its local government, before the commencement of the last century. Prior to that period, the manner of conducting their elections does not appear to have been regulated by any specific rules. Hence the right of voting was sometimes restricted to a jury, selected from the principal inhabitants, and at other times extended to all who resided within the borough. This uncertainty created some uneasiness among the people, which

finally terminated in an appeal to the house of commons. On the 20th of March, 1700, a vote passed the house, which declared the right of election in future to belong to the lords of the borough, who were capable of being portreeves, and such of the inhabitants as paid scot and lot. On this principle the elections are still conducted.

In 1737, the number of houses or cottages amounted to about thirty, and about sixteen voters. Since that time the borough has been nearly depopulated by its present proprietor, who has reduced the whole number of habitations to four, by levelling the cottages with the ground so fast as they came into his possession, and thus reducing the number of the inhabitants. In these four habitations are four persons, who pay scot and lot.

SECTION XIV.

Newport.

The borough of Newport, which is said to have derived its name from a new gate, in Latin *Nova Porta*, is situated in the parish of St. Stephens, and stands in the suburbs of Launceston, under the walls of which it has sprung up. At the compiling of Doomsday Survey, it was considered as a part of the demesnes of the canons of St. Stephens, and was called *Lanstavetone*. Prior to the Conquest, the church of St. Stephens was collegiate, and was filled with secular canons. By Henry I. this college was given to the church of Exeter. According to Hals, Reginald Earl of Cornwall was a considerable benefactor to this college; and in order to promote its welfare, all his interest with Stephen was exerted, for the removal of the bishop's see again into Cornwall; which if his efforts had been successful, would have led him to make St. Stephens the cathedral church. To counteract these intentions, William Warlewast, who was then bishop of Exeter, but who at this time resided in the parish of Lawhitton, being on his first triennial visit, actually suppressed the college of secular canons, and in its stead founded a priory of monks in the parish of St. Thomas, about half way between St. Stephens and the castle. This priory continued in prosperity until the general dissolution of religious houses, when its annual revenues were estimated at £354 0*s.* 11½*d.* At present the remains of the buildings are scarcely to be discovered; but in the time of Henry VIII. Leland describes the priory as in the north-west part of the suburb, being "under the hill by a fair wood side, an arrow shot northward of the castle." It was during these conflicts, arising from hostile patronage and power, that Newport probably acquired some peculiar privileges, which the inhabitants

still continue to enjoy. It has been asserted, that some of the ancient charters which express the name of Launceston, were exclusively belonging to Newport; which assertion is founded on the existence of some co-temporary charters that were given to Dunheved, the ancient name by which Launceston was known.

It does not appear from any ancient records, that Newport was ever incorporated, or so much as styled a borough. But having obtained privileges distinct from Launceston, and enjoying a separate jurisdiction, and more especially being a part of the king's demesnes, it challenged a right to return members to parliament, in the 6th of Edward VI. On exercising this right, the members so returned were admitted; the precedent was pleaded in future years; and the privilege continues to be enjoyed even to the present hour.

The part of the manor connected with this borough, having derived its privileges from royal favour, fell to the crown on the dissolution of religious houses, where it continued until the restoration of Charles II. By this monarch it was given to Sir Nicholas Morrice, in whose family the patronage remained for many years. From these it passed to the Duke of Northumberland, in whom the property is still vested, and who as a natural consequence, is the patron of the borough.

By an ancient custom, of which the origin can hardly be distinctly traced, they elect annually at the lord's court, two persons whom they call *vianders*, or officers who superintend the business of returning the representatives. These are elected from the holders of burgage tenures, all of whom are votes at an election. In the days of Browne Willis the right of voting was extended to all the inhabitants paying scot and lot, who at that time amounted to about sixty. This right is at present placed under some considerable restrictions, it being confined solely to freeholders, or the holders of burgage tenures; but non-residence will not invalidate their qualifications. There are now only twelve votes to return the two members to parliament.

SECTION XV.

Penryn.

It has been already noticed, that this very ancient town derived many of its peculiar privileges from its connexion with the rich college of Glaseney or Glasney. Hals observes, that "this town was a privileged manor, with the jurisdiction of a court-leet, before the Norman Conquest; and that it had the same inserted in a charter by Henry III. granted to William Brewer, bishop of Exon, who was then lord thereof, as his successors still are." It is generally supposed, that the college of Glasney, of which there are now no remains, was founded very early in the

PENRYN DERIVED MOST OF ITS PRIVILEGES FROM A COLLEGE WHICH FORMERLY STOOD NEAR IT.

thirteenth century, and was appropriated to the use of seculars and vicars. Leland speaking of this college, says, " Walter Good, or Bromscomb, made it in a moor called Glasenith, in the bottom of a park of his, for a provost, twelve prebendaries, and other ministers." The foundation has however, been in general attributed to another bishop of Exeter, whose name was Stapleton, and who died in 1326. To the support of this college, the tythes of Allen, Budock, Gluvias and Feock, were appropriated; so that its annual revenues, at the time of its suppression in 1535, were estimated at £205 12*s*. 6*d*.

So early as the 30th of Edward I. Thomas Button, who was then bishop of Exeter, exhibited his claim to certain privileges in his manor of Penryn, which he challenged to be a free borough, and asserted that these rights were enjoyed by his predecessors, who made it a borough. The rights thus set forth in the petition, and secured by the favourable reply which it obtained, were alienated, together with the manor, by Edward VI.; and Penryn remained destitute of its ancient privileges, until the reign of Mary, by whom they were again restored, with some considerable additions; he also permitted them to send two members to parliament; which right continued during the reign of Elizabeth; but the town was not incorporated until the 18th of James I. 1619; when, at the petition of William Cotton, bishop of Exeter, that king granted them a charter, and legally sanctioned the rights which they had previously exercised without any such authority.

By this charter it was granted, that the government of this free borough should be vested in eleven discreet aldermen or burgesses, a mayor, and twelve common councilmen; and that these should have a recorder, a steward, an office of record every three weeks, a prison, and power to try felons within the precincts of their jurisdiction. James II. granted a new charter to the corporation, which annulled some of the preceding rights, and vested the election of members in the magistrates of the town only; but no particular use was ever made of this charter. At present the right of election is in all the inhabitants who pay scot and lot; who, about the commencement of the present century amounted to 140. Nearly 300 voted at an election in 1812.

SECTION XVI.

St. Ives.

This borough dates the origin of its parliamentary privileges from the reign of Mary; but the market is of a much earlier date. This privilege was originally granted by Edward I. in the year 1295, to William Bottreaux, authorizing him to hold it on Thursday within his manor of La Nant. By the same early charter he

SIR FRANCIS BASSET PRESENTED THE CORPORATION OF ST. IVES WITH A CUP, A. D. 1640.

obtained the right of holding two fairs; this charter was renewed by Henry VII. but without any additional grants. Another charter was procured from Charles I. which extended the former grant, and authorized the holding two weekly markets, on Wednesday and Saturday. The same charter also granted the holding of four fairs; but these, as well as one of the markets, are discontinued. They now hold only one small fair.

The manor with which these privileges were connected, was anciently in the family of Ferrers, from which family it descended to the Champernownes, and from these in the same manner it passed to Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke, whose co-heiresses marrying to Blunt, Lord Montjoy, and Lord Pawlet, it came upon the division of the property to the latter, by whom it was held in the reign of Charles. In subsequent years it came into the family of Praed, and remained so, until about the year 1807, when it was purchased by Sir Christopher Hawkins.

It is uncertain when this town was first denominated a borough. It was fully incorporated by Charles I. in the year 1639, which charter of incorporation was procured by Sir Francis Basset, then member for St. Ives. This charter extended its influence over the whole parish of this name. The body corporate consists of a mayor, twelve capital burgesses, and twenty-four inferior burgesses. But by a charter granted by James II. in the year 1685, the body corporate is said to consist of a mayor, recorder, town clerk, ten aldermen, and twelve common councilmen. Four of these are justices of the peace, and hold a sessions, and the mayor is coroner *pro tempore*. By the charter of Charles, the mayor acted as a justice of the peace for one year after the expiration of his mayoralty. The senior burgess and the recorder possessed the same authority. But by that of James, the judicial power was placed under the restrictions that have been mentioned. The right of voting extends to all the inhabitants paying scot and lot, the number of whom at the last election amounted to about 340.

When Sir Francis Basset procured the above-mentioned charter, he presented the corporation a cup, on which was engraven the following inscription;—

> " If any discord 'twixt my friends arise,
> Within the borough of beloved St. Ives,
> It is desyred that this my cupp of love
> To every one a peacemaker may prove;
> Then I am blest, to have given a legacie
> So like my harte unto posteritie."——*Francis Basset, Anno* 1640.

This cup is still preserved with much veneration; and how unsuccessful soever it may have proved in other respects, it stands a lasting monument of an amiable and benevolent disposition.

SECTION XVII.

Tregony.

The name of this ancient place in Doomsday Survey is *Tregoin*, or *Tregoini;* and the lands connected with it are stated as belonging to the Earl of Moreton and Cornwall. Hals says, that "Tregony was invested with the jurisdiction of a court leet long before the Conquest." From the Earl of Moreton the manor of Tregony came very early into the hands of Henry de Pomeroy, whose ancestor came into England with William the Conqueror, and was one of his particular favourites.

In the days of Henry I. when the earldom of Cornwall was vested in the crown, Henry de Pomeroy presented a petition to that monarch, praying that certain specified privileges might be granted to the inhabitants. In compliance with this request, Henry conferred on them the right of sending two burgesses to parliament, chosen by a majority of all the inhabitants who were housekeepers. But we find no record of their sending any members to parliament until the reign of Edward I.; and even then it was only twice that this honour was actually realized. From this time the exercise of the privilege was discontinued until the first year of Elizabeth, when she revived the claims of the inhabitants for the promotion of her political designs. Henry de Pomeroy also procured for them the privilege of holding a fair, and fixing the assize of bread and beer; but when its market was established, is uncertain.

Notwithstanding these ancient privileges, Tregony was not incorporated until the reign of James I. when it obtained a fair and specific charter. By this charter, which alluded to ancient customs that were established in the borough, it appears that formerly the government was vested in a portreeve or mayor, whose jurisdiction corresponded with the despotic customs of the times. From the year 1620, this town was incorporated by the title of a free borough, and the government vested in a mayor, and eight capital burgesses, the senior of whom was to be considered as a justice of the peace. This charter furthermore ordained, that the mayor should be elected annually on the first Tuesday after Michaelmas Day; that they should have a recorder, and hold a court of record, on the first Monday in every month, and also enjoy all their ancient privileges. The right of election is vested at present in all the inhabitants who are pot-boilers, and who have resided within the borough for six weeks prior to an election. To secure this eligibility, the privileged order troop thither on the prospect of an election, and in some houses the inhabitants are crouded together in groups, and suffer temporary inconveniences which a stranger to the loyalty of a borough would scarcely believe that a love for their country could inspire. The number of voters in 1812 was 183.

THE TRADE OF TREGONY GREATLY DECLINED SINCE THAT OF TRURO AND ST. AUSTELL INCREASED.

To the original fair, and a market which is still held on Saturday, four other fairs have been added. About the beginning of the last century, these fairs were famed for various merchandise, particularly woollen cloth, a large manufactory of which was established in the town. This has however long since been abandoned, and the market, from the prosperity of Truro and St. Austell, has for many years been in a declining state. Even the town itself exhibits strong symptoms of depopulation, as many of the houses are in ruins, and no efforts have been made by the patrons, either to rebuild them, or to prevent the scene of desolation from increasing. From the days of Henry I. to the reign of Elizabeth, the patronage of this town remained in the family of Pomeroy. But the elder branch of this family becoming extinct during this reign, the manor passed with its heiress to the Penkevils; in which family it continued until the reign of Charles I. when either by inheritance or purchase, the principal part became the property of Hugh Boscawen, Esq. the ancestor of the present Lord Falmouth. From this family the late Viscount Falmouth transferred his right to Lord de Dunstanville.

SECTION XVIII.

St. Germans.

This little town, though of much fame in the records of ecclesiastical antiquity, is only of modern date, when viewed in the character of a borough. The manor of this town is said in Doomsday Survey to consist of twenty-four hides of land; one half of which, in consequence of a change that took place in its ecclesiastical establishment, was given to the bishop of Exeter, and the other half to the convent, from which St. Germans derived no small portion of its celebrity. This division still continues; the Eliot family farming the bishop's part, but inheriting the other from their ancestors, by whom it was purchased of the Champernownes, into whose possession it came at the dissolution of monasteries. It is from the ancestors of its present possessors, that the place where the ancient priory stood, is denominated Port Eliot.

Leland describes this as "a poor fischar's town, the glory of which stood by the priory." In ancient times it had a weekly market, which was held on Sunday; but this soon fell into disrepute, through the encouragement given by the Earl of Moreton to the market which he had recently established at Trematon, where he had his castle, or at Saltash, which was fostered by his protection. Its present market, if it may bear that name, is still cherished on Fridays. The first return that St. Germans made of members to parliament, was in the 5th of Elizabeth; since

which time the same privilege has continued to be enjoyed. There were between fifty and sixty houses within the borough, in the reign of Charles I.; and every householder who had resided there one year was deemed a vote. From the reign of Elizabeth the town has been governed by a portreeve or mayor, who is annually chosen at the court-leet of the lord of the manor about Michaelmas; and the return was first made by him, and by a jury empannelled by the steward for that express purpose. The portreeve, who is considered as the bailiff of the borough, claimed also the right of making any house within it a prison, in which he might detain the person arrested by his order. And from his acting on this authority, there is a tradition among the inhabitants, that an ancient charter which specified their rights, was stolen from them by a prisoner, who had been confined in the house in which it was deposited.

According to modern custom, this borough is governed by a portreeve, who is still elected at the lord's court-leet, and forty censors. All the inhabitants are still also votes; but they are rather nominal than real; for the actual right of returning members to parliament, is only realized by what are termed the proprietors of burgage tenements. These are now diminished to an inconsiderable number; and the habitations, which are less than twenty, are continually decreasing.

SECTION XIX.

St. Mawes.

This "pratty fischar's town," as Leland calls it, was first honoured with the privilege of sending members to parliament in the reign of Elizabeth. Her own authority seems to have been the basis of their rights, and this was admitted as sufficient, so soon as "her royal inclination was understood." From that time to the present, St. Mawes has regularly sent two members to parliament, and the right is now established by ancient usage. It was long after this town was privileged by Elizabeth, before it had the liberty of holding either fair or market. At present it has a market on Friday, which is attended by a few butchers. Most other articles, except corn, are imported from Falmouth, which lies on the opposite side of the harbour. In former years there was also a fair regularly held on the first Friday after the festival of St. Luke; but this has long since been abandoned. The chief employment of the inhabitants is domestic trade, fishing, and piloting of vessels that visit the harbour.

The principal officer in this borough is the portreeve, who acts as magistrate within his own jurisdiction. This officer, and the free and sworn tenants, possess

the right of electing two members to parliament. There are at present about twenty voters. The manor of St. Mawes, and with it the patronage of the borough, is now vested in the Marquis of Buckingham, to whom it descended from his mother, who was heiress to Earl Nugent. The right of its elective franchise is now admitted as indisputable; and under the protection of their noble patron, its freeholders and freemen enjoy their privilege in peace.

SECTION XX.

East Looe.

This borough, though not altogether originating with St. Mawes, is laid under an equal obligation to the bounty of Elizabeth, for the revival and establishment of its more ancient, but almost forgotten honours. The manor with which this borough is connected, was held in the reign of Edward I. by Henry de Bodrugan, who was also lord of the town. Among his manorial privileges, he claimed the right of frankpledge, a ducking-stool, a pillory, and the assize of bread and beer. From the Bodrugans the manor descended to the Courtenay family, who were found seized of it in the days of Henry V.

It appears from a *quo warranto* roll of Edward I. that in the days of Henry II. a market and a fair were granted to this place; upon which ground the right was challenged and allowed. The market for butcher's meat is still held on Saturday; but the fairs are wholly discontinued. It has been already observed, that in the reign of Edward III. East Looe and Fowey sent a member conjointly, called a ship-owner, to a council held at Westminster. This privilege seems to have arisen from the reputation of the port; since, with the exception of Fowey, it furnished more ships and mariners towards the equipment of the English fleet, than any port in Cornwall. Looe furnished at that time twenty ships, and 313 mariners. The occasion however, of the fleet subsiding, the privilege of sending a ship-owner to the council expired with it, as no more notice was taken of the favour, until the reign of Elizabeth; who, in order to promote her designs, gladly availed herself of this precedent; and on this pretext revived the ancient claims of the inhabitants. East Looe was first incorporated in the year 1587; and its right to return members to parliament, which was then established, has continued ever since. The borough is governed by nine burgesses, one of whom is annually chosen mayor; and in a recorder, who is chosen by their joint authority and suffrage. But the elective franchise includes the mayor, magistrates, and freemen of the borough, the latter

of whom vary in number, as local circumstances dictate. The whole at present do not exceed thirty-six.

Included within the ancient limits of the borough is a small village called Shouta or Shutta, which probably was formerly of much greater extent than it is at present. In all the most ancient records both names are incorporated. In a deed granted by Luce Russel, and her son Henry de Bodrugan, in which certain privileges were conveyed to the inhabitants, they are designated as the freemen of Looe and Shouta; and in another, granted by Otho de Bodrugan, in the reign of Edward II. the charter expresses the burgesses of Looe and Shouta. But the charter of Elizabeth, in which Looe only is mentioned, has excluded Shouta altogether.

The ancient manor contains at present little more than 100 acres of land; and this for many generations past has been incorporated in the dutchy of Cornwall. It became annexed to the dutchy by the attainder of Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VIII. It is now held by the corporation at the fee farm rent of twenty shillings per annum.

SECTION XXI.

Fowey.

The beautiful harbour which lies before the town has always rendered it famous in the annals of antiquity. In the Doomsday Survey, Fowey is described as an ordinary town, parish, or village, belonging to the Earl of Moreton. The manor with which this town is connected, and which is now called the borough and manor of Fowey, passed from his family to the Cardinhams, by whom it was settled in the reign of Richard I. on the priory of Tywardreath. In the year 1316, a market was granted to the prior of Tywardreath, to be held on Monday, together with the right of two fairs. At this time the prior asserted his claim to a view of frankpledge, and to the assize of bread and beer. This right continued until the dissolution of religious houses, when it became annexed to the dutchy. But the tolls and toldsey of the market and fairs, together with other privileges connected with the harbour, were then vested in the corporation on payment of a fee-farm rent annually to the dutchy.

Elizabeth revived the parliamentary claims of this town, under the same pretence as East Looe. Becoming independent of Tywardreath, its market was changed from Monday to Saturday. Its fairs also underwent a similar revolution, and they are now three in number. The town was incorporated by James II.; but of

this charter very little is at present known. A second charter was procured in the reign of William and Mary, in the year 1690; and by its various grants the affairs of the borough still continue to be regulated. The corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, town clerk, and eight aldermen; and the right of voting at an election is vested in the householders who pay scot and lot, and in the tenants of the dutchy manor, who are eligible to be portreeves of the borough.

The grants contained in this charter, being thought either indefinite or partial, by those who wished to participate in the envied privilege, created many disputes among the inhabitants, which led to an appeal to the house of commons; where it was finally determined in the year 1792, that the persons who were entitled to the privilege of electing the portreeve for the borough, were also eligible to the office. And these were declared to be such of the prince's tenants only as had been duly admitted on the court rolls of the manor of the borough, provided that their title to such lands had been presented to the court baron by a sworn homage or jury of the said manor. The mayor and the senior alderman are admitted to be justices of the peace in their respective capacities, and the mayor retains his power of magistracy for one year after his mayoralty expires.

The manor was sold in the year 1798, to the late Philip Rashleigh, of Menabilly, Esq. from whom it has descended to his nephew, William Rashleigh, Esq. M. P. in whose possession it still remains. It is to this manor that the privileges of the borough have been hitherto annexed. There is however, another manor closely connected with the borough of Fowey, belonging to J. T. Austen, Esq. which of late years has asserted a rival claim. These manors are distinguished by the appellations of the borough manor, and the burgage manor. Between these rival claimants several disputes have lately arisen, which have not tended to promote the domestic tranquillity of the inhabitants. The affair is at present undecided; and probably it will not terminate without another appeal to the house of commons.

SECTION XXII.

Callington.

Among the various records in which this town is mentioned, the most ancient occurs in the reign of Henry III. This monarch, in the year 1267, granted to the inhabitants the privilege of holding a weekly market on Wednesday, and one fair annually. From that time to the present the market has invariably been held on Wednesday, and it has now five fairs. The privileges were originally granted to Reginald de Ferrars, who was then lord of the manor. From this family the

manor passed with an heiress to the Champernownes, and from these by another heiress to Lord Willoughby de Brooke. From the Willoughby family it descended after several generations, and by successive marriages, to the several families of Pawlet, Dennis, and Rolle. By an heiress of Rolle it passed to the second Earl of Orford; and on the death of his son George Earl of Orford, who left no issue, it passed, in 1791, to Robert George William Trefusis, Esq. the legal representative of the Rolles, from whom it had been carried in a preceding generation. This gentleman afterwards succeeded in establishing his claim to the barony of Clinton; in consequence of which he assumed the title of Lord Clinton. The manor of Callington is now the property of his son Robert Cotton St. John Lord Clinton; and to the manor thus possessed by him, the privileges connected with the borough are still considered as annexed.

Callington was the last on which the elective franchise was bestowed in Cornwall. It received the privilege of sending two members to parliament in the 27th of Elizabeth, from which time to the present this right has continued uninterrupted. It does not appear that the inhabitants possess any charter of incorporation, or that their elective rights are specifically defined. Custom however, though subject to many variations, now operates with all the force of law; and to those who are interested in the issues, and are acquainted with the transactions of the borough, ancient usage is found to supply all deficiencies; and its affairs are conducted with more regularity than those of several places with indisputable titles.

In the reign of Charles I. the right of election was vested in all the inhabitants who had lived there one full year. The portreeve was the returning officer, which office he held by prescription, being annually chosen at the court-leet of the lord of the manor. The portreeve is still the returning officer; but the right of voting is now considered to be vested in all persons possessing freehold property in the borough, whether residents or not, and in all leaseholders who reside within its limits. About the conclusion of the last century, the number of votes scarcely exceeded fifty, and the right of election was restricted to burgage tenures paying scot and lot. But the number who voted in the year 1812 amounted to about sixty, and since that time they have been augmented to nearly seventy.

Such is the general outline of the origin, history, charters, and privileges, of our Cornish boroughs, the catalogue of which terminates with Callington.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ancient and modern Literary Characters of Cornwall.

SECTION I.

Ancient Literary Characters.

IT is not to be expected that Cornwall, from the barbarous state of its ancient inhabitants, should furnish a soil congenial to literature, in the early periods of its history. We have already seen, in the survey that has been taken of the Cornish language, that some manuscripts of an early date have been preserved through the revolutions of time, and transmitted to posterity. That copies of these compositions should be very scarce, prior to the discovery of the art of printing, it is not difficult to conceive; but it is to be regretted that no care was taken to multiply copies of these venerable relics of antiquity, when this great instrument of science and literature appeared, to bless the civilized world.

When the Saxons obtained the dominion of England, they were too much intent upon conquest, to promote the interests of science. Fierce, illiterate, and barbarous in themselves, they looked down with contempt on those few, on whom the sun of science had occasionally darted some feeble rays, and literature was no farther cherished by these ferocious invaders, than as it tended to extend their power, or to ensure their conquests. Even in succeeding years, when Christianity acquired an ascendancy in their choice of moral principles, the most contemptible subtleties of casuistry every where usurped the place of truth, and became its most formidable rival, under the specious pretext of developing its sacred mysteries. In the cells and cloisters into which learning retired, the fierce disputants wasted their mental energies in giving quaintness to quibbling absurdities; while unmeaning jargons ensured to the passionate combatants the fame of erudition.

"At this juncture we have only to contemplate mental darkness wherever we turn our eyes. The prospect is doubtless dreary; but a few scattered rays from the Scandinavian muse seem to break at times through the gloom. Adhelm, a prince of the royal family of Wessex, and a bishop of Sherborne, was the best poet of his age; and the greater number of our kings, after the union of the

heptarchy, from Egbert to Harold, discovered a genius or prepossession for the poetry of the north. Alfred regularly allotted a part of his time, amidst the turbulence of war, to the Saxon poets; and Canute was a distinguished patron of the bards. As these kings, therefore, were more especially conversant with the original inhabitants of East Cornwall, and as the Saxon and Danish poetry was highly figurative, and in this respect resembled the strains of the Druids, it is probable that the best educated people in this county were not inattentive to the northern muses, both with a view to preferment, and from a disposition to amuse their minds with the fables of Odin."

When the Normans came, they "avowed themselves the friends of literature, and endeavoured to enlarge the circle of the sciences, and to introduce a taste for the fine arts. Under their influence the sciences were cultivated with increasing success, though the Aristotleian logic had spread over them a most unpleasing colour. But theology was deeply tinctured by it; and the school divinity enjoyed great triumphs in the monasteries that were rising on every side. The canon and the civil law, and even the common law, were infected with the subtleties of logic. In the mean time the study of medicine, which was almost confined to the clergy, the profession of which had become so lucrative as to draw even the monks from their cloisters, was subjected to the influence of astrology and magic. That the polite arts should have made any striking progress at this period is more than we can expect: yet the Normans were as attentive to poetry as the Anglo-Saxons, particularly Latin poetry."

Whether any schools were at this early period established in Cornwall, can only be gathered from conjecture, since no records are extant to decide the question. It is probable that the cathedrals and monasteries which were established throughout the nation, contained the chief seminaries of learning, and that the religious houses scattered over Cornwall cherished the glimmerings of science which were known, under the auspices of Exeter. To accomplish these purposes, rooms were set apart in several monasteries, and provision was sometimes made for the cultivation of the doubtful arts. It is to these asylums therefore, that we stand indebted for the scattered rays which illuminated these middle ages; and, although monsters were engendered beneath the gloom of hallowed ignorance, these mouldering ruins have a claim upon our veneration, in proportion as they once furnished a retreat for learning, and a place of retirement to its principal advocates.

Among the Cornish literary characters of antiquity, one of the most ancient and most remarkable, is Hucarius, who flourished at St. Germans before the Norman Conquest. Hals gives the following account of this author:—"In the abbey of

St. Germans, A. D. 1040, in the time of Livignus, bishop of Kirton, lived Hucarius, commonly called the Levite, as Bale and others in their writings of Britain, tell us; perhaps for that he assisted the priest at the altar, as the Levites of old did, and was more excellent, or did exceed all others in that particular. Otherwise by the appellation Levite, we must understand him a priest, and that he was universally famous in performing his function of preaching and divine service. Certain it is he was a holy and learned man, as the one hundred and ten homilies or sermons, and many other books which he wrote, declare." Of these homilies or sermons, no vestige is at present known to remain.

The next in time, but perhaps an equal in fame, was John of Cornwall, who flourished, according to Carew, about the year 1170. This John of Cornwall appears to have been well educated in the Latin tongue, and to have travelled beyond the seas, and to have studied the liberal arts in foreign universities. Rome was the chief place of his residence, in which city he grew so famous for his acquirements, that he was recommended to pope Alexander III. about the year 1180. At this time Peter Lombard, who was some time bishop of Paris, published some doctrines that were thought too favourable to Arianism. Pope Alexander having received information of his conduct, wrote to the Archbishop of France to suppress the growing heresy. This was attempted; but force was found to be ineffectual. Alexander then applied to John of Cornwall to write a book against Lombard and his doctrine. John accordingly engaged in the controversy, and soon produced a book which he called *De Homine Assumpto*. To this book Lombard attempted a reply; but when both appeared, so fully were his holiness and the Roman doctors satisfied with the validity of John's arguments, and of the sophistry used by Lombard, that the controversy ended, and John of Cornwall was styled by the pope a Catholic doctor.

About the beginning of the twelfth century, Simon Thurnay, or Thurnaius, a Cornishman, rendered himself so conspicuous for his acquirements in profane learning, that he surpassed all the scholars in Oxford. Proud of his attainments, he passed over to Paris, where he made such proficiency in the study of divinity, that he obtained the chief seat among the learned doctors of the Sorbonne. But unhappily, after being lifted to this exalted eminence, his head became so giddy, that he did not hesitate to prefer Aristotle to Moses and Christ, and yet to consider him as only equal to himself. But the judgments of God overtook him. On a sudden his memory so failed him, that he could not recollect any thing that he had ever known or done; and according to Hooker, he could neither discern nor know a letter in any book. To this calamity, Fuller in his Worthies, adds, that he not only turned fool, but was struck with dumbness also. After which, according to

Bale, he made an inarticulate sound, bearing a resemblance to the lowing of cattle. This great judgment is said to have befallen him about the year 1201.

Michael the Cornish poet, according to Carew, lived in the reign of Henry III. and was much admired for the excellence and variety of his Latin rhymes. This celebrated poet supported the reputation of his country against the talents of Henry de Abrincis, the king's arch-poet; but this was done with a severity that has not conferred much honour on the Cornish muse. On this occasion his language was coarse and vulgar, and both his comparisons and descriptions such as were better calculated to provoke retaliation than to produce conviction. In vindicating his county from the aspersions of his rival, he has been more happy. His praise of Cornwall is compendiously expressed in the following triplet:—

> "We need not number up her wealthy store,
> Wherewith this helpful land relieves her poor,
> No sea so full of fish, of tin no shore."

About the year 1310, one Godfrey, who was surnamed of Cornwall, acquired great celebrity as an acute schoolman, and a divinity-reader in Paris. Fuller in his Worthies, says, that he was bred a doctor in the French metropolis and in Oxford, and that he afterwards became a Carmelite of no mean esteem among those of his own order. That he was their champion against the encroachments of Gerardus Bononiensis, a Frenchman, their master-general, who made two provincials of that order in England, which had formerly been but one. John Baconthorp, his cotemporary, highly esteemed him, and in his works gives him the title of Dr. Solennis.

William de Grenefild, who from the deanery of Chichester stepped to the chancellorship of England, and archbishopric of York, under Edward I. Mr. Tonkin says, was the son of Sir Thomas Grenvil of Stowe. He was elected archbishop of York in 1304, but was not confirmed in his office until two years afterwards. This confirmation was at last consummated at Lyons by Clement V. who then held his court in that city, and subsisted on the money which he exacted from his trembling vassals. From Grenefild or Grenvil he extorted within one year, 9500 marks, which together with his expences while he waited on this venerable specimen of infallibility, reduced him to such a degree of poverty, that he was under the necessity of gathering money from his clergy twice in one year. He died at Cawood in 1315, and was buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas, leaving behind him the reputation of an able statesman, and a respectable scholar.

From the days of Edward II. the name of one Geffry of Cornwall is handed down as a literary character; but little more than his name has survived the wrecks

of time. To his pen is attributed an ancient Latin manuscript, relating to the history of Wales, of which Archbishop Usher takes notice; but the dates connected with it are involved in obscurity.

In the reign of Richard II. John Trevisa, a Cornishman, acquired great repute by the translation of several valuable books, the most remarkable of which are the Old and New Testaments. Besides his translations, he is said to have added fifty-five years to the Polychronicon, and also to have written a description of Britain. But the latter work, if it was ever written, is now lost. Trevisa died at the age of ninety, in the year 1399. It is very probable, that the family of Trevisa flourished at Crocadon, in the parish of St. Mellion. Carew alludes to this writer in the following passage:—"Upon the top of a creek hereby, lieth Crocadon, the mansion of Mr. Trevisa, a gentleman deriving himself from the ancient and well deserving chronicler of that name."

When Henry V. founded an university at Caen, in Normandy, he appointed a Cornishman, Michael Tregury, to be its governor, on account of his attainments in learning. Tregury was educated at Oxford, where his eminent attainments led to his recommendation. He was created Archbishop of Dublin by Henry VI.; which station he held twenty-two years. He died at an advanced age in 1471. He is said to have been the author of many learned books.

Henry VII. promoted John Arundel, of the Lanherne family, to the see of Exeter, on account of his extraordinary learning. He was first consecrated bishop of Litchfield and Coventry in 1496, and was translated to Exeter in 1502. His fame rests on the general reputation of his learning; and this is in some degree to be inferred from the office to which his merit had exalted him.

Bartholomew Treheron, or Trahern, according to Wood, was born in Cornwall, or at least descended from an ancient Cornish family. This circumstance has induced a belief that his true name was Trehane, and that he was born at Trehane in Probus, as no family called Treheron can be found among the ancient residents of the county. This man, after receiving his common education at Oxford, travelled into Germany and Italy for improvement. On returning to England, he entered into holy orders, and was made library-keeper to Edward VI.; who, finding him to be a person of talents and merit, conferred upon him the deanery of Chichester, about the year 1551. But when Mary came to the throne, he retired into Germany until her death; when he returned, and recovered all the preferments which he had abandoned for conscience sake. During his exile he wrote several things both in prose and verse, with great felicity. Several of these literary productions were addressed to his brother, inviting him to leave the Catholic party,

and join the Protestants. To these he added some translations, a catalogue of which has been published by Anthony Wood. This Cornish author was living in the year 1562; but the time and place of his death are not recorded.

To Richard Wills, whom Anthony Wood admits to have been born in the west, Mr. Tonkin ascribes a Cornish origin. This opinion he founds upon the fact, that there is still an ancient family of that name in the county, which formerly resided at Saltash and Botusfleming, to one of which places he ascribes his birth. Mr. Wills was educated at Oxford, which place he left without taking a degree, and travelled into France, Germany and Italy. At Mentz he took the degree of master of arts; when, after spending some years in several universities, he returned with many literary accomplishments; and being particularly noted for his profound acquaintance with the Latin tongue, he published a work in which his abilities in that language were admirably displayed. This work, which was entitled *Poematum liber ad Gul. Baronem Bourghleum, &c.* was printed in London in the year 1573. In the following year he petitioned for the same honourable degree in Oxford, which had been conferred on him at Mentz. This request appears to have been granted to him "conditionally;" but what became of him afterwards, says Mr. Tonkin, "I know not."

The commencement of the seventeenth century forms a distinguishing era in the literary history of Cornwall, in bringing on the stage of public observation, Mr. Richard Carew, of East Antony, the justly celebrated historian of Cornwall; to whom all his successors in this department of literature are more indebted, than many among them are willing to acknowledge. The fame and character of this gentleman are too well known to require many animadversions. He was born at East Antony, the seat of his ancestors, in the year 1555, published his Survey of Cornwall in 1602, and died in 1620. His learning was considerable, and his acquaintance with literary and exalted characters very extensive. By most of his cotemporaries his virtues have been highly celebrated, and subsequent writers have lengthened out the general applause. Through the changes which have taken place in the orthography and construction of sentences since his days, many of his phrases appear quaint, and his diction obsolete. But many of his passages abound with wit, and a peculiar vein of innocent humour runs through all his writings. His mind, though exalted, was not altogether free from the tinctures of superstition that predominated in his day; and an attachment to the marvellous may be discovered, in his recital of wonderful tales, which he avowedly transmitted to posterity with hesitation. But even for this so many apologies may be made, that the branches of his family which still survive, may be proud of such an ancestor.

There are but few historians of the present day, whose works after the lapse of two centuries, when all circumstances are taken into the account, will derive from critical examination, a more exalted lustre.

William Jordan, of Helston, was the author of a Cornish drama, entitled the Creation of the World, together with Noah's Flood, of which some notice has been already taken. The original of this curious work is still preserved in the Bodleian Library. It appears to have been first written in the year 1611, and the total extinction of the Cornish language tends to increase the value of this venerable piece of literary antiquity. In addition to this drama, Jordan is said to have written several other plays, but very little is known concerning them.

Another Cornish author named John Carpenter, is supposed to have belonged to Launceston. This gentleman was entered a bachelor in Exeter College, in which he continued to prosecute his studies about four years with unwearied industry. On leaving the university, he became rector of Northleigh, in Devon, where he published several sermons and theological tracts. He died in 1620, leaving behind him a son named Nathaniel, whose fame as a geographer, mathematician, poet, and philosopher, claims an honourable niche in the biography of that county.

Sir John Eliot, of Port Eliot, though more famous as a statesman than an author, printed several speeches and debates, which have been preserved in Rushwood's Collections. He also left behind him in manuscript some reports relative to the stannaries, and verses containing severe reflections on the Duke of Buckingham, to whose political measures he was an avowed enemy. This gentleman received the honour of knighthood in 1618, and continued to serve in parliament from that time to the end of his life. Possessing an independent spirit, he became a formidable antagonist to the court favourites of the day, and to the encroachments of the crown. This brought him into much trouble; he was several times taken into custody, and more than once committed to the Tower. His first commitment was in 1626, for a speech which he delivered on the Duke of Buckingham's impeachment. On his liberation he was chosen a member for the next parliament, where, for another offensive speech, being commanded to silence by the speaker, such debates ensued, as led to his confinement. Shortly after the dissolution of this parliament, he was again sent to the Tower, in which place he died on the 27th of November, 1632. The next parliament, which met in 1640, considering him as an injured character, voted £5000 to be given to his family, as some remuneration for his unjust sufferings.

William Noye, who was advanced to the exalted office of attorney-general, in the unhappy reign of Charles I. was born in the parish of Buryan, in the year 1577. His learning and talents were of the highest order; but he has been

represented by historians, as partaking too much of that versatility of character, which distinguished the times in which he lived. His superior talents rendered him formidable to the faction that he opposed, and consequently exposed him to party solicitations which he had not always fortitude enough to resist. His writings, which were voluminous, were connected with his professional studies.

Samuel Austen, who was born at Lostwithiel in 1606, and educated at Exeter College, took his degree of M. A. in the year 1630, and afterwards procured a benefice in this county. He was considered as a man of talents; but his only publication is Austin's Urania, or the Heavenly Muse. This was sent into the world one year prior to his leaving the university. It was dedicated to John Prideaux, D. D. who was then rector of the college, and a patron of the author's studies.

Charles Fitz Geofry, who was born in this county in 1575, was, after taking his degrees, made rector of St. Dominic, in which place he sustained the reputation of a grave and learned divine. While he resided at the university, he was esteemed an excellent Latin poet. His works in English are, the Life of Sir Francis Drake in verse, written in such exalted strains as procured him the appellation of the High-towering Falcon. Several sermons and meditations also came from his pen, together with a collection of poetical beauties, taken from the most celebrated poets of this nation. He published also some small pieces in Latin. His death took place at his rectory in the year 1636.

The parish of Jacobstow has the honour of giving birth to Diggory Whear, who, after taking his degrees at Oxford, travelled into foreign parts, where he acquired both learning and experience. He was generally esteemed as a learned man, who was particularly versed in history. His chief residence after his return from his travels, was at the university. He wrote several historical treatises in Latin, one of which, passing through several editions, was afterwards translated into English. He died in the year 1647, leaving behind him a widow and some children, who soon sunk into poverty and neglect.

Cuthbert Sydenham, who published several sermons in his life-time, was born in Truro in the year 1622. In 1639 he became a commoner of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, in which place he continued, until that city was garrisoned for the king; against whose cause he avowed his sentiments. About the year 1644, being ordained by the presbytery, he was appointed lecturer of a church at Newcastle upon Tyne, in which place he obtained much celebrity as a preacher among his friends, and much enmity from his foes. Active, and unwearied in the discharge of his duty, he continued to preach until bodily infirmities compelled him to desist; after which he retired to London for the recovery of his health, in which city he

died, 1654, leaving behind him a name, which his hostile biographers can only reproach with the appellation of "forward zealot," and sermons, with which no other fault is found, than that they were all written in the old canting strain. His discourses no doubt partook of the prevailing spirit of the times, and bore hard on the adverse parties, into which the community was then unhappily divided; but much allowance must be made for the influence of faction, which at that period extended from the cottage to the throne.

Of William Hicks, who was born at Kirris in the parish of Paul, though much may be said in favour of his talents and learning, more may be said to condemn the fanaticism of his conduct. He was born in 1620, and was a commoner in Wadham College in 1637, where he made himself well acquainted with logic and philosophy. Espousing the cause of Cromwell, and possessing a sanguine temper, his friends advised him to take up arms against the king. In this situation he conducted himself with so much furious zeal, that he was soon advanced to the rank of captain in the train-bands. He now became at once both a warrior and a divine, and published "Revelation Revealed;" being a practical exposition of the Revelations of St. John. This book, having "dropped still-born from the press," obtained two years afterwards a new title, accompanied by the author's picture in a clock, and some quaint expressions to excite attention. By this taking title-page, and pretty picture, he wished to present a glass for the quinto-monarchians and others, that they might know under what dispensation of Providence it was their lot to live. But amidst all this motley fame, according to common report, Hicks was indebted for his publication to the pen of Alexander Harrie, the son of a minister in Cornwall, with whom he was acquainted, who died before it was published. Hicks having an opportunity, seized the manuscript, and sent it into the world in his own name. Of the truth of this story, there is however, some uncertainty. Mr. Hicks died at Kirris, in 1659.

"I have good reason to imagine," says Mr. Polwhele, "the stone crosses that remained in this parish after the Reformation, were thrown down by order of Mr. Hicks. He is noted by Mr. Granger, Vol. III. page 71, who places him in the interregnum, class the ninth, among the miscellaneous authors in divinity, history, antiquities, &c. I have lately seen the copper-plate whence the print in Granger was taken, which I apprehend is now become scarce. On the top of the plate is this motto:—*Da Deo et Cæsari.* In the margin, which is oval, circumscribing the figure, is the following inscription:—*Gulielmus Hicks, Gen. ætatis suæ* 38. *Anno Dom.* 1658. Beneath this inscription are the following verses:

"Though thou no prophet art, no prophet's son,
Without their spirit this could ne'er be done.

Though Brightman, Napier, Mede, are gone to rest,
Their spright still lives redoubled in thy breast.
Ye that have cast th' Apocalypse to the ground,
Because so dark, mysterious, and profound;
Why take it up again, and use this glass,
'Twill then no longer for a mystery pass."

John Pendarves was born at Skewes in the parish of Crowan, in 1622, and acquired at college the character of a good disputant. Having obtained the degree of bachelor of arts, he left the college in 1642, and soon became an advocate for the parliamentary cause, promoting its interest by preaching, wherever an occasion offered. After wavering some time, he finally became an anabaptist, and soon gathered round him a number of partizans, in whose estimation he rendered himself famous by his celebrated dispute with Jasper Mayne, of Christ Church, Oxon, over whom he obtained a decisive victory. He finished his mortal career at the age of thirty-seven, in the zenith of his reputation. He was buried with great magnificence and parade, at Abingdon, in Berkshire; and his funeral was attended by such multitudes, that Cromwell, whose vigilance knew no intermission, stationed some troops in the neighbourhood, to quell any commotion that might arise. The writings of Pendarves, into which he had breathed his native spirit, though possessing much acuteness, soon fell into disesteem, when the political changes that took place, introduced a new revolution in public opinion.

Although the family of Pendarves was truly respectable, it is exceeded by the honourable alliances which that of Francis Rouse, another Cornish author, can claim. This gentleman was born at Halton, in the parish of St. Dominic; and, after passing through the usual course of studies, he became an advocate for the puritanical party. In the reigns of James and Charles I. he was member of parliament for Truro, and distinguished himself in the house, both by his zeal and abilities. In 1653 he was made of Cromwell's council; and appointed a trier and approver of public preachers. In the following year he acted as a commissioner for Cornwall, for the ejection of such as they then deemed "scandalous and ignorant ministers and schoolmasters." His attachment to the parliamentary cause continuing through life, he was advanced towards its close to the house of lords, in which he sustained a consistency of character. He died at Acton near London, in 1658. By the adverse parties his worth and talents have been variously estimated, each being influenced by the political principles that predominated. By his foes his writings are represented as filled with the enthusiastic cant of his party; but to his friends they appear in a more amiable light. Several treatises on divinity written by him, are still extant, but very little known. By those who knew him

best, he was esteemed a learned and good man, whose benevolence was of the most exalted description. His death was considered a public calamity, and his memory was preserved in many odes that appeared on the occasion.

Sir William Lower, the author of several plays and translations, was born at Tremere, in the parish of St. Tudy, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. His poetry was much esteemed in his day, and his name is enrolled, together with a catalogue of his works, in Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets. Of these works, which were published complete in London in 1661, some parts were written in Holland, in which country he was obliged to take refuge during the civil wars. Through the convulsions which agitated England during this unhappy period, he was invariably attached to the royal cause; in consequence of which, during his residence in Holland, his estate was sequestrated, and it does not appear that it was ever afterwards restored. He died in London in 1662, and was buried in the church of St. Clement Danes in the Strand.

Although John Godolphin was born in St. Mary's, Scilly, yet from the connexion subsisting between the history of this county and these islands, his name demands a short memorial in this place. He was born in 1617, his father at that time being governor of the castle. Passing through the regular routine of college education, he turned his attention to the civil law. In 1653 he was constituted one of the judges of the admiralty. After the king's return he was made one of his advocates. He was uniformly considered as a learned man, not less acquainted with theology than with the studies of his own profession. In each of these departments he wrote several articles, which he published. He died in London in 1678.

John Mayow, though born in London in 1645, was descended from an ancient and respectable family in the parish of Morval. His attention was chiefly turned to medical pursuits, in the study and practice of which he acquired great fame in the city of Bath. His fame was increased by his literary performances. These consisted of five works, all of which were connected with the more abstruse principles of his profession. They were afterwards all reprinted at the Hague. Mr. Mayow died in London in 1679.

Cornwall claims the undisputed glory of having given birth to the author of a justly celebrated work, that has conferred an honour on the human intellect, and on the English nation. This author is Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich; and his immortal work is "The Old and New Testaments connected, in the history of the Jews and the neighbouring nations." He was born at Padstow in 1648, and received the first rudiments of his education at Liskeard. On removing to Westminster, he prosecuted his studies three years under Dr. Busby, and from thence repaired to Christ Church, Oxford. While at this seminary he published

a Latin treatise, through which he was introduced to the notice of Lord Chancellor Finch, who was afterwards Earl of Nottingham. Being chosen to superintend the education of his son, he was presented with the living of St. Clement's, near Oxford; and afterwards he was made prebend of the cathedral church at Norwich. It was through the same patronage, that in the reign of Anne he was recommended to be dean of the church, which office he held during the remainder of his life.

During the reign of James II. when the court manifested a design to restore popery, this worthy man exerted himself in behalf of the Protestant religion; and, regardless of consequences, became a formidable enemy to the intended innovations. Of his zeal, sincerity, and resolution, the following incident will furnish a happy illustration:—It happened, that while popery was beginning to make inroads in various places, a young man who was a convert to its doctrines, died in Norwich. The priests, to give an air of dignity to their profession, determined to celebrate his funeral solemnities in a splendid manner, and to bury him publicly in the cathedral, according to the ceremonies of the Romish church. Dr. Prideaux, fearful what effects might result from such an innovation, informed the friends of the deceased, that as he did not die within the precincts of the cathedral, he would not suffer his body to be buried there. The priests, although the refusal was admitted to be legal, presuming upon the authority of their rising interest, resolved, in defiance of the denial, to proceed according to their original intentions, and to abide the consequences that might follow. The procession accordingly marched towards the cathedral; the doors of which they found so bolted and barricadoed, as to prohibit their entrance. Finding an opposition they were not prepared to expect, they retired with no small degree of mortification, and interred the body in their own burying-ground. An information however, was lodged in the High Commission Court against the Doctor; but before he could be called to answer for his conduct before that iniquitous tribunal, its power was abolished by a happy revolution, that drove pretended infallibility from the country.

Soon after the revolution, Dr. Prideaux was advanced to the archdeaconry of Suffolk, and nearly about the same time he was offered the Hebrew professorship of Oxford; but this office he declined. When Dr. Trimnel was translated from the bishopric of Norwich to that of Winchester, Dr. Prideaux was offered the former see; but this he also declined, as he was advancing in years; since, though his family was large, his circumstances were easy.

In his declining years his sufferings from the stone were very severe; and in undergoing the painful operation of cutting, he unfortunately fell into the hands of an unskilful surgeon; so that the experiment prevented him from ever afterwards appearing in public. It was during these years of painful confinement, that he

undertook and accomplished his laborious work, which has made the Christian world his debtor. He died at Norwich, in 1724, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Besides his Connexion, &c. he has left behind him a small volume entitled "The true nature of Imposture fully displayed in the Life of Mahomet;" to which is added "A Letter to a Deist." This latter work would have been in high repute, if it had either been written by any other man, or if Dean Prideaux had not written his Connexion.

As a writer, simplicity and perspicuity are the distinguishing characteristics of his style. In private life he was truly amiable, and on all occasions he appeared more ignorant of his own talents than of most other subjects. In public he was considered as an eloquent speaker, and a strenuous advocate for civil and religious liberty. Against popery indeed he always preserved a decided opposition. But even this was not sufficient to prevent the pope from bearing testimony to his abilities and learning, He presented to Dr. Prideaux a large gold medal, which still remains in the possession of the family.

SECTION II.

Brief Account of the Ministers ejected from the Cornish Churches, and of Mr. Tregain's Sufferings.

In addition to the preceding literary characters, the ejected ministers, who nobly relinquished their livings, which they could no longer hold without violating their consciences, deserve an honourable memorial in these pages. Several of these were unknown in the walks of literature; but many among them still live in their writings; and the piety of most of them is worthy of imitation. Some of these men were natives of Cornwall; but all that will be introduced here were residents at the time they were expelled by the Act of Uniformity.

Charles Morton, M. A. who was rector of Blisland, and whose father had been expelled from the same rectory in the days of Charles I. was born about the year 1626, in this county. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Oxford, where he became zealously attached to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, and was a staunch royalist. But on the breaking out of the civil wars, he was astonished to discover that the more virtuous part of the nation sided with the parliament, while the more debauched espoused the cause of the king. From these observations he began to make himself acquainted with the principles of the controverted points; and the result was, that he became a puritan. While he was fellow of the college, he was much esteemed by Dr. Williams for his mathematical genius. His public ministry began at Blisland, in which place he continued for

many years. On being expelled by the Act of Uniformity, he retired to a small tenement in the neighbourhood of St. Ives, where he preached privately to the neighbouring villagers. Having some property in London, which the memorable fire nearly consumed, he was obliged to leave his sequestered abode, to take care of what remained. He opened an academy at Newington Green, where his fame procured him many pupils, from whom arose a great number of ministers and excellent scholars, who became conspicuous both in church and state. After continuing about twenty years in this employment, he was so pestered with processes from the bishop's court, that he went over to New England, became pastor of a church at Charlestown, where he died at nearly eighty years of age.

Mr. Morton was of a sweet natural temper, and of a truly public spirit; a faithful friend, a pious, learned, ingenious and useful man, beloved by all who knew him, except those who had political reasons for entertaining a different opinion. On his being reproached with a violation of his oath which he took at the university, by teaching in his academy, he drew up a vindication of his conduct and that of his brethren, from the charge. This vindication, together with "Advice to his Pupils," may now be placed among his works. Besides these, he published nearly twenty tracts, most of which were compendious. He had long been accustomed to say, that "A great book was a great evil." Among his other works, that in which Cornwall found the greatest interest was, "A Discourse on improving the County." The seventh chapter of this work, which treats of sea sand for manure, is printed in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1675.

Mr. James Innes, who was of Scottish extraction, and of a good family, was expelled from the church of St. Breock. He had great interest with the Duke of Lauderdale, and also with Charles himself. This acquaintance and patronage promised to lift him high in the scale of preferment, if he could have accommodated himself to the means of advancement. But the voice of conscience was too powerful to be silenced, either by the friendship of dukes, or the patronage of kings. As a proof of his familiarity with king Charles, the following anecdote has been preserved. The king seeing him walking out one Sabbath morning, accosted him with—"You Innes, I believe, are going to some conventicle." Innes replied—"If I am, I hope your majesty will not turn informer." This was received with good humour, and they parted. Of the future part of his life little is known. It does not appear that he published any thing while he continued in Cornwall.

Mr. Thomas Travers was expelled from St. Columb Major. He was for some time lecturer of St. Andrew's, in Plymouth, from which church he came to the place whence he was ejected. During his stay at St. Columb, he was rendered very useful, and was much respected. After he was silenced by the Bartholomew

Act, he was favoured, and in some degree protected by Lord Robartes, with whose family he was connected by marriage. This circumstance shielded him from the poverty and persecution to which many of his cotemporaries were exposed. His future history is unknown.

Mr. John Tutchin, M. A. who was ejected from Fowey, was much valued as a minister by all the sober part of his congregation. He was highly esteemed as a profound critic, a general scholar, and an excellent orator. In the beginning of James's reign he was tried at the Launceston assizes, on the 35th of Elizabeth, and was sentenced to abjure the realm: but on a second hearing of his case in the Court of King's Bench, his sentence was revoked, and he received an honourable acquittal. This gentleman does not appear to have published any thing, but he left behind him some valuable manuscripts.

Mr. Solomon Carswill, who was ejected from St. Germans, continued to preach in his own house, without any remuneration, to such of his flock as could assemble. This practice he continued, until within about a fortnight of his death, which did not happen until he was eighty-nine years of age.

Connected with the life and personal history of Joseph Sherwood, there are some circumstances of too remarkable a nature to be passed over in silence. Mr. Sherwood was minister of St. Hilary; but being expelled this church, he took up his abode in St. Ives, in which place, and at Penzance, he regularly preached alternately every Lord's day, and also delivered weekly lectures. His natural disposition was sweet, amiable, and engaging, although his bodily afflictions were numerous and severe. Some short time after his ejection, he was cited to appear before the spiritual court, for not attending the church. On his appearance he assigned as a reason, that "as there was no sermon, he could not with any degree of satisfaction attend, merely to hear the parish clerk read over the prayers; but that if there was a sermon to be delivered, he would attend on the following Sunday." However, as no minister came, he did not go; he was again summoned, when he again gave the same answer as before. On the following Sunday, being informed by one of the churchwardens who was his friend, that there would be no minister at church, he took the hint and went, followed by great numbers, who probably expected to hear him preach. While the clerk read the prayers, he seated himself by his side, and afterwards ascended the pulpit and preached to a crouded congregation from these words:—"*I will avenge the quarrel of my covenant.*" The rumour of his offence soon circulated, and his enemies thought this a fair opportunity to display their vengeance. But so well was Mr. Sherwood beloved by the people, that from among the multitudes who heard him, not one could be found to lodge an information; nor would they have accomplished their

designs, had they not fraudulently extorted an acknowledgment of the fact from the churchwarden, whom they afterwards frightened to give evidence against him. Being carried to the petty session of justices, where a Mr. Robinson was chairman, he was greatly reviled by this gentleman, who called him rebel, &c. In reply to the charges brought against him, Mr. Sherwood observed, that " As he was a minister of the Gospel, and at the church there was so great an assembly, he could not but have compassion on the multitude, and give them a word of exhortation." " But," said Mr. Robinson, " did ever man preach from such a rebellious text?" " Sir," rejoined Mr. Sherwood, " I know man is a rebel against his Creator, but I never knew that the Creator could be a rebel against his creature." " Write his mittimus for Launceston Gaol," cried Mr. Robinson to his clerk. Then turning to Mr. Sherwood, he observed, " I say sir, it was a rebellious text." On hearing this, Mr. Sherwood looking him full in the face, delivered the following ominous expression :—" Sir, if you die the common death of all men, God never spake by me." On this, Sherwood was committed to gaol, where he was so much respected that he was permitted to walk about the town.

It was not many days after this eventful dialogue, that Robinson walking in the fields, was met near a gate by a bull, that had been remarkably tame. His maid, who had been milking the cows, was at this time standing before her master. The bull pushed her gently aside with his horns; when running upon Robinson, he instantly tore out his bowels. Besse, in recording the sufferings of the Quakers, relates this fact, with many additional circumstances to Robinson's disadvantage. He observes, that this active magistrate was about to pursue some of the sectaries, in order to prosecute them, when this disaster befel him; and that he was in the field waiting for his horse, that in company with another justice he might go *fanatic hunting;* that the bull pushed his horn into his thigh, ripping it up to his belly, and tossing him over his back, in which fall he broke his leg; that he then gored him again on the ground, and actually licked up his blood; and that some men who witnessed the disaster, were obliged to procure dogs to make the bull desist from tearing the mangled body.

Mr. Sherwood on returning to his own home, was summoned to appear at a justices' meeting at Penzance. He instantly attended, fully expecting to be again committed. But on his appearance, justice Godolphin taking him aside, thus addressed him :—" Sir, I sent for you to know how you came to express yourself in such a manner when we committed you? You know sir what has since befallen Mr. Robinson?" Mr. Sherwood replied, " Sir, I was far from bearing any malice against Mr. Robinson, and I can give no other answer, than, that when we are called before rulers for His name's sake whom we serve, it shall be given us in that

hour what we shall speak." To this Mr. Godolphin answered—"Well sir, for your sake I will never more have a hand in prosecuting dissenters." He was as good as his word. It is not known that Mr. Sherwood either published any thing, or left any manuscripts behind him.

When Gasper Hickes, M. A. was ejected from Landrake, in 1662, he continued to preach as he had an opportunity, but met with much trouble. Being aware of the Conventicle Act, he carefully avoided admitting any more than that act allowed, which amounted to four, besides those who were under sixteen years of age; yet even this circumspection in his own house, was insufficient to protect him from the malignant spirit of the times. The young parson of Landrake, exasperated at his perseverance, lodged an information against him, that he was a keeper of conventicles, and had his house searched by the parish officers, who found no more than what the act allowed. Unable to prosecute him according to law, this young parson rode from justice to justice, resolving to give him trouble, although he had no hope of being supported by law. The neighbouring justices were so far satisfied that no offence had been committed, that they refused to give him countenance. But he found in Devonshire some magistrates whose sentiments were in unison with his own; these taking it for granted that Mr. Hickes had preached unlawfully, levied upon him a fine of £40, although not a shadow of evidence appeared to authenticate the fact. To obviate this fine, he appealed to the next general sessions, where, contrary to law, he was denied a jury, and the justices present passed judgment upon him by vote. His appeal being thus declared unjust, they not only confirmed the fine of £40, but gave treble costs against him, and dismissed him from the court with foul reproaches. The works of Mr. Hickes were, several sermons before the Long Parliament; The Life and death of David; A Sermon before the house of peers; The Advantages of Affliction, and several other tracts.

Mr. Henry Flamank, who was ejected from Lanivet, was a branch of an ancient and respectable family in this county. He had been chaplain to Sir Hardress Waller, when he was governor of Pendennis Castle. He was a gentleman of considerable learning, of great natural abilities, of a strong memory, and of warm affections. His method of preaching included something that was so peculiarly convincing, that success generally attended his word. Such a happy mixture of seriousness and good nature was rarely to be found; especially as his conduct furnished indubitable evidences of the sincerity of his piety. He was much esteemed by the more serious gentry of the western counties, and by the poor he was at once beloved for his affability, and reverenced for his dignified authority. Some considerable time after his expulsion, he was called to be minister of a congregation at Tavistock, in which place he continued to labour with great faithfulness and success, till he died, in 1692.

EXTRAORDINARY ANSWER TO THE PRAYERS OF A FATHER IN THE CONVERSION OF A PRODIGAL SON.

Mr. Jonathan Wills, who was the son of Mr. John Wills, rector of Morval, near Looe, was expelled from the church of Lanteglos. In his youth he had been very profligate; his father was a godly man, and had prevailed upon some pious ministers at Plymouth, to spend a day with him in prayer for this prodigal son. While they were thus engaged, young Wills entered, and learning that they were praying for him, burst into tears; then falling on his knees, begged his father's pardon for his past conduct, and from that day assumed a new character, which he sustained through life. After his ejection he continued to preach in private for many years, amidst severe troubles and afflictions, till death terminated his labours in 1695.

John Oliver, M. A. was a gentleman of this county, and was esteemed a critic in the Latin and Greek languages. Having obtained a fellowship in his college, he repaired to Launceston to take upon him the pastoral charge, in which he continued until he was driven from the church. On being silenced, he established a school, in which he raised up many able scholars. His learning and abilities as a preacher procured for him the friendship and esteem of many gentlemen, both in Cornwall and Devon. Among his friends, Mr. Secretary Morice conceived such an attachment for him, that he voluntarily gave him an yearly pension. He died a lay conformist about the year 1675.

Mr. William Treis was ejected from St. Mabyn. He was esteemed a profound scholar, and his compositions for the pulpit were thought to be excellent; but his manner of delivery operated to his disadvantage.

Mr. John Lydston, who was ejected from St. Mellion, had been a chaplain in the army. Immediately after the defeat of Essex at Lostwithiel, he was seized by a party of cavaliers, by whom he was stripped, and carried prisoner to Exeter, where he endured great hardships, which endangered his life. About the year 1653 he was presented with the vicarage of St. Mellion. When he was ejected, the minister who succeeded him, acted with more moderation towards him than might have been expected. He was permitted to rent the glebe lands, and to occupy the parsonage house for several years, while Mr. Granger, his rival, successor, and friend, boarded with him. From St. Mellion he removed to Saltash, where he preached to such small numbers as had the fortitude to assemble. In this place he was exposed to much persecution, particularly from Mr. Beal the minister, and two magistrates. By these rigid executioners of the law, he was once fined £40, because there happened to be one person more present than the Conventicle Act allowed. Sometimes he was obliged to keep his doors shut, to prevent his goods from being seized and sold; and at other times he was compelled to leave his family and secret himself, to escape a gaol, while his pursuers ransacked his house, and threatened and insulted his wife and children. Towards the latter part of his life he was much afflicted with bodily

sufferings, from which he was released in September 1671, after a short but severe illness. He was a man of extensive learning, and exemplary piety; and his reverence in the worship of God was peculiarly remarkable.

Mr. Samuel Tapper, who was ejected from St. Merran, was a man of strong intellectual powers, and of much erudition. These qualifications were heightened by the affability of his manners, and his exemplary piety. He was presented to the vicarage of St. Merran by Cromwell, by whom Mr. H. Barnbrigg, his predecessor, was removed. At first he hesitated to accept the living upon these terms; but at length he took possession, and retained it until the Restoration. Instead of treating his unfortunate predecessor with rigour, he allowed him half of the income, and also a house upon the glebe, for his residence. Whenever they met, their conversation was friendly, and this intercourse continued until a change of circumstances restored Mr. Barnbrigg, and deposed Mr. Tapper. After his being ejected, having no family, he resided at Erisey with a gentleman of that name for some time, from which place he removed to Exeter. In this city his great learning, his prudence, and amiable manners, procured him the esteem and intimate friendship of several persons, who afterwards became dignitaries in the church. He was repeatedly solicited by them to conform; and their solicitations were accompanied with flattering promises. With Bishop Ward he was so intimate, that he frequently dined at his palace, even when the tide of popular opinion ran with violence against the non-conformists. This prelate, with the utmost familiarity, occasionally laid his hand on Mr. Tapper's head, and with a smile on his countenance gave him his blessing; adding, "Where is the harm of a bishop laying on of hands?" Through the connivance of the bishop, Mr. Tapper was permitted to preach in a licensed chapel, until a clamour being raised against both, he was compelled to desist. About the year 1687, a meeting-house was erected at Limpston, near Exeter, of which he was chosen the minister; in which situation he continued, highly respected and beloved, till death removed him to a better world, in 1709. His ministry in this place was attended with much success; and although many attempts were made by wicked men to injure his private character, the event tended in all their efforts, to place his reputation in the most amiable light. As a man of learning, he was excelled by few. In the Greek language he was an able critic; and so intimately was he acquainted with the sacred writings, that he could repeat the Greek Testament by heart. With the Greek and Latin classics he was also intimately acquainted; but all his knowledge was made subservient to divinity. To religious persons in distress, poor ministers, and scholars in indigent circumstances, his charities were so extensive, that although his fortune was ample, and he had no family, his manner of living was so rigidly economical, that about nine-tenths of his income were devoted to benevolence.

NUMEROUS IMPRISONMENTS ENDURED BY MR. TREGOSS FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE.

Joseph Halsey, M. A. was a man of great ministerial abilities. He was brought into this county by Hugh Boscawen, Esq. in whose house he lived as chaplain, and officiated as rector in the parish church of St. Michael Penkevil. On being ejected in 1662, he removed to Filley, and from thence to Merther, where he regularly preached in his own house every Sunday evening, after preaching at Mr. Boscawen's on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings. Having some leisure, and being at a distance from any school, he received under his care a great number of pupils from the neighbouring gentry; who, though they disliked his non-conformity, thought themselves happy in having their children under his roof. Through the whole course of his life, which was protracted to eighty-five years, and which ended in 1711, his conduct was exact and regular; and the duties of his profession constituted his delight. On the most trying occasions he preserved a cheerfulness and serenity of temper; and in his departing moments his confidence in the mercy of God was strong and unshaken.

Mr. Thomas Tregoss, who was minister of Milor and Mabe, from which he was ejected, was born at St. Ives. He was the descendant of an ancient and honourable family. After passing through his academical studies, he returned to St. Ives, where the people invited him to settle among them. He remained in this situation about two years; and in the year 1659 he repaired to the vicarage of Milor and Mabe, in which he proved himself a faithful and zealous preacher. On being expelled the church, he preached twice every Sunday in his own family; where many others, who had experienced the comfort of his ministry, attended. This being communicated to the lord lieutenant, he committed him to the custody of the marshal, because he refused to take the oath appointed for the militia. He remained in prison three months, during which time he regularly preached to the prisoners; after which he was released by an order from the deputy lieutenant. In September 1663, he removed to a house at Kegillick, near Penryn, in which place he kept up his meetings on every Lord's Day, but laboured under much distress of mind. Finding the sorrows of his heart somewhat alleviated, and learning that on a particular Sunday there would be no minister at Mabe, he went thither and offered his service. The people, who had always retained a sincere affection for him, gladly accepted his offer, and he preached accordingly. The report of this high misdemeanor coming to the ears of Justice Robinson, he repaired to the house of Mr. Tregoss, and found him in the act of preaching; then taking the names of all present, he demanded of him security for his future good behaviour, or a surrender of himself to the constable upon his order. Mr. Tregoss absolutely refused to make any promise to decline preaching, and in the afternoon he preached again. The following Sabbath he again preached at Mabe; but as soon as he had finished, he was served with a summons

to appear on the following Tuesday before Justice Robinson. Mr. Tregoss there attempted to vindicate his conduct, but he was committed to Launceston Gaol, in which he was confined three months. Having been liberated four days, Justice Robinson was making preparations for his further confinement; and he had actually appointed to meet another justice on the market day, to issue a warrant for his apprehension, and for that of some others who had been guilty of similar offences. But in the interim the judgment of an avenging God overtook him, in the manner already described.

The melancholy death of Mr. Robinson damping the ardour of persecution, Mr. Tregoss again preached at Mabe Church, and at several other places. He was again apprehended in the following month, and committed to the same gaol. On being liberated, after about four months' confinement, he again preached at Mabe without any interruption; though while he was there, the constable was at his house to seize him. After many narrow escapes from the constables, he again preached at Mabe; from which place being seized, he was committed to Bodmin, where he was confined about six months, when he was released by a special order from the king.

Having established a meeting at Penryn, the number of his congregation was so increased in the beginning of the year 1669, that he removed thither, leaving a large barn, which he had previously occupied. During these transactions, a mittimus was issued from the quarter sessions to send him once more to Launceston. But when the constables came to seize him, one who was more violent than the rest, dropped suddenly down, apparently dead, with the warrant in his hand. He was however, after some time, recovered; but they all went away without seizing the culprit. Another effort was afterwards made with no better success, and Mr. Tregoss remained at large. About the time of the summer assizes, being invited to make a visit to Devonshire, he preached at Torrington in a private house, for which he was sent to Exeter Gaol, with several others; but they were all bailed soon afterwards. The bill preferred against him at Exeter, compelled him to attend the two following assizes; but he was finally discharged by royal proclamation. Returning once more to his native county, he hired a place for holding a meeting in the parish of Mabe. In this place he continued without interruption for several months, until two abandoned characters lodged an information against him; in consequence of which, fines were levied on his hearers to the amount of £220. Finding his hearers thus exposed to such heavy penalties, he resolved to confine himself to the number which the statute allowed, and to preach more frequently than he had done. This was more fatigue than his constitution could bear, for he sometimes preached five times a day. A visible decline in his health was the immediate consequence of this extraordinary exertion. Finding his dissolution approaching, he took an affectionate and solemn

farewell of his family and friends; and within about half an hour after he had desisted from speaking, his voice became silent in death. His life was printed in a separate volume from Clark's Lives. Many of his letters also were published; but his time was so much occupied with the discharge of his ministerial duties, and his suffering for righteousness' sake, that he had no leisure to prepare any thing for the press. Of his piety, zeal, and learning, very few have presumed to doubt. Both his preaching and his letters were tinctured with the prevailing spirit of the times, and occasionally marked with some reveries of enthusiasm. But his usefulness and his sufferings have caused his name to be transmitted to posterity with more respect than "*The Arch-Presbyter of this County*" can be supposed to imply. Admitting the truth of all those wild excesses with which his enemies have loaded his memory, there are few sober persons, who, on making a comparative estimate, would not think his conduct more worthy of imitation than that of his persecutor, Justice Robinson.

Mr. Otho White was ejected from Little Petherick at the time of this general commotion. Of his life very little is known. He is supposed to be the person mentioned by the initials O. W. who was reduced to the necessity of cutting tobacco for a livelihood.

Mr. Joseph Allen, who was ejected from Penryn, was considered to be a pious man. His circumstances were so low, that himself and family subsisted on charitable contributions. To Hugh Boscawen, Esq. they stood indebted for much pecuniary assistance. This gentleman was not ashamed to befriend them, when the tide of popular opinion directed him to pursue another line of conduct.

Mr. John Hickes, who was ejected from Saltash, was by birth an Irishman, and inherited all that warmth and energy which are characteristic of his countrymen. His zeal in many instances was not according to knowledge; so that he was too much inclined to repel an insult in the same spirit in which it was offered. In the year 1671 he published a pamphlet entitled "A sad Narrative of the Oppression of many honest people in Devon, &c." In this pamphlet he introduced the names of several informers, justices of the peace, and others, whom he thought guilty of violent and illegal proceedings. Although his name was not prefixed to it, he was soon discovered to be its author, and two messengers were sent down to apprehend and bring him to London. It happened that while they were on their journey, Mr. Hickes fell into their company, and they travelled together for some hours in total ignorance of each other. At length coming to an inn, they agreed to dine together. While at dinner, the messengers mentioned their errand, and loaded with opprobious language one Hickes, who they said was a bad man, and an enemy to government. Dinner being over, they repaired to the stable together; when Mr. Hickes, who was an athletic man, informed them that he was the very person whom they pursued, and

whom they had abused with so much liberality. Then taking his cane, he castigated them so severely, that he compelled both to ask pardon, and to permit him to depart without further interruption. Mr. Hickes took his horse, and rode immediately to London, and by means of a friend procured an introduction into the royal presence. The king, on hearing his name, began to upbraid him with having abused the magistrates and ministers of justice. Hickes replied "Oppression, may it please your majesty, makes a wise man mad. The justices beyond all law, have very much wronged your majesty's loyal subjects, the non-conformists in the west." This he supported by several specific instances. At the same time he spoke with such ingenuity and presence of mind, that his majesty listened with attention, and promised before they parted, that he would suffer no cause for complaint in future.

Encouraged by this favourable reception, Mr. Hickes, on returning to his place of abode, procured an address in behalf of the suffering clergy and others, signed by a considerable number of gentlemen, which he afterwards presented to the king; who, on receiving it with much apparent satisfaction, asked "If he had not been as good as his word?" In consequence of this interview, and this address, an indulgence was granted, with liberty for meeting-houses to be erected. In addition to this favour, Mr. Hickes procured a restoration of one third part of the fines that had been paid under the Conventicle Act. He also had offers of preferment, if he would conform; but no temptation could shake the purposes of his mind. Some time afterwards he repaired to Portsmouth, where he became the pastor of a large congregation, from which he was driven by new troubles.

Unhappily, though he was a man of much learning, and of sound understanding, his passions frequently hurried him beyond the bounds of moderation. Influenced by this indiscreet principle, he was induced in the year 1685, to join the Duke of Monmouth's army, which finally brought him to an ignominious death. Prior to his execution, he drew up a narrative of his whole conduct respecting this affair, in which he repelled several charges that had been alleged against him. At the time of his execution he delivered a speech, containing nearly the same declarations, with some additional circumstances. This narrative, and this speech, together with several pamphlets and discourses, constitute his literary works. In several of these, considerable abilities are displayed; but the same sanguine disposition and indiscreetness of expression, that were so conspicuous in his life, were infused into many of his pages.

Mr. Roger Flamank, elder brother to him who was ejected from Lanivet, was expelled from the church of Sithney nearly about the same time. This gentleman was considered a judicious and useful preacher. After his ejectment, he retired in peace with his wife and children, to practise in private that rigid economy which

the poverty of his circumstances rendered absolutely necessary. In this condition he always appeared contented. He continued to preach with good acceptance to the very last. When above eighty his intellectual powers remained unimpaired; so that he could manage a debate at that advanced age with singular acuteness, and could cite authorities with as much readiness as in his younger days. He died while he was the minister of a small congregation at Gunrounson, in St. Enoder, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. His character was that of a meek amiable man, who studied peace and pursued it.

John Fathers, M. A. was ejected from Stokeclimsland; but his personal history is also nearly unknown. In a preface to one of his books he observes, that "had not the unhappy plunder of those times snatched from him the fruit of twenty years' labour, he might have left something to posterity." But whether by this observation he intended something of importance as the production of his pen, or wealth to his descendants, it is hard to determine.

In the life of Nicholas Leverton, B. A. who was ejected from St. Tudy, there are some remarkable incidents, which will justify their insertion, although they have only a remote connexion with his ministerial character. He was educated at Oxford, and while at that seminary was so very profligate, that his friends, though in decent circumstances, were unable to bear the expence of his prodigality. He was therefore removed at an earlier period than was at first intended; and on his return, he established a small school at Padstow. Being of a restless disposition, he embarked for Barbadoes shortly after his ordination; in which place he was received with more respect than his conduct deserved. The profligacy of manners however, that prevailed among the inhabitants, so far exceeded his own, that he grew disgusted with their morals, and embarked as chaplain to a ship's crew that were designing to begin a plantation in the island of Tobago. On reaching the island, part of the crew went on shore to make observations; and discovering no Indians, erected a booth as the commencement of their settlement. The captain resolving to walk round the island, divided his company into two parties, directing them to take contrary ways; so that walking on the margin of the sea, they might meet on the opposite extremity of the island. The captain at the head of one party, took one direction, while the other, in which was Mr. Leverton, took the opposite. The latter, after proceeding some distance, and meeting with unexpected difficulties, returned to their booth; but the captain and his companions were never heard of more. The surviving party, on returning to their booth, were destined to encounter new calamities. They found that through carelessness their long-boat had been driven on a rock and wrecked. In addition to this, through an excessive fall of rain, their powder had been so damaged as to be rendered useless. And, to

complete their misfortune, very early the next morning they were attacked by a party of Indians, when they were unable to make any effectual resistance, who killed the greater number, and wounded the survivors. Mr. Leverton was severely wounded in the head; in this condition he betook himself to flight, and with his companions in adversity, found shelter in the woods; but having lost one of his shoes, and being unable to keep pace with his associates, he was left behind to provide for his own safety. On approaching a narrow bay, he stripped off his clothes, in order to swim to the opposite side, in hopes of obtaining a sight of the ship; but no vessel was to be discovered. In this melancholy condition, hungry, solitary, and naked, he laid himself down on the grass as night approached, expecting immediate death. His fatigue, and the coldness of the air, prevented him from sleeping, and the night was spent in sorrowful reflections on his past life, and in surveying the motives which had induced him to undertake this disastrous voyage. This survey of his motives was occasioned by the constant recurrence to his mind of the following Scripture passage:—"What doest thou here, Elijah?" After having endured the coldness of the night, the heat on the following day became so intolerable, that he fainted away; but he was revived by one of his comrades, who just then joined him, and they began their feeble march towards the shore in quest of the ship, in which journey they were joined by another. Being unable to make the discovery they desired, as night advanced they perceived a smoke, and on approaching it, they found it to be the remains of a fire which the Indians had lighted before they burned their booth. By this they continued all night, and to its genial warmth they attributed the preservation of their lives. On the following day they fell in with another of their companions; but he being severely wounded in the knee, was unable to bear them company; in consequence of which he was abandoned to his fate. At length, after many painful efforts they discovered the ship, towards which they hastened with the utmost joy. Mr. Leverton and another swam to the vessel; but the third being unable to swim, remained in the water with nothing but his head above the surface, for fear of the Indians, until he was delivered by his companions on board. Signal guns were now immediately fired, by which means six or eight more were recovered; but the adventure terminated with the loss of about one half of their company. Being compelled to abandon their enterprise, and through adverse winds unable to return to Barbadoes, they directed their course to one of the Bahamas, which they reached in safety, and experienced a hearty welcome from many of their countrymen, who had found an asylum there from the troubles that had agitated England. Mr. Leverton, on landing at New Providence, found a pious non-conformist minister, whose name was Sherwood. Hitherto Mr. Leverton had connected himself with

no party, neither was he acquainted with the principles of either. But finding many of the inhabitants desirous of establishing the ceremonies of the English church, and being solicited to become their minister, he resolved, previous to undertaking so important a charge, to know the grounds on which he acted. With this view he conversed with Mr. Sherwood with much freedom on the subject. He was proselyted by his arguments, and induced to become a non-conformist.

The governor of Barbadoes being about to leave the island, nominated as his successor a man, to whom the inhabitants were not attached. These therefore, pleading their charter, which permits them to choose their own governor, they appointed Captain Lane to that high station. But his rival by arming his partizans to secure his authority, seized Lane, Sherwood, and Leverton, and sent them prisoners to England, with an information directed to Archbishop Laud, that they were disaffected to the liturgy of the church. Arriving in England, they found the face of affairs considerably changed. Laud had lost his power, and was in custody of the black rod; so that instead of being punished, they were respectfully received by the patentees or proprietors of the island, and encouraged to return. Sherwood being rather timid, declined; but Lane and Leverton being plentifully furnished for their voyage, returned with new commissions. On reaching Barbadoes, they found that during their absence the Spaniards had made themselves masters of the island. An engagement between the parties immediately ensued, in which many of the Spaniards were killed, and the English made good their landing. But the commotions which prevailed, prevented their tranquil re-establishment. Mr. Leverton therefore continued to traverse these seas about two years, during which time he was exposed to various hardships, to famine, storms, and shipwreck. At length being wearied with his sufferings, he resolved to return to England. But on this voyage, being detained by calms and contrary winds, all on board were reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions, their daily allowance being but eight spoonfuls of pease, and half a pint of water each, for some time. Mr. Leverton was now become a serious man; his past afflictions having had the happy tendency to drive him to God. Every morning and evening he therefore called the ship's company together to join with him in solemn prayer to the Almighty for their deliverance. They were at length taken up by an English merchant ship, and landed at Bermuda. In this place he continued to preach with great acceptance about a year, when a fit of sickness rendered it necessary for him to return to England for the recovery of his health. On reaching the Downs, they landed at Sandwich, from which place Mr. Leverton intended to repair to London. As he was taking his horse from the stable to begin his journey, the hostler observed—"Sir, you are somewhat like our minister; I believe you have lived in hot countries

as well as he." On making further inquiry, he found that this minister was no other than his old friend Mr. Sherwood, with whom he had been intimate in Barbadoes. Their mutual joy at this unexpected meeting may be easily conceived. Arriving at London, he was received with much honour and respect by the lords proprietors of the island of Providence, and after some time was settled as a minister in Suffolk. After some years abode in Suffolk, Mr. Anthony Nicols, one of the eleven excluded members, who had formerly known him at the university, took him into Cornwall and settled him in St. Tudy, the parish in which Mr. Nicols' house stood. In this place he continued about nine or ten years, until he was ejected, and was singularly useful in awakening the careless from a state of false security, and in giving stability to the opinions of such as wavered in uncertainty. In addition to the duties of the Lord's Day, he established a lecture on Thursday, in which some of his neighbouring brethren assisted. This was well attended by the gentry and others, by whom he was held in high esteem.

Upon the Restoration, Mr. Leverton was not only ejected, but was exposed to additional trouble. About two years before his appointment, the former incumbent had been sequestered; but before the change again took place, he was dead. As the patronage belonged to Lord Mohun, he was solicited to let Mr. Leverton remain as his successor; but this application was made in vain. His lordship presented his own chaplain with the living, who on pretence of dilapidations, would have seized his goods, had he not been prevented by the kindness of the people who befriended him in his distress. To complete this severity, Lord Mohun prosecuted him for the main profits of the living, ever since he had held it in his possession; nor would he accept of any compromise within the compass of his ability. In consequence of these hardships he was obliged to withdraw; and after some time found an asylum in a foreign land. As Lord Willoughby was appointed governor of Surinam, a minister, with whom Mr. Leverton had been acquainted in Bermuda, sent him an offer of going thither as a minister, which offer he accepted. He had not been in this island more than a few weeks, before he was suddenly launched from time into eternity. Though profligate in early life, his piety was not doubted as he advanced in years. The calamities of his eventful life he considered as the instrument by which he was led to know himself and God. He was a man of warm passions; and these sometimes precipitated him into acts of indiscretion; but they were only momentary. His reason quickly resumed its wonted dominion, and all became clear and tranquil. His pen has added nothing to the general stock of literature, as he never published any thing, nor left any manuscripts for publication behind him.

Mr. Thomas Hancock, who was ejected from St. Winnow, continued to preach in that neighbourhood, just as opportunity offered; nor does he appear to have met with much formidable interruption. Upon the liberty granted by king James, he established a meeting in East Looe, which was regularly attended. He lived to an advanced age, and appears to have supported an unblemished character, in that cool and "sequestered vale of life" in which he "pursued the noiseless tenor of his way."

In addition to the preceding characters, there are several others, of whom little more is known than the names. Among these may be mentioned Mr. William Vincent, who was ejected from Botusfleming; Mr. Joseph Hull, from Buryan; Mr. William Upcot, from St. Clement's; Mr. Tobias Boucher, from Creed; Mr. Edward Sheffield, from St. Just; Mr. Nathaniel Tincomb, from Lansallos; Mr. Walter Quarum, from Mawnan; Mr. Sampson Bond, from Mawnan in Meneage; Mr. Richard Batten, from Probus; Mr. Thomas Hearne, from Tintagel; Mr. John Tincomb, from Truro; and Mr. Theophilus Tingcombe from Callington, though he was but a candidate, and only preached occasionally. He afterwards became minister of a dissenting congregation which was established in Callington.

Among those who were at first ejected, but who afterwards conformed, there are not many names to be found in Cornwall. Mr. Leonard Welsted, of Penzance; Mr. Thomas Nicols, of Liskeard; Mr. William White, of Ladock; Mr. Philip Harris, of St. Ewe; and Mr. John Stephens, of Roach, are the only persons whose names are connected with their respective parishes. To these may be added Mr. Nicholas Tyack, Mr. Thomas Warner, Mr. Robert Jago, sen. and Mr. Robert Jago, jun.; but of their places of residence Dr. Calamy has preserved no record. The last named gentleman had been for some time such a violent non-conformist, that he had been confined three months in gaol for defaming the liturgy. But no sooner was he released, and a benefice was offered to him, than he renounced his former principles, and readily confirmed in theory; but, unless he has been much traduced, without conforming to those excellent doctrines which the liturgy and homilies inculcate.

That the motives by which these ejected ministers were actuated, were in general pure, common justice forbids us to doubt; although in many instances that they had a zeal which carried them into wild excesses, even charity itself permits us to believe. It cannot be expected that all men should think alike on points which appear to be involved in some obscurity. Nothing is more remote from the spirit of Christianity, than that of dictatorial intolerance. Coercion in theology may make hypocrites or martyrs; but time has not yet produced an instance, in which the interests of religion

have been promoted by violence; nor has heaven itself been yet indebted to force for any one of its inhabitants. But in these ages of turbulence, revolution, intolerance, and suffering, it was not only to the professors of Protestantism, whether conformists or non-conformists, that the spirit of persecution was confined. Through custom and education, we have been led to trace this pernicious principle to a papal source; but we have not always made proper allowances for the disguises which it wears. The history of the Romish church is disfigured with deeds of darkness; but even that of Protestantism is not without its shades. Of this fact the following history will furnish a melancholy instance:—

Francis Tregain, son of Thomas Tregain, of Golden, in the parish of Probus, was a man of good fortune, remarkable for hospitality, of a religious disposition, and strongly attached to the faith of his ancestors, who were Roman Catholics. In the year 1577, the laws against recusants, which had been rigorously executed in various parts of England, were directed against him in this county, through the officiousness of some persons whom he offended, who laid hold of this opportunity to bring him into distress. In consequence of an information lodged against him, a warrant was issued to seize him, and to bring him to justice. Mr. Tregain was at this time no more than twenty-eight years of age. On the 8th of June, 1577, Mr. Greenfield, the sheriff of the county, in company with eight or nine justices of the peace, and a hundred armed men, entered his house, and forcibly took thence Mr. Tregain, his chaplain Cuthbert Mayne, a Romish priest, and several of his domestics. Having secured them, they instantly conducted them to Truro, where the bishop of Exeter at that time resided. As it appeared on examination, that Mr. Tregain was a recusant, he was obliged by the justices to give a bond of £2000 for his appearance at the next assizes, to answer the charges then to be exhibited against him. But some time before the assizes began, his persecutors not being prepared for trial, so contrived their matters, that an order came down from London, to have him brought up before the queen's privy council. He was accordingly carried to London, and confined until the council were disposed to call for him.

At his examination he stood charged with recusancy, with harbouring persons of suspected character, and with giving countenance to various superstitious practices. The charge of recusancy he readily admitted; but he assured the council that he did not absent himself from the Protestant church from any disaffection to the queen or government, but solely from a principle of conscience. Sir Francis Walsingham informed him, at the close of the examination, that he was not yet to be discharged; and that other accusations were expected against him. He was however, treated with civility, particularly by the Earl of Essex, who, aware of his dangerous situation, advised him to appear once at church; assuring him if he would, that all further

proceedings against him should be stopped, that Cuthbert Mayne and his domestics should be released, and that the queen would distinguish him with her favour. But Tregain adhered firmly to his original principles. In the mean while Mr. Tregain's family was in the utmost distraction; and Cuthbert Mayne was found guilty of being a priest, condemned to die, and executed at Launceston, November 29th, 1577.

The council having had time to deliberate, soon found some new allegations against Mr. Tregain; namely, that he had been present at mass; had received Agnus Deis and a jubilee from Rome; and had abetted and entertained those who had asserted the pope's supremacy. Upon these heavy charges he was committed a close prisoner to the Marshalsea, in which he was confined ten months, without being permitted to hold any correspondence, even with his own family; which exposed him to many injurious impositions, of which the following is an instance:—Mr. Tregain, prior to his confinement, had had dealings with one Mr. Brandore, a goldsmith in London, to whom he was indebted £70. This man learning Mr. Tregain's situation, and fearing in case all his goods should be confiscated, that he should lose his money, hastened into Cornwall and seized his goods to the amount of £500; to prevent which from being sold, Mrs. Tregain was obliged to pay down £200, to discharge the debt and costs. Mr. Tregain knew nothing of these transactions until the whole was finished.

Being confined in the Marshalsea, it was fully expected that Mr. Tregain's trial would be brought on in London, and for this his counsel made preparations; but his enemies pretending that the witnesses against him were at a great distance, and fearing that his friends in London, many of whom were men of power and influence, might frustrate their designs, they procured means to have him again sent down into Cornwall, expecting that they should here accomplish his ruin. Having succeeded thus far, they committed him to the care of one Walkow, his professed enemy, who was equally destitute of good manners and humanity. When the trial came on at Launceston assizes, the queen's counsel endeavoured to charge him with the several indictments upon which Cuthbert Mayne had been tried and executed. In order to this, they produced as an evidence one Twig, a strolling fiddler, whom Mr. Tregain had entertained in his family during the Christmas holidays, for the diversion of his servants, tenants, and neighbours. This Twig deposed, that he had sometimes seen Mr. Tregain go into Mr. Mayne's chamber, and remain there an hour together; which he conjectured to be while Mr. Mayne was saying mass; that during Christmas 1575 he (the fiddler) was Mr. Mayne's bedfellow, who owned himself to be a priest, and confessed that he had brought over a great number of Agnus Deis from Rome. To this evidence, which was the principal, Mr. Tregain was permitted to propose several questions; by the answers to which it appeared, that Twig did not know in

what part of the house Mr. Mayne's bedchamber was. But the queen's counsel observed, that such circumstances were not material. He then proposed to the court whether it was probable, that Mr. Mayne, who was known to have been a prudent and cautious man, could be so indiscreet as to own himself a priest to a stranger and a vagabond? And whether it was likely that a strolling fiddler would be made a bedfellow for one of Mr. Mayne's character? He also alleged, that Twig had perjured himself as to the circumstance both of time and place. He had sworn to Christmas 1575; whereas Mr. Mayne was then at Douay, and did not come over to England until Easter. He had said, that Mr. Mayne informed him that he had brought over a great number of Agnus Deis from Rome; when in fact he never was at Rome in his whole life. These facts he asserted, he could prove by forty witnesses if they were thought necessary; but the court finding they were not present, observed that it was frivolous even to mention them, and the trial could not be put off. The affair was therefore left to the jury, to decide upon the facts and evidence that had been produced. These after a short consultation declared Mr. Tregain guilty of every charge, and he was reserved for judgment accordingly.

Having now secured Mr. Tregain by a verdict, his persecutors suspended his judgment for the present, that they might consult with others in power, respecting his penalty and punishment; especially as some circumstances in his case were without any recent precedent. Mr. Tregain in the meanwhile dispatched a servant to London to pay off some debts that he had contracted while there, and also with letters to his friends, giving them an account of his trial, and soliciting their interest in mitigation of punishment at the next assizes. But his servant was stopped at Hunnington; and on being examined, had his bills, letters, and money taken from him, and himself was committed to prison. By these means Mr. Tregain's friends remained ignorant of his situation, and were rendered incapable of assisting him.

At the ensuing assizes at Launceston, Judge Manning, a violent enemy to Mr. Tregain. was upon the circuit; and he seems to have come into it with a sentence already prepared. On having the culprit brought before him, he declared that Mr. Tregain had incurred a *premunire*, which included a forfeiture of goods, chattels, &c. together with imprisonment for life, or during her majesty's pleasure. Before this sentence was pronounced, Mr. Tregain's counsel urged several reasons why judgment should not pass, but they could not be heard. They contended, that the proofs against him were presumptive; that no fact had been made out except recusancy, which the prisoner admitted, and for which he submitted to the penalty. That no evidence had been adduced to prove that Mr. Tregain was privy to Mr. Mayne bringing over Agnus Deis, &c. much less that he had countenanced or abetted him in denying the queen's supremacy. But all this could not hinder the

sentence, which was no sooner pronounced, than Mr. Tregain was hurried from the bar to a loathsome dungeon, in which he had neither bed nor stool, nor even a sufficiency of light to shew him the extent of his unhappy mansion. In this horrible situation he remained all night; but the next day he was removed to his old habitation in Launceston Castle, where his abode was at least less intolerable.

The day after receiving his sentence, some officers arrived at his house from London, with express orders to break open his doors in case of resistance, and take immediate possession of his goods. These executioners of justice did not reach Golden until about midnight; when they ordered Mrs. Tregain and her three children to quit the house immediately. Driven thus from her habitation, and reduced from affluence to poverty, she found it necessary to repair in person to London, to solicit from her legal robbers, a small pittance of her departed wealth, for the support of herself and children. Being at this time pregnant, rendered her situation the more distressing; and nothing but the most urgent necessity could have induced her to undertake so perilous a journey. At length, being resolved, she stowed her children in a pair of panniers, and, accompanied by one man and one maid-servant, began her journey. On her road she was taken in labour, and delivered of a female child. Recovering from her confinement, through the help of compassionate strangers, she renewed her journey; and after a long and tedious march, they all reached London in safety; in which city she followed the court a whole year with but little success, subsisting chiefly on the charitable contributions of their rich relations.

In the meanwhile all Mr. Tregain's goods and chattels were sold at the queen's pleasure; and after some time all his real estate; by which means, even his mother, whose jointure arose from its security, was deprived of her maintenance, and compelled to share in the misfortunes of her son, without being charged with participating in his guilt. As to Mr. Tregain, he was immured in Launceston Gaol, where he languished for a considerable time, in want of the necessaries of life. He had indeed a scanty stipend allowed him; but this passing through many hands, several of whom were not his friends, a considerable part was intercepted on its road, and he was nearly starved. But it was not in this despicable plunder of an unfortunate prisoner, that his sufferings were doomed to end. Many who had been enriched by his disasters, began to dread a change which might take place in his favour, and restore the unhappy victim to his former possessions. To prevent this, it was believed that some had basely hired an execrable villain to assassinate him in prison; but providentially this plot was defeated.

Prior to the detection of this wicked contrivance, Mr. Tregain, abandoning all hopes of regaining his liberty, had resigned himself to his destiny with a fortitude

that deserved a better fate. A great portion of his time was spent in prayer, and in meditating upon the blessings promised to those who bear the cross, and thus follow the advice and example of the Redeemer. To his religious duties he added such studies as the inconvenience of his situation would allow, in reflecting on the instability of all worldly affairs; and, having some taste for poetry, in composing verses on the miseries of human life. But it was not always that he was furnished with pens and ink. When these failed, he was compelled to find other resources to preserve his thoughts. But these inconveniences, instead of diminishing his confidence in Divine Providence, taught him that nothing was stable under heaven, and therefore increased his reliance on the fountain of justice and mercy.

But being more tenacious of his character than his life, he was continually haunted, since an attempt had been made to assassinate him, with an apprehension, that his enemies would one day accomplish their purposes, and circulate a report that he had committed suicide in prison, and thus tarnish his name, and also the cause for which he suffered. Influenced by these fears, he contrived means to effect his escape; but before he could execute his purposes, he was detected, and was instantly thrown into a dungeon loaded with irons of thirty pounds weight. His companions in this abode of misery were twenty malefactors, in whom human nature appeared in its lowest state of moral degradation. On the floor of this dungeon the excrements of all were promiscuously scattered; so that the stench became intolerable, as it was not cleansed but once during the thirty days that he remained in it. In addition to this, he was incessantly insulted with the criminals, one of whom reproached him with imaginary offences against the queen; and all united to interrupt and ridicule his devotion. The gaoler after he had remained in this cell of misery about a month, took compassion on his misfortunes, and removed him to his former apartment above stairs, where he was better accommodated.

In the meanwhile his lady had been using every exertion in his behalf; and so far succeeded in her unwearied applications to government, that she obtained an order for his removal from Launceston Gaol to the King's Bench prison, and an officer was sent down to conduct him thither. This officer however, resolving to turn his journey to some account, made out against Mr. Tregain a charge of £50 as his bill of expences. And in consequence of his hesitating to pay it, the officer threatened to re-conduct him back to Launceston Gaol. Conceiving that this threat was used to extort from him the payment of his exorbitant demand, Mr. Tregain petitioned the council for justice; but from the reply which he received, he found that the officer was at liberty to enforce his demand, and that he must either submit to pay it, or be returned to the dungeons of Cornwall. To raise this

sum in their empoverished condition, Mrs. Tregain was obliged to sell all the wearing apparel that she could spare, together with some other small articles of value; which still falling short, the remaining part was supplied by the generous contributions of their friends. This sum being paid, Mr. Tregain was secured in London, and after some time was fixed in the Fleet Prison, in which, in the year 1593, he had been confined thirteen years. His lady, who had never abandoned him in the midst of his misfortunes, bade adieu to the world, and took up her abode with him. By this lady he had eighteen children, eleven of whom were born while they were in confinement, and the greater part were alive in the year 1593, which is the date of the manuscript whence the above particulars are taken.

Of the remaining part of his sufferings, and the manner of his release, no particular narrative is recorded. Norden says, "for his and his wife's recusancy, and for some former offence committed, the land of Tregain was suspended, and himself imprisoned twenty years; but he is now at liberty, and liveth with sufficient glory near London, having no use of his land, which was in the hands of the late Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlain to her late majesty. This gentleman's relief is thought to grow by the bounty of such as affect his part." In addition to what Norden has observed, it is said in the diary of the English college at Douay, that in July 1606, one Mr. Tregain, an ancient gentleman, after above thirty years imprisonment, arrived thither on his way to Spain.

This persecuted gentleman, besides possessing invincible courage under affliction, was blessed with a vigorous constitution; in consequence of which his health was remarkably good during the first seven years of his confinement. But as he advanced in life, he began to feel the effects of those hardships he had undergone, and to become subject to many indispositions. His health was however, perfectly re-established in the year 1593; but very little is known concerning him after his liberation. His estates consisted of several manors and other lands; the whole of which was valued at nearly £500 per annum. He was descended from an ancient British family that was of high repute in Cornwall long before the Conquest; and at the time when his calamities began, few families in England could boast a more honourable alliance. But neither family, nor alliance, nor wealth, nor personal virtues, could preserve him from the malignant spirit of the times. The ages of bigotry are gone, we hope for ever. Afflictions and calamities in some form or other, are inseparably connected with the present condition of man; a comparative estimate between the present and the past, will leave a decided balance in favour of the present generation; and modern complainants and sufferers may learn wisdom from the contemplation.

SECTION III.

Modern Literary Characters of Cornwall.

Among the literary characters of Cornwall, that have appeared in the eighteenth century, Mr. Jonathan Toup deserves an early and a distinguished notice. This gentleman was born in St. Ives about the year 1713. After passing through his academical studies, his talents and learning excited the attention, and what is still more extraordinary, procured the friendship of Bishop Warburton; through whose interest he was made a prebendary of Exeter, and afterwards rector of St. Martins near Looe, in which church he continued thirty-four years. His literary fame is founded on his learned annotations on Suidas and Theocritus, which have rendered his name conspicuous throughout Europe. He also edited an edition of Longinus. In an epitaph engraven on a tablet to his memory in St. Martin's church, Mr. Toup's character is thus compendiously expressed:—"His abilities and critical sagacity are known to the learned throughout Europe; his virtues, from the retired privacy of his life, were known to but few. He died in the year 1785, aged 72." It ought not to be omitted, that, although this monument to his memory was erected at the expence of his niece, whose name was Blake, the delegates of the Oxford press afterwards defrayed the amount, as a small testimony of their regard for his memory, and of their gratitude for his many valuable contributions.

Cotemporary with Mr. Toup, but perhaps more generally known, was the Rev. Charles Peters, M. A., who for many years was rector of St. Mabyn. This gentleman, who was a native of Cornwall, received his first education at a grammar school in Tregony, under Mr. Daddo. From this place he removed to Exeter College, where he made such a proficiency in the Hebrew language as to become a formidable antagonist to Bishop Warburton. While residing in Devonshire, (for he was rector of Bratton Clovelly in that county, before he returned into Cornwall) he became acquainted with the Arscot family; in which his learning, integrity, and piety, rendered him at once truly respectable and amiable. From the society of these friends, he removed to St. Mabyn, where he had an opportunity of pursuing his studies without any interruption. Favoured through a long life with bodily health, and mental tranquillity, these blessings were employed in acts of benevolence, which alleviated the sufferings of the distressed, and shed a lustre over his character. Until within a few days previous to his dissolution, he had been almost a stranger to bodily disease; and his exit, which took place in February 1775, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, was without a groan, or an agonizing struggle. This uninterrupted

enjoyment of health was attributed to that happy relief which his bodily exercises afforded to his sedentary pursuits.

The principal work of Mr. Peters is his "Critical Dissertation on the book of Job." This justly celebrated volume was written to controvert several positions advanced by Bishop Warburton in his "Divine Legation of Moses." It was first published in the year 1751. About six years afterwards, another edition appeared, containing additions and corrections; and in 1760 were added "An Appendix to the Critical Dissertation on the book of Job, giving a farther account of the book of Ecclesiastes; and a reply to some notes that appeared in a new edition of the Divine Legation. The reply thus published, was only a small part of what the author had written; but it contained a promise that the remaining parts should appear, unless the obnoxious notes were suppressed. A new edition of the Divine Legation however, afterwards appeared, in which the questionable notes were retained; but before this took place the author was no more; and his successors, into whose hands his manuscripts fell, had not fortitude enough to risk an edition. The Critical Dissertation, Appendix, and Reply, are generally considered as a masterly refutation of the bishop's positions, and as containing a train of triumphant argumentation to prove that the doctrine of a future state was an article of popular belief among the Jews. The Dissertation, &c. is written in a strain of pleasing affability, and the reasonings are advanced with a degree of logical precision and perspicuity, that may serve as a contrast to the unfounded assertions and sophistry of the supercilious prelate. After his death, a volume of his sermons was published by his nephew, Mr. Jonathan Peters, vicar of St. Clement's, Truro. In an advertisement prefixed to this volume, his nephew promised to favour the world with an additional selection from his manuscripts carefully revised and corrected by his own hand, in case the present volume should be so fortunate as to meet the public approbation. No other volume has yet appeared. Of the nineteen sermons contained in this volume, the most remarkable is that on *Psalm* cix. 16, which may be rather considered as an exposition of the psalm itself, than the elucidation of a single text. The author had employed many years in writing annotations on the Psalms; but death prevented him from bringing his work to completion; and this production of his pen has since been thrown aside. The language of his sermons is plain and perspicuous, and his arguments are such as may be supposed to be within the reach of a plain country congregation. Among his private papers, in which he has given directions for the distribution of his charities, many pious reflections and valuable observations were found, which furnish a favourable indication of the state of his mind. He was a friend to the poor, a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless; and was

one of those few who lived to behold the happy effects of his piety, humility, and moderation.

The Rev. Thomas Vivian, who could never procure any preferment above the vicarage of Cornwood, in Devonshire, was born in the parish of Kenwyn in 1721. He was first educated at Truro grammar-school, from whence he was removed to Exeter College, Oxford. In the year 1792 he published a treatise on cosmology, or an inquiry into the cause of gravitation or attraction; the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the preservation and operation of all nature, deduced from the universal principle of efflux and reflux. This work contains much ingenious reasoning, and displays a vigorous intellect; but though opposed to the theories of Toulmin and Jackson, it has not obtained any great share of celebrity. The same author also published "The Revelation of St. John explained;" and an exposition of the church catechism; together with some dialogues. This latter has passed through upwards of twenty editions.

The ancestors of Mr. William Hals, though originally of Devonshire, had settled in this county nearly a century before this gentleman began to make collections for his Parochial History of Cornwall, which was never more than partially published. In the year 1600, Sir Nicholas Hals purchased Fentongollan, in the parish of St. Michael Penkevil, in which seat the family took up their residence. Mr. William Hals began to make his collections for his history about the year 1685; which he continued to improve and augment for nearly half a century. He brought it down to the year 1736, which was within three years of his death. His manuscript, when this event happened, was nearly completed. His place of residence, while compiling the greater part of this work, was at Tresawsen in Merther; from which place he removed to St. Wenn, where he died. It was not until the year 1750 that this work began to make its public appearance. It was undertaken by Andrew Brice, a printer, who then resided in Truro, and was the first work of any magnitude that was ever printed in Cornwall. The patronage which this work at first received, promised to the printer an ample support; and an account of seventy-two parishes was published in folio. These parishes extended through ten numbers, and the account appeared at first to be particularly interesting. But after some time the purchasers fell off, and the work was discontinued; nor has it ever since been resumed. The reason generally assigned for this neglect is, that Mr. Hals introduced too many unpleasant tales, which reflected on the families of some of the purchasers. Brice himself seems to have been aware of these consequences, and in order to prevent them as much as possible, he omitted many anecdotes which Hals had introduced. With the descent of property, and the genealogy of families, Mr. Hals was extensively acquainted; but many inaccuracies are to be found in his work. The copies that were published are

still to be discovered in many families, scattered throughout the county; but most of them are in a very mutilated state. A sound copy is now exceedingly scarce. Of his manuscripts that remained unprinted when the work was suspended, no account can at present be given. They seem to have found their way into different hands, and some of them no doubt have been destroyed.

Mr. Thomas Tonkin, of St. Agnes, was descended from an ancient family that can be traced back to the days of Richard II. This gentleman was a cotemporary with Hals, and devoted his time to nearly the same pursuit. He began his work in the year 1702, at which time he was permitted to inspect those collections which Mr. Hals had made. But as he advanced in his work, their intercourse was suspended, and Mr. Tonkin disclaimed all obligation to his cotemporary and rival. These authors seem to have written independently of each other. In the year 1737, Mr. Tonkin's papers were in such a state of forwardness as to enable him to send forth proposals for publication. In 1739 the general history was finished in manuscript; but a train of adverse circumstances continued to disappoint his hopes of sending the fruits of his labours into the world. In the parochial department he had made no considerable progress. His materials had been collected, but he declared himself dissatisfied with the arrangements that had been made; desiring his successors in case of his death, to mould them into a form similar to that which he had given to a few parishes which he named, as having received his last corrections. After this advice, which was contained in a letter dated 1739, no progress of any consequence was ever made in his arrangements. Overtaken with pecuniary embarrassments, he grew inattentive to study; and sinking under a load of accumulated difficulties, died in the year 1742, without printing any part. From these collections many valuable notes have been appended to the pages of Carew's Survey, in a new edition of this work lately published by Lord de Dunstanville.

The Rev. William Borlase, the celebrated historian of Cornwall, was a native of Pendeen, in the parish of St. Just. He was born in 1696, and after receiving his initiatory education, repaired to Exeter College, Oxford. In 1720 he entered into holy orders, and in 1722 obtained the rectory of Ludgvan; to which was annexed the living of St. Just, about ten years afterwards. In the year 1750 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1754 he published in folio his "Observations on the Antiquities of Cornwall;" of which a second edition appeared in the year 1769, considerably enlarged and improved, together with a new map. During the intermediate years he published in quarto an interesting account of the Scilly Islands. This work was little more than a continuation of some papers which he had previously communicated to the Royal Society, and which were published in the Philosophical Transactions. He also presented to the university of Oxford a variety of fossils and

relics of antiquity; for which, and in consideration of his learning and industry, they conferred on him the honourable title of doctor of laws.

In the year 1758, Dr. Borlase published in folio, his Natural History of Cornwall, embellished with twenty-eight plates, the greater part of which were generously presented to him by the gentlemen of Cornwall, who have thus perpetuated portraits of their family mansions, and conferred a favour on posterity. His works contain much valuable matter, and display vast learning, and a vigorous intellect. And although the improvements, which since his days have been made in the science of chemistry, have rendered many of his classifications obsolete, and proved several of his observations erroneous, his volumes may be considered as an honour to the county. On the druidical remains, there can be no doubt that he indulged in many fanciful conjectures, which are now generally considered as visionary. This has covered his descriptions, in some departments, with an air of fable; and, being followed by others who have taken shelter under his authority, it is not easy to destroy the deep impression which his writings have made. From his letters and papers which were examined after his death, which took place in the year 1772, he appeared to have been in habits of correspondence with some of the most eminent literary characters of his age; among these were found several letters written to him by Alexander Pope. It appears also that he had projected a parochial history of this county, in which he intended to combine the more valuable observations made by Hals and Tonkin. These, with some collections of his own, were arranged in a folio volume; but his death prevented their publication. This manuscript is now in the possession of Sir John St. Aubyn, bart. He had also prepared for the press, and had actually begun to print, an account of the Creation and of the Deluge; but this treatise was discontinued. Since his death, his letters, manuscripts, additional notes on his printed works, together with his plates, were deposited by his nephew with a Mr. Laurence, of Launceston, to whom the nephew owed a considerable sum of money. Some time afterwards he abruptly left the house of Mr. Laurence, in which he resided, and suddenly disappeared; and although many inquiries have been made concerning him, no intelligence has hitherto been obtained, except a vague and indistinct account of his having been seen some years since in North America; so that his fate still remains involved in mystery.

To the Rev. Edward Collins, vicar of Breage and St. Erth, Dr. Borlase was indebted for many valuable passages in his "Antiquities of Cornwall." This learned and exemplary man, though possessing much antiquarian and general knowledge, confined his studies chiefly to the duties of his profession. Many years of his life were employed in forming a commentary on different parts of the Bible; but his papers at the approach of death were thought by himself to be so imperfect,

that he consigned them all to the flames. The only articles that he ever published, were two sermons preached at Bodmin before the judges and juries at the assizes.

In 1754, Mr. William Sutton, M. A. rector of St. Michael Carhayes, published sixteen sermons, with a preface, unfolding the whole duty of man. At present they are little known, and the history of their author is nearly forgotten.

A very different fate has awaited the name and writings of Mr. Samuel Walker, not only in the parishes of Lanlivery and Truro, but in a far more extensive circle. This pious minister was born at Exeter in the year 1714. At eight years of age he was put to a grammar-school in Exeter, where he continued until he was eighteen, when he was removed to Exeter College, Oxford. In 1737 he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and was appointed to the curacy of Doddescombeleigh, near Exeter. In this situation he continued until the following year, when by the solicitations of Lord Rolle, he undertook the charge of his brother's education, and with him made the tour of France. After an absence of two years, on his return to England, he accepted the curacy of Lanlivery in Cornwall, under the Rev. Nicholas Kendall, who was one of the canons of Exeter, and the archdeacon of Totness. On the death of Mr. Kendall in 1740, he was presented to the vicarage by Walter Kendall, Esq. to hold the same during the minority of his nephew, for whom this living was designed. This took place in the year 1746, when he resigned the vicarage of Lanlivery, and entered upon the curacy of Truro. Here he found the standard of morals to be very low, and vital godliness comparatively unknown. Influenced by a love for the souls of his flock, and animated with the love of God in his heart, he entered at once into the spirit of his duty, and began in the sincerity of his soul to call sinners to repentance. His serious deportment, his exemplary conversation, and his affectionate addresses, soon awakened the attention of the people, who could not but admire that uniform piety which they had yet to learn to imitate. His church was crouded with attentive hearers; and the effects of his ministry soon became visible to all, in that evident change which had taken place in the lives of a considerable part of his congregation. He had not been in Truro more than a year, when he was presented with the vicarage of Talland, which was at the disposal of his old patron. But although he accepted of it, yet from those happy effects which attended his preaching in Truro, he was so fully satisfied of being in the path of duty, that no pecuniary consideration could induce him to remove. He therefore resolved to spend his days among the flock to which he was endeared, and whose eternal welfare rested near his heart; unless Divine Providence should open before him a more extensive field of usefulness, or he should be called to another station by superior authority. Under the influence of these convictions, he gave up the living of Talland, not being satisfied in his conscience that it was just to hold a living on which he did not intend

to reside. This principle of conduct followed him through life; as he could never afterwards be induced to accept of another living, although he was offered four. He continued his ministerial labours in Truro until April 1760; when being seized with a fever, he was confined several weeks to his room. When the fever subsided, he was afflicted with a violent cough; to be freed from which, he was ordered by the faculty to visit Bristol. He went thither in August, and continued there two months, without finding that benefit which he expected. In the autumn he went into Warwickshire, from which place he was again directed back to Bristol. This not having the desired effect, he was recommended to remove to some dry healthful spot near London, where he might enjoy the benefit of a salubrious air, and have the advice of the best physicians. Being invited by the Earl of Dartmouth to try the air of Blackheath, he went thither a few days before Christmas; but it was not in the power either of medicine or air to stop the progress of his disease. From the Earl of Dartmouth's he removed to a lodging-house near by, in which he languished a few weeks, and then passed from his probation to his reward in the full triumph of faith, July 19th, 1761, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

It ought not to be forgotten, that although his income was small, being nothing more than what the curacy of Truro afforded, Divine Providence raised him up many friends, to provide for his increasing necessities during his illness; thus making him an ample remuneration for the conscientious sacrifice he had made in resigning the vicarage of Talland. In the house of his noble friends, the Earl of Dartmouth and his lady, he found every accommodation that his critical situation could require.

With the uniform tenor of his preaching, all his writings perfectly corresponded; his constant aim being to promote the Redeemer's interests among mankind. His works all tend to increase the knowledge of religion in the world. The effects of his preaching are still visible in Truro, where his name and memory continue to be cherished with veneration. His sermons are also still read by the pious of all denominations, with unabating respect; and little doubt can remain, that they will continue to be valued, so long as the essential doctrines of Christianity shall remain to triumph over every adulteration.

Although Sir Francis Buller is primarily indebted for his fame to his extensive learning, to his profound acquaintance with the laws, and to his superior talents as a special pleader, and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, he claims a name of no mean honour among the literary characters of Cornwall. This gentleman was born in the parish of Morval, about the year 1750; and, after passing through the usual branches of education, discovered at an early period a strong attachment to the study of the law. This predilection was happily cultivated under the fostering

patronage of Judge Ashhurst first, and afterwards under that of Lord Mansfield. While Mr. Buller acted as a special pleader, Lord Erskine was numbered among his pupils. In the year 1772 he was called to the bar; shortly after which he published his "Introduction to the Law of Nisi Prius;" in which he displayed all that learning, that discriminating judgment, and those splendid talents, for which his cotemporaries were pre-disposed to give him the fullest credit. And although nearly half a century has elapsed since its first appearance, and other works of no common celebrity have succeeded it, the reputation of Buller's Nisi Prius is still conspicuous at the bar. In 1777 he was made second judge of Chester; and, in the ensuing Easter term, at the express recommendation of Lord Mansfield, on the death of Sir Richard Aston, he was advanced to the bench, which office he filled sixteen years. He died in London, June 4th, 1800.

Dr. William Pryce, who for many years was well known and highly respected as a surgeon and apothecary in Redruth, published in the year 1778, a work called "Mineralogia Cornubiensis;" and in 1790 "An Essay to preserve the ancient Cornish Language." Soon after his first work appeared, he procured a diploma, by which he acquired the title of M. D. At first these works gained a considerable degree of reputation; but after some time the defects which were discovered in his mineralogical illustrations, among those who had the management of the mines, lessened its celebrity at home, without diminishing that fame which it had justly acquired in distant parts. In his preface to this work Dr. Pryce points out the necessity of that investigation which he undertakes, with much force of argument; and furnishes a clear analysis of the various subjects he proposes to examine. In this work he gives the history of mining; and offers many scientific observations on the origin, structure, nature, and phenomena of metallic substances. He then descends to the various methods that were in use for discovering, dressing, assaying, and smelting the ores. His work fully answers the title which it bears; it is "A Treatise on Minerals, Mines, and Mining; containing the theory and natural history of strata, fissures, and lodes, with the methods of discovering and working of tin, copper, and lead mines, and of cleansing and metallizing their products; shewing each particular process for manufacturing the ores." To a person not intimately acquainted with the art of mining, this work is of considerable value; and if it is not so to others, it is only because every miner is so well acquainted with his own profession, that the work conveys but little additional information; in consequence of which he reads with disappointment, and is unwilling to allow the author the praise which is due to his meritorious researches. In its various details, this work is generally admitted to have its deficiencies and errors; but these have been magnified in a high degree, by men, who, on a trial of their skill, would find

it a less arduous task to demolish a palace than to erect a hovel. The efforts of Dr. Pryce to preserve the Cornish language, justly entitle him to the gratitude of every lover of literary antiquity. Some subsequent antiquaries have dissented from many of his opinions; and several of his etymologies and explanations of terms have been questioned. But whatever defects it may contain, it is deservedly held in high estimation, and is more or less considered as a book of reference by every modern writer who attempts to revive the departed spirit of our now silent language. By his industry and success his name is now associated with the dialect that he attempted to preserve; nor is it probable that it will be forgotten, until the ancient Cornish language shall cease to be remembered.

In the year 1797, Philip Rashleigh, Esq. of Menabilly, near Fowey, published a small work entitled "Specimens of British Minerals." This valuable little work contains a vast number of well executed engravings of the most curious mineral specimens that Cornwall could produce; most of which were lodged in his own extensive and justly celebrated cabinet. These engravings were accompanied with a specific description of each specimen. These delineations are chiefly interesting to the scientific mineralogist, by whom they are deservedly held in high estimation.

In the year 1806, the Rev. Benjamin Forster, rector of Boconnoc, published a small tract on the windows and other singularities connected with the church of St. Neot's. This little work is not without its merits; but its application being local, and even these localities not exciting general interest, it is but little known.

From the papers of the Rev. Thomas Wills, B. A. who was a considerable time minister of St. Agnes, an octavo volume has been compiled and published, which is still read with much interest and attachment, by those who were edified by his ministry. Of his benevolence and Christian virtues, both his admirers and reprovers have taken particular notice. From St. Agnes, in which he was both popular and useful, he retired from the church, under the influence of a full persuasion, that he should be more serviceable to the souls of his fellow creatures in a more enlarged field of action, than while he was confined within the pale of the church. This by his enemies has been attributed to enthusiasm; but by his friends, a far more favourable motive has been assigned. Both within and without the church, his labours were blessed in an uncommon degree. In the decline of life he returned from the neighbourhood of Bristol into Cornwall, and resided at the house of his friend F. Paynter, Esq. where he died, leaving behind him a name which idle reproaches have not yet been able to tarnish.

The Rev. John Whitaker, who was for thirty years rector of Ruan Lanyhorne, and who died at the parsonage house in this parish, in 1808, in the 73d year of his age, has been well known to the literary world, as an antiquarian, a historian, and a

divine, by his various and valuable publications. This learned and benevolent gentleman was originally of Manchester; but having obtained the rectory of Ruan Lanyhorne, he came into Cornwall about the year 1778, where he continued to the time of his death. Before his coming to Cornwall, he had immortalized his name by "The History of Manchester;" which, as he has observed respecting the title, "is only the centre of a large circle that generally extends itself over the island." This work has undergone several impressions, and it still continues to be read as one of the standard works of Great Britain.

But if the History of Manchester had never existed, the fame of Mr. Whitaker would have been in no danger, either of extinction or eclipse, from his subsequent writings. Among these are his Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots; Hannibal's Passage of the Alps; Genuine History of the Britons asserted, against Macpherson; Review of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; A Course of Sermons on Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell; The Origin of Arianism; The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall historically surveyed; and several other works. His style is strong, nervous, and singularly impressive. In many places his language is highly figurative; it is always classical; and frequently sublime. Confident in his own resources, his sentences are delivered without hesitation, in a tone of decision that derives its authority from that profundity of learning which is every where scattered over his pages, and in which the author was deeply intrenched. To fear he was a perfect stranger; and that fire which he invariably kindled and kept alive in his paragraphs, was so judiciously placed, as to illuminate the facts which he intended to develope, and to scorch those who presumed to approach so near as to question their authenticity. It was to the kindness of this learned gentleman, that the writer of this article acknowledges himself to be primarily indebted for his literary existence; of which notice will be taken in the parochial department of this work.

The Rev. Thomas Haweis, whose writings and preaching have given publicity to his character, is a descendant of a respectable family of that name, late of Killiow, near Truro. This gentleman received the rudiments of his learning at the public grammar-school in this town, in which he was soon distinguished for his classical attainments, and his superiority in learning over all his juvenile companions. On leaving school, he was put apprentice to a surgeon, in which situation he continued to be distinguished for his profound acquaintance with the Greek tongue, and for his great command of language, and oratorial abilities. It is probable that these talents induced his friends to persuade him to turn his attention to theology, in which a fairer field presented itself for their display than could be found among drugs, diseases, and surgical operations. From Truro he was removed to Oxford, and from thence he was advanced to the rectory of All Saints Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire. He

was also chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. In addition to his ministerial labours, he has published a volume of sermons on evangelical principles and practice; a Scriptural Refutation of the arguments in favour of Polygamy; several occasional discourses; the Evangelical Expositor, in two volumes folio; Hints respecting the Poor; The Communicant's Spiritual Companion; Essays on Christianity; An Exposition on the Church Catechism; and a History of the Church of Christ. This last work is in three volumes octavo, and evinces much labour and application. As a public preacher, his discourses are raised not only above that dull monotony which renders even the most sublime truths disgusting, but they are enlivened by that noble spirit, by which the Gospel is distinguished from the morals of Seneca and Epictetus. And although his peculiar views of the Christian doctrine may not be such as to command universal assent, even those who differ from him cannot but admire his zeal and unwearied exertions, to promote the interests of his Master's cause.

Sir Christopher Hawkins, bart. published in 1811, a small volume, containing "Observations on the Tin Trade of the ancients in Cornwall, and on the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus." In this little treatise, the noble baronet endeavours to identify the Ictis of Diodorus with St. Michael's Mount. In the short compass of eighty pages, he has taken a rapid glance at some of the most prominent features of history, which the ancient tin trade affords; and it cannot be denied that his arguments contain much ingenuity. But as his conclusions must finally rest on the falsehood of that opinion which supposes a considerable tract of land to have been buried in the ocean in the vicinity of the Mount, it is only where this opinion and its evidences are disbelieved, that his arguments and reasonings can produce conviction.

To the pen of Sir Harry Trelawney, bart. the world is indebted for a few valuable tracts; but their utility has been greatly impeded by that versatility, which, amidst an uninterrupted blaze of Christian virtues, has distinguished his theological opinions. Revered, beloved, and respected in every department, this gentleman is at present connected with the established church, to the members of which he holds forth a daily example of moral excellence, which a much greater number can be found to admire than to imitate. Among his friends this instability of character has been a subject of deep regret; and among his foes an occasion of triumph. But it must be admitted by all, that no change in his sentiments has hitherto taken place, that can furnish either friend or foe with an occasion to suspect the sincerity of his motives.

By the Rev. Cornelius Cardew, D. D. several sermons have been published; but these being of an occasional nature, though interesting when they first appeared,

particularly to those whose interest they were calculated to excite, have ceased to command that attention which more permanent subjects rarely fail to ensure.

From the Rev. William Gregor, of Creed, the public have received several literary productions; some exclusively in his character as a divine, and some in relation to the political situation of the clergy. It is much to be regretted, that this learned and amiable writer, has not published any thing of a permanent nature, that might transmit his perspicuous manner of expression to posterity. For such is the common tendency of all human affairs, that, on subjects which are purely local, no strength of expression, or elegance of diction, can preserve literary compositions from oblivion. Mr. Gregor has just written enough to occasion a regret that he has not written more.

"A serious and earnest Exhortation to attend public worship," affectionately addressed by a minister to his parishioners, was written by the Rev. Mr. Stabback, of Helston, in the year 1804. Since that time, the same author has published in two octavo volumes, the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, with notes, from various authors. This work has met with a favourable reception, and an extensive sale among a certain class of readers; but it has not yet found its way into the hands of the common bulk of mankind.

Since the death of the late Mr. Robert Redding, a dissenting minister of Truro, many of his sermons have been collected, and published in an octavo volume, by his son, at the particular request of a numerous congregation, to whom they had been previously delivered. They chiefly treat of the works and character of Christ. Mr. Redding was of a truly catholic spirit; and possessed a mind too dignified to be enslaved by the dogmas of illiberality. The same happy disposition still breathes through his printed discourses, which distinguished them when they were first delivered; and they coincide in their tendency and spirit, with public opinion, to confer on their author a character which all must allow;—namely, that of a genuine Christian of an exalted rank, whose mind was enlightened by science, and whose heart was influenced by the truths which he inculcated.

To pass by the name of Sir Humphrey Davy in silence, would be equally as unpardonable, as it would be presumptuous in us to attempt even an estimation of his merits as the first chemist of the age. This gentleman, from whom Cornwall has derived, and still derives unfading honours, was born in Penzance about the year 1779, in which town he received the early part of his education. From this place he removed to Truro, where he remained several years under the tuition of Dr. Cardew. On returning to Penzance, he was put apprentice to a medical gentleman in that town. It was here that he began his career of chemical studies, by analyzing the preparations of others, and by varying his experiments from the

common practice, to see what effects would result from his operations. The fame of Mr. Davy soon reached Dr. Beddoes; who, sensible of his merit, was anxious to avail himself of so promising a genius; especially, as at that time they were about to form a medical establishment in Bristol, in which the assistance of such a scientific youth would be peculiarly valuable. Having negociated for his removal, Mr. Davy repaired to Bristol; and accompanied this important epoch of his life, by a treatise on the most abstruse of all chemical subjects, "The Nature, Properties, and Relation of Light and Heat." The credit which he acquired by this work, soon procured him an opportunity of delivering a course of lectures to the wealthy and polite inhabitants of Clifton. This course of lectures, together with his former essay, and some others that immediately followed, introduced Mr. Davy to the notice of some gentlemen, who opened for him the way into the Royal Institution, in which he soon took one of the principal stations, and to which he has since most amply repaid that debt of honour, which it first conferred. Standing on this national foundation, Mr. Davy has since proceeded onward in that career of scientific glory, which has rendered his name immortal, not merely in his native country, but among all the sons of science of which Europe can boast. In addition to the honours which he has received in England, the National Institute at Paris have conferred upon him their prize of 3000 livres, as an acknowledgment of the superior excellence of his paper on chemical affinities. With his recent discoveries, and recent publications, the scientific world is too well acquainted to render any further observations necessary.

Among the writers of Cornwall of the present day, the most conspicuous and voluminous, is the Rev. Richard Polwhele, vicar of Manaccan, but now a resident at Kenwyn, near Truro. This gentleman is descended from a very ancient and truly respectable family; Drogo de Polwheile being chamberlain to the Empress Maud. The paternal mansion of this family is situated about two miles from Truro; but the lands connected with it are at present considerably diminished from what they originally were. This diminution was occasioned in a great degree by the strong attachment of the family to the interests of the Stuarts; in whose cause they suffered, without finding on the restoration of Charles II. a suitable recompence for the privations they endured.

Mr. Richard Polwhele was born in the year 1760, and received the first rudiments of his education at Truro, under Dr. Cardew. While in this seminary he wrote several articles, which plainly discovered a degree of genius that boys of his age but rarely possess; and which indicated a birth of intellect that time has fully developed. Two of these pieces were selected for publication; namely, The Fate of Llewellyn, or the Druid's Sacrifice; a legendary tale; and The Genius of Carnbre, a poem. These pieces are now incorporated with his works, and possess sufficient merit to

justify the expectations of his friends. In 1778 he repaired to Oxford; in this seminary he regularly kept his terms until he was admitted a student of civil law. He however quitted the university without taking any degree, having put on a civilian's gown to avoid going out grand compounder; by which means he saved £500. But the examinations through which he passed, and without which a civilian's gown could not be obtained, were all that was necessary to procure a bachelor's degree. On leaving Oxford, Mr. Polwhele proceeded to Bath, in which city he was introduced to an acquaintance with the celebrated Mrs. Macauly, and with the ingenious Edmund Rack, of whom Mr. Polwhele afterwards wrote an excellent memoir. He had also written an ode on Mrs. Macauly's birth-day, just as he had entered the university; his introduction to her was therefore nothing more than he had a right to expect, when an opportunity offered. It is natural for congenial spirits to mingle with each other.

In the year 1782 Mr. Polwhele entered into holy orders, and for some time served the church of Lamorran, near Truro; from which place he removed to the curacy of Kenton in Devonshire, where he resided about ten years. From this situation he sent several publications into the world, both in prose and verse; which met with so favourable a reception, as to encourage him to project a plan for his History of Devonshire. As a work of this kind was much wanted, it having been several times attempted, but as invariably defeated, Mr. Polwhele, confident of meeting with support, began to make his collections and arrangements for publication. On sending his prospectus into the world, the public expectations were greatly raised, and his list of subscribers soon became considerable. But before the work could make its appearance, the loss of his amiable lady, together with other causes, so far impeded his progress, that many of his subscribers growing weary with delay, withdrew their names, leaving him to grapple with the pecuniary difficulties in which his preparations had involved him. The consequence of these calamities he observes, was, that he could not afford to print more than an abridgment of his history, the materials for which he had collected with such unremitting industry and application, as irrecoverably to injure his health and spirits. From that period to the present, although several portions of his original history have appeared under different names, the public remain destitute of that gratification which was so fondly expected; and the interval has been occasionally marked with mutual recriminations and complaints between the author and his subscribers.

Notwithstanding these unsuccessful historical efforts, Mr. Polwhele, on returning into Cornwall, proceeded to make collections for the history of his native county. This work he published in seven thin quarto volumes. In favour of this voluminous publication much may be said. It contains an almost inexhaustible fund of valuable

materials; but from the arrangements which have been made, these are by no means displayed to all that advantage of which they are susceptible. The excursions also which the author frequently takes into Devonshire, and the cumbersome notes which frequently ride on each other, are rather calculated to perplex than to amuse the reader. In addition to this, Mr. Polwhele has sometimes descended to trifling events, which, from their insignificance, were beneath the notice of his pen, and the dignity of his publication. But independently of these circumstances, his work evinces considerable industry, and displays an ample field of resources, over which he has ranged with sufficient care to enrich himself with its spoils. The language is perspicuous, easy, and expressive; frequently elegant, and sometimes sublime. In its various departments it possesses a high degree of merit; but many of its beauties are eclipsed by the shadows with which it is encumbered.

"Nevertheless, the rank in which Mr. Polwhele stands the most distinguished, is undoubtedly that of a poet. Some account has already been given of his juvenile performances; and his subsequent labours sufficiently prove, that he possesses all that liveliness of imagination, fertility of invention, variety of literature, and command of language, which are necessary to cultivate the Muses with success. It must at the same time be allowed, that all his productions are not equally vigorous or elegant. His translations of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, ought certainly to be distinguished as among the best versions of the ancient poets in our language. Mr. Polwhele, in respect to these, has shewn as great poetic feeling and judgment as sound learning. The notes of which the second volume is composed, are appropriate, curious, and entertaining. Among his original performances, 'The English Orator' is the principal in point of magnitude; but like every extensive work, it possesses different degrees of merit. But by far the most fascinating of Mr. P.'s productions hitherto published, is that entitled 'The Influence of Local Attachment;' concerning which, as a descriptive and philosophical poem, there was but one opinion among the different periodical critics who pronounced judgment upon it."* It is much to be regretted, that any of Mr. Polwhele's poetical productions, on many parts of which this praise is justly bestowed, should contain expressions

"Which angels must not hear, nor virgins tell."

It was not till the year 1795, that Mr. Polwhele revisited his native county, to take it as his permanent abode. To this he was directed by the late Bishop Buller, of Exeter, who, without any solicitation, presented him to the vicarage of Manaccan.

* See Public Characters of 1802, 1803, p. 272.

In this place, filling the joint offices of an established minister, and a civil magistrate, he continued many years, until he removed to the parish of Kenwyn, where he now resides.

Viewed as a divine, Mr. Polwhele has invariably manifested an attachment to the interests of the established church, without always displaying those principles of liberality, which might have been expected from a gentleman of his erudition, acquaintance with human nature, strong intellectual powers, variety of acquirements, and high literary character. Including his translations and his original productions, both in prose and verse, his works consist of thirty-two articles, in poetry, history, and theology. Several of these works are voluminous; and some among them have passed through various editions. Attached to literature from his early youth, the cultivation of letters has followed him thus far through life; and an accumulation of incidents has given maturity to habit. The Fate of Llewellyn, and the Genius of Carnbre, appeared while he was a schoolboy at Truro. While at Oxford four other pieces were published; and eight more of his principal works entered the world while he served the curacy of Kenton. During his residence at Manaccan, thirteen other pieces, small and large, came from the press; and the remaining articles have been published since his abode at Kenwyn.

To the names already introduced, as forming the literary characters of Cornwall, many more might be added, in the various departments of opinion and composition. But in pursuing these through all their diversified minuteness, we should be led to notice trifles, which can neither give any new feature to the Cornish character, nor present a title to public regard. In the region of politics some pamphlets have made their appearance within these last few years. These have been written with much acuteness and ability, both in favour of a reform in parliament, and in opposition to all innovation. In this general ferment, and conflict of opinion, the names of Francis Gregor, Esq. of Trewarthenick, and of John Coleman Rashleigh, Esq. of Prideaux, will be long remembered by those who felt an interest in the issue of their debate. To these must be added the names of Mr. Thomas Flindell, a native of this county, and Mr. Edward Budd, long a resident in it. These gentlemen, the editors of two rival Cornish papers, continued to support the political principles they had respectively embraced. On the issue of this contest it is not the province of the historian to decide; nor is it in his power, even to state facts in favour of either party, that will not appear invidious to the other. His observations must therefore terminate on general ground, on which alone he can preserve that neutrality which is essential to his character. As editors of papers these gentlemen will appear again hereafter, in the parochial department of this work.

CHAP. XIX.

Health, Longevity, Customs, Manners, and General Character of the Cornish.

SECTION I.

Health, Longevity, Muscular Energy, Heroism, and scientific Dispositions.

THERE are few counties in England, perhaps not one, in which the air is more salubrious, or more conducive to health, than that of Cornwall. Its happy effects being experienced by the population, become visible in the instances of longevity that this county rarely fails to afford. Mr. Carew, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, observes, that eighty and ninety years of age was ordinary in every place; and among other instances, he mentions one Polzew, who died not long before he wrote, aged 130. A kinsman of his reached 112; one Beauchamp lived to 106; and one Prake of Talland died at the age of 110. In the register of the parish of Landewednack, the Rev. Thomas Cole, the minister, who was buried in the year 1683, is said to have been 120. Many other instances of a similar nature are recorded, both by Carew and Borlase. But what is still more extraordinary, is an instance given by the latter from the MSS. of Scawen; that in the year 1676, a woman in the parish of Gwithian, died at the advanced age of 164 years. It is to be regretted that no entry of this woman's age and burial has been made in the parish register. But she is well known by tradition among the inhabitants. Her name was Cheston Marchant; and she is said by her memorialists to have had a new set of teeth and new hair in her old age; from which, travellers who visited her from curiosity, frequently carried off a lock. She knew no language but the Cornish, and for many years prior to her death was confined to her bed.

In more modern days, many instances of longevity have occurred. Mr. Polwhele has recorded the name of Henry Brenton, a weaver, who died in the reign of George I. aged 103; Mrs. Trevanion, who died at Bodmin, aged 107; Mr. Richardson, of Tregony, who died in 1770, aged 102; Mrs. Littleton, of Lanlivery, aged 101; a lady of Egloshayle, aged 112; Maurice Bingham, a fisherman of St. Just, who died in 1780, aged 116; Elizabeth Kempe, of Wendron, who died in 1791, aged 104; Catherine Freeman, who died in 1793, aged 118; John Roberts, of St. Keverne, aged 107; Priscilla Rouse, aged 101, and Edward Roberts, aged

102, both of the parish of Manaccan, together with several others, whose ages respectively exceeded a century. But instances of this kind may be multiplied to an indefinite length, without proving the general longevity of the inhabitants of Cornwall. This principle has been fully ascertained in the calculations that have been lately made by the Rev. Mr. Trist of Veryan. From the census taken in 1810, it appears that the population of that parish amounted to 1220 persons. Mr. Trist, who had preserved the registers of his parish during a period of thirty years, found, on a retrospective estimate, that of the total population, including infants, the proportion of persons buried, within thirty years, whose age exceeded eighty, was one out of eight; and of those who exceeded ninety, the proportion was one out of fifty-three and half. This gentleman has subjoined in a note, that "it appears, from an opinion of Jonas Hanway, Esq. which he has quoted, the general average of those who attain the age of eighty, was one out of thirty-two; while from the bills of mortality, in London, this average was one out of forty. Mr. Trist furthermore supposes, that the calculations which he has made from known facts, will furnish a fair estimate for the other parishes throughout Cornwall, lying on the southern coast. "The proportion of deaths," he observes, "to the sum total of the living, is less than has been recorded in any political computation whatever, being as one to ninety."

To circumstances so favourable to human life, there can be no doubt, that the salubrity of the air, and the mildness of the climate, have in no small degree contributed. But with all these advantages, life may be wasted in prodigality and excess, unless care and circumspection accompany our progress through existence. These causes, which unitedly conspire to prolong our probationary state, are thus summed up by Dr. Fothergill:—"A temperate climate, moderate exercise, pure country air, and strict temperance, together with a prudent regulation of the passions, will prove the most efficacious means of protracting life to its utmost limits."

Nor can it be said that the lives of the Cornish are spent in listlessness and inactivity. Few on the contrary are more active, more enterprising, or more persevering. To the muscular energies and personal appearance of the Cornish, Norden has paid the following compliment:—"The Cornish men are very strong, active, and for the most part personable men, of good constitution of body, and very valorous; which made Michal Cornubiensis their countryman, set them forth in this ostensive manner among other his laudatory verses. They live in this country very long, 80, 90, and some 100 and more years." Fuller in his Worthies of England, bears testimony to the same facts, and to others of a similar nature. He says, "The western Saxon kingdom was famed for the stoutness of active men,

which some impute to the natural cause of their being hatched under the warm wings of a south-west wind. The Cornish are masters of the art of wrestling; so that if the Olympic games were now in fashion, they would come away with victory. Their hug is a cunning close with their fellow combatants, the fruits whereof are his fair fall, or foil at least."

Were we to recur to fable, we shall find the writings of antiquity that have any reference to the Cornish, teeming with monstrous tales, and recording prodigies of valour, too monstrous to admit any belief. But Prince Arthur is said to have entertained so high an opinion of Cornish prowess, as always to place these chosen bands in the front of his army, and to have invariably found in their known character, a sure presage of his own victory. Alluding to these effects of their ferocious courage, independence, combination, and perseverance, the causes of which he indistinctly saw, Hauvillan, a poet who flourished near 500 years ago, thus describes the giants of Britain, and particularly those of Cornwall:—

——— "Of Titan's monstrous race,
Only some few disturb'd that happy place.
Raw hides they wore for clothes, their drink was blood,
Rocks were their dining-rooms, their prey their food.
Their cup some hollow trunk, their bed a grove,
Murder their sport, and rapes their only love.
Their courage frenzy, strength their sole command,
Their arms what fury offer'd to their hand.
And when at last in brutish fight they died,
Some spacious thicket a vast grave supplied.
By such vile monsters was the land oppress'd,
But most the farthest regions of the west,
Of them thou Cornwall too wast plagued above the rest."

Of heroic characters, and of their daring exploits, in more modern days, Carew has preserved a long memorial. And the succeeding generations, instead of disgracing their ancestors, have increased the demand which heroic deeds have on the plaudits of public fame. To the Arundells and Grenvilles we have been already introduced; and many other mighty names have accidentally passed before us in the course of our historical details. This list of Cornish heroes may now be extended to a length that is comparatively indefinite, by the many distinguished characters who have signalized themselves in naval and military exploits, during the last twenty years. Of many among them, and of their acts of daring intrepidity, both by sea and land, it would be easy to give in this place an honourable account. But were this to be done, as the names of many others must be omitted, the writer

not being minutely acquainted with their deeds of personal valour, only through the medium of public report, the omission would wear the aspect of disrespect, and the selection would give offence. It is only therefore in general terms that the deeds of all can now be mentioned, and that this tribute of acknowledgment can be paid to Cornish valour.

Of men who excel in science, and in a knowledge of the useful and liberal arts, Cornwall, during several centuries, has had its share. "For mechanical sciences," says Carew, "the old Veale of Bodmin might well expostulate with my silence, if I should not spare him room in this survey while he so well deserves it. This man hath been so beholden to Mercury's predominant strength in his nativity, that, without a teacher he is become very skilful in well nigh all manner of handy-crafts: a carpenter, a joiner, a millwright, a free-mason, a clock-maker, a carver, a metal founder, an architect; yea, a surgeon, physician, and an alchymist." From the rapid improvements which have been made in scientific knowledge, during the last century, Cornwall can suffer nothing from a comparison with the advancements of other counties. Of statesmen, divines, philosophers, and heroes, Cornwall has produced its proportion; and, independently of those profound researches which have been made by individuals, and of those gems of genius which occasionally sparkle before the spectator, it is a fact, that the general diffusion of moral and scientific light among the mass of population, appears at this moment with as bright a lustre in Cornwall, as any county in Great Britain under similar circumstances can boast.

SECTION II.

Prevailing Propensities of the Cornish.

Among the prevailing propensities of the Cornish, there are some striking features in their character, which seem to arise from their natural courage, and from that proud spirit of independence, which no revolution, either in politics or morals, has hitherto been able wholly to subdue. Naturally fearless and intrepid, their spirit of independence not only pervades their general actions, but it enters into their various views, and incorporates itself with their conflicting opinions. This produces a promptitude of decision, which frequently degenerates into obstinacy, that among the lower orders sometimes terminates in quarrels, and among others who can bear the charges, in tedious and expensive litigations. To cherish this independence of opinion, the spirit of adventure which is interwoven with the mining and fisheries, is calculated to furnish a powerful cause. Individual sustenance is frequently risked on the uncertain issue; so that the right of expression is a necessary consequence of

circumstance and situation. "Litigiousness," says Dr. Borlase, "is therefore partly the fault of the inhabitants, and in part the result of their polity, and that multifarious trade to which their mining and fishery unavoidably expose them."

Another feature in the Cornish character that is equally conspicuous with the former, and that may be traced with equal precision to the same source, is that warmth and ardour with which they undertake an enterprise, and persevere in its prosecution. Accustomed to associate in bodies, they mutually encourage each other to perseverance, even on occasions when all rational hopes of success have taken their leave. Hence, "ONE AND ALL," accompanied with three huzzas, will as infallibly reanimate their drooping spirits, in the midst of a doubtful exploit, as the sound of the bagpipe will infuse new courage into the soul of a Highlander on the edge of battle, and enable him to face with fortitude and smiles, the horrid front of war.

Borne onward by these tides of animating impulse, arising from distinct causes, the Cornish have occasionally been led into wild and visionary excesses, while in other instances they have been conducted to discoveries of the most important nature. It is on this principle, that some of the most valuable mines in Cornwall have been indebted for their existence, to the enterprising genius of the inhabitants; leading them to adventures which cool and dispassionate calculation would condemn; and under circumstances, where, in the eye of reason, even success could hardly justify the experiment. Actuated by this powerful spring of action, we are informed by Leland in his Collectanea, that "In the year 1322, a great number of Cornish, men, women, and children, being smitten with a strange enthusiasm, and convinced that they should conquer the Holy Land, left their native country, and wandered like vagabonds in foreign parts." In this miserable crusade of enthusiastic folly, some died of hardships, others were executed for transgressions, and others were imprisoned. Some few indeed escaped, and returned to their place of nativity, to relate the disasters of their companions.

In the several rebellions by which Cornwall has been disgraced, and of which notice has been already taken, the same spirit has been displayed, and the same feature of character has been rendered conspicuous. In latter years its vigorous pulsations have been felt in local insurrections, from which many pernicious consequences have resulted. And if the range of its operations and its violence is now suppressed, and in many places subdued, these happy effects may be attributed to the mild and ameliorating influence of more pure principles, which the benevolent spirit of Christianity has diffused throughout the population of Cornwall in modern days.

Intrepid in themselves, and strangers to designing imposition, the Cornish are sometimes too ready to assent to marvellous tales, without examining the evidence on which these wonders rest. Hence in many instances they have been betrayed into

MANNER OF INVOKING BROWNEY, A SPIRIT SUPPOSED TO PRESIDE OVER THE BEES.

superstitious practices, and have become the dupes of their own credulity. Of the influence of fairies and genii on the minds and easy faith of our ancestors, we have already given some account, in the observations we have made on these imaginary beings. Some notice has also been taken of the spirits which in ancient times were thought to inhabit stupendous rocks, romantic precipices, and particular rivers; but these having long since taken their departure, have bequeathed their influence to wells, springs, and fountains, which can only with much difficulty preserve their celebrity.

In some places the assistance of Browney is still invoked, when the bees begin to swarm; and, in conjunction with the tinkling of a pestle and mortar, it is believed they will be induced to pitch in the vicinity of the parent hive. In some parts of Ireland and Scotland, the character of Browney is well known. He is supposed to be a kind of benevolent demon, than whom a spirit less impure fell not from heaven. He is presumed to befriend the human race, to assist them in their labours, to promote their interests, never to do any one the least harm, and to preside over the bees. His form when visible, bears some resemblance to that of a bear; his hair is long and shaggy, his legs are short, and his aspect presents a melancholy gloom. Sometimes he has been reported to speak; but his language is always that of pathetic sorrow. This Browney is still invoked in Cornwall on the swarming of the bees, by the constant repetition of his name; and the reiteration continues, until "they gently circling on a bough descend." But it is probable, that those who invoke Browney, know in general very little of the import of their charm. They generally suppose Browney to be the common name of bees, because the term coincides with their colour; and, on a kind of instinctive presumption, that English bees have some knowledge of the English language, they are supposed to pitch in compliance with the request of the person who thus addresses them by name.

"Old Rome consulted birds;" and among our ancestors the chattering and number of magpies were regarded as ominous. To hear the sound on the right ear was deemed a lucky presage; but to hear it first on the left was just the reverse. To spit towards the bird when the sound of its voice first reached the unlucky ear, was thought sufficient to dispel its baleful influence; and in some parts of Cornwall this custom is retained, even to the present day. The number of magpies, and the effects that were expected to result from their association, have been expressed in this homely distich:—

"One is sorrow, two are mirth;
Three are a wedding, and four are death."

ANCIENT CUSTOM OF SALUTING THE APPLE-TREES AT CHRISTMAS, STILL CONTINUED.

The sound of the cuckoo, if first heard on the right ear, denotes good luck; but to hear its voice first on the left, is an omen of undefinable disasters. To spit on the first piece of money that is received in the morning will ensure a successful day in trade; and to hold up a silver coin against the new moon on its first appearance, can hardly fail to secure lunar virtue for a month. To bite from the ground the first fern that appears in the spring, is an infallible preventive of the tooth-ache during the year; and the first ripe blackberry that is seen, will put away warts. To pay money on the first day of January, is very unlucky; as it ensures a continuance of disbursements throughout the year; and to remove bees on any day besides Good Friday, will ensure their death; while to work oxen on that day is an act which few would dare to perform, lest they should die suddenly in the yoke. To whistle under ground is an offence which few miners will suffer to pass over in silence; but to whistle while the farmer is winnowing his corn, will as inevitably bring the wind, as on board of a ship or boat, it is certain to secure a favourable breeze. The custom of saluting the apple-trees at Christmas, with a view to another year, Mr. Polwhele observes, is still preserved both in Cornwall and Devonshire. In some places the parishioners walk in procession, visiting the principal orchards in the parish. In each orchard, one tree is selected as the representative of the rest; this is saluted with a certain form of words, which have in them the air of an incantation. They then either sprinkle the tree with cider, or dash a bowl of cider against it, to ensure its bearing plentifully the ensuing year. In other places the farmer and his servants only assemble on the occasion; and, after immersing cakes in cider, hang them on the apple-trees. They then sprinkle the trees with cider; and, after uttering a formal incantation, they dance round it, and retire to the farm-house to drink cider, to conclude these solemn rites.

But it is not always, that either the tales of tradition, or the deeds of superstition, are confined so much within the bounds of moderation as those which have been mentioned. The story of Tregeagle, which is still preserved to frighten children, includes a compound that partakes at once of the marvellous, the superstitious, and the gigantic. Who this Tregeagle was, has not much more connexion with the monstrous tale that is connected with his apparition, than the time has in which he first appeared on the theatre of public exhibition. Concerning his personal history there are many stories in circulation, all of which we may reasonably presume, have an equal claim to credit. Of these tales, one is, that Tregeagle was a gentleman's steward, to whom a debtor had paid a large sum of money, which Tregeagle neglected to enter on his books. After his death the new steward demanded the sum, of which payment was refused. A lawsuit was the immediate consequence; but when the case was brought into court, the supposed debtor contrived to raise

the spirit of Tregeagle, and bring him into court. Being questioned concerning the affair in debate, he admitted the payment, and the plaintiff was nonsuited. On retiring from the bar, this singular witness was left behind in court; the defendant being requested by some gentlemen of the long robe to take him away; but he sternly replied, that as he had been at the pains of bringing the evidence, those who complained might take the trouble to remove him.

To consign the spirit of Tregeagle to repose, was now become an arduous task. Perpetual rest was deemed impossible; but some work of extreme difficulty was thought necessary, to furnish his spirit with employment. Dosmery Pool was at this time considered as unfathomable; his task therefore was, to lade it dry with a limpet shell, having a hole in its bottom. However, on the rising of an easterly wind, the devil was thought to pursue him three times round the pool, from which place he was always obliged to escape to Roach Rock; when, on putting his head into one of the chapel windows, he was safe.

Having accomplished this arduous work, or obtained a release from it, Tregeagle was next ordered on the northern coast, to make a truss of sand, and to bind it with ropes of the same materials of his own making. This he in part accomplished; but on attempting to bind his truss, his ropes always broke; and in stormy weather his shrieks were heard mingling with the beating of tempests, and the roaring of the seas. From the northern shore he has been transported to the southern, where he became metamorphosed into a gigantic spirit, and doomed to remove the sand from a certain cove to another, from which the sea was always sure to return it. In one of these expeditions he either wilfully or accidentally dropped a sackful at the mouth of the Loe Pool, which was then a harbour; in consequence of which the bar was immediately formed. In this place also his voice is said to have been heard, in the howlings of the storm, and in the various echoes which resound from the distant hills. That such tales should ever be invented and propagated, is very strange; but it is an indisputable fact, that this monstrous story was once very generally credited by the common mass of people in Cornwall; and although of late years his howlings have been but seldom heard, his fame is still cherished in many country places; and the history of Tregeagle is recited among the departed wonders of former years.

This monstrous tale is exceeded by another, that records a duel between two brother saints, St. Just and St. Keverne. St. Just it appears, went in a friendly manner to pay a visit to St. Keverne, in whose house he was entertained with the greatest hospitality for several days. It seems however, that soon after his departure, St. Keverne having missed a piece of plate, began to suspect the honesty of his guest; and to bring this matter to an issue, he pursued him, resolving to make him restore the stolen article, or to give proof of his honesty. Anticipating a combat, on

crossing Crowsaz Downs, he took up three stones, each weighing full 300 pounds, and put them into his pocket; and being thus armed, pursued his brother saint, whom he overtook in the parish of Germoe, and charged immediately with the robbery. St. Just denied the charge, and a contest immediately ensued; but St. Keverne being armed with his three stones, soon obtained a complete victory; and having recovered his plate, returned. His stones however, being now of no further use, and being rather cumbersome, he sunk triangularly into the ground, in a little nook on the right hand side of the road between Breage and Marazion, where they continue to the present day, as monuments of what ancient saints could accomplish. Many times they are said to have been removed for buildings; but to what place soever they have been carried, they have always found their way back again during the night. It is somewhat remarkable, that these are actually of the same grit with the iron stone of Crowsaz Downs, and that none besides of this kind are to be found in Breage or Germoe.

In the parish of St. Austell there are some vestiges of an ancient tale, that, from being equally romantic, though less definite, evidently belongs to the same family. A giant who lived no one knows where or when, travelling one night over St. Austell Downs, was overtaken with a tremendous storm, that blew off his hat. He immediately pursued it; but having a large staff in his hand, which rather impeded his progress, he pitched it in the ground, until the hat was secured; but after wandering about for some time in darkness, without being able to find his hat, he gave over the pursuit, and returned to secure his staff; but this also he was unable to discover, and they were both irrecoverably lost. When daylight appeared, although the giant was gone, the hat and staff were both found by the people, about a mile asunder; the former lying on the ground, and the latter in a perpendicular position. This imaginary hat the writer of this article has frequently seen. It lay on a common called Whitehouse Downs, and bore some resemblance to a millstone, very thick, but not of vast diameter. It consisted of granite, was in an inclined position, with its flat or concave surface upward, in which was the excavation for the head. This excavation, which had been formed with great care, passed about half way through the centre of the stone, and appeared suitable for a head about the size of a nine-inch globe. This singular stone continued in this place till the autumn of 1798, when some regiments of soldiers being encamped round it, fancied as it was a wet season, that this giant's hat was the cause of the rain. In order therefore to procure dry weather, they raised it on its edge, and rolled it over the cliff, where it now lies buried beneath the water. His walking-staff still remains; it is an enormous pillar of granite, nearly twelve feet high above the ground, and towards the top it is smaller than in other parts; which according to tradition, was

reduced to this size, that it might be grasped with greater ease. By vulgar mortals of the present day, this enormous pillar is called Longstone.

To animadvert on these preposterous tales, would be a task as unnecessary as to make any addition to these romances in absurdity. That they did once obtain credit among our unenlightened ancestors, very few will be disposed to doubt, who are acquainted with that mental darkness which enveloped the ages in which they lived. Almost every parish can furnish some specimens of these wild tales; many of these are of local application, but some are of very general extent, commanding not merely the credulity of a district, but that of the county. Nor perhaps is this characteristic feature of the human mind exclusively applicable to Cornwall. Such tales of wonder rarely fail to obtain credit among societies sunk in a state of barbarism. The contraction of the understanding rarely fails to give expansion to credulity.

But besides this common propensity in man, which is the general result of ignorance, the Cornish people naturally felt the effects of their constitutional independence, intrepidity, and sanguine vigour. These in their joint co-operations, sanctioned the wildest excesses into which the human mind could possibly plunge; till by degrees, one solitary incident became a precedent for another, and the impositions, without any design, were transmitted to posterity.

It is however, but just to observe, that since that general light, which burst through the darkness of the middle ages, has diffused its sacred influence, its benignant rays have given birth to a new order of things. The superstitions which paganism first taught, and which popery, though in another garb, both enlarged and confirmed, united to form a shield, which the sun of the Reformation only could remove. It was this that awakened the mental energies; and, rousing them from that state of torpor in which they had supinely reposed for ages, called forth their innate vigour to examine the principles of evidence, and the nature of truth; and this has happily introduced an entire revolution in theology, science, and legislation. Cornwall, situated at the extremity of the empire, was not among the first to receive these celestial blessings. The dawn however, of mental day, when it first began to appear, was hailed with smiles of approbation, that sprung from the radical powers of the soul which then felt its fetters, and struggled to be free.

Emerging from its imprisonment, through the various blessings to which the Reformation gave birth, the genius of Cornwall soon mounted above the mental fogs in which it once lay entranced. Hence the tales of giants, monsters, miracles, fairies, witches, and goblins, have been compelled either to forsake the county, or to retire into those obscure retreats, in which ignorance maintains her ground. In places where the wonders of superstitious days are secretly cherished, they shrink

into silence and insignificance before the invader's eye; and instead of making a sortie upon enlightened opinion, every day diminishes their territory, and renders less tenable that which is still occupied.

To effect a total extermination of omens, prodigies, and invisible agency, is more than can be reasonably expected in one age; and perhaps it may be doubted if the accomplishment be possible, while men are men. And even then, the memorials of departed superstition must still be allowed to survive, even when no belief whatever shall be attached to the tales that have been handed down from a distant ancestry. In a high degree this has already taken place. Of such vestiges as remain, some notice will be taken hereafter, in our survey of the various parishes in which these tales, and a doubtful belief of them are still secretly cherished. On comparing Cornwall, as it now is with what it was about a century since, much appears to have been done; and if that which is past may be admitted as a presage of what is to come, analogy says, that another half century will accomplish that revolution in public morals and public opinion, which has been so happily begun. In the scale of intellect, and in the improvements that have been made in the effects which have resulted from mental cultivation, the inhabitants of Cornwall hold out an example worthy of imitation, to those who still affect to call them the *barbarians of the west*.

SECTION III.

Customs, Manners, and Local Peculiarities.

Among the customs and manners that universally prevail in Cornwall, there are very few that can be said to be peculiar to this county. In common with other parts of the island, the inhabitants have their localities, their attachments, and their antipathies; and among them some are peculiar to the mining districts. One of the most remarkable of these is considering Midsummer Day as a high holiday, on which either a pole is erected, decorated with garlands, or some flag is displayed, to denote the sanctity of the time. This custom has prevailed from time immemorial, of which it is scarcely possible to trace the origin.

A short time before the days of Mr. Carew, a very singular custom prevailed at Lostwithiel. Upon Easter Sunday, the freeholders of the town and manor, either in person or by their deputies, assembled together; when one among them, each in his turn, gaily attired and gallantly mounted, with a sceptre in his hand, a crown on his head, and a sword borne before him, and respectfully attended by all the rest on horseback, rode through the principal street in solemn state to the church. At the church-yard stile the curate or other minister approached to meet him in reverential

pomp, and then conducted him to church to hear divine service. On leaving the church, he repaired with the same pomp and retinue to a house previously prepared for his reception. Here a feast, suited to the dignity that he had assumed, awaited him and his suite; and being placed at the head of the table, he was served kneeling, with all the rites and ceremonies that a real prince might expect. This ceremony ended with the dinner; the prince being voluntarily disrobed, and descending from his momentary exaltation to mix with common mortals. On the origin of this custom but one opinion can be reasonably entertained, though it may be difficult to trace the precise period of its commencement. It seems to have originated in the actual appearance of the prince, who resided at Restormel Castle in former ages. But on the removal of royalty, this mimic grandeur stepped forth as its shadowy representative, and continued for many generations as a memorial to posterity of the princely magnificence with which Lostwithiel had formerly been honoured.

Of Christmas plays, it is scarcely necessary to take any particular notice, since the practice of these dramatic exhibitions is almost wholly confined to children, or very young persons. The lads who engage in these theatrical representations, appear fantastically dressed, decorated with ribbons and painted paper, with wooden swords, and all the equipage necessary to support the several characters they assume. To entertain their auditors, they learn to repeat a barbarous jargon in the form of a drama, which has been handed down from distant generations. War and love are the general topics; and St. George and the Dragon are always the most prominent characters. Interlude, expostulation, debate, battle, and death, are sure to find a place among this mimicry; but a physician who is always at hand, immediately restores the dead to life. It is generally understood, that these Christmas plays derived their origin from the ancient crusades; and hence the feats of chivalry, and the romantic extravagance of knight-errantry, that are still preserved in all the varied pretensions and exploits. In many places in Cornwall these Christmas plays are still kept alive; in others they are known only by report; and in all they are rapidly on the decline.

Closely connected with these Christmas plays, but wholly distinct from them, is the *Wassal, Wassel, Washaile, or Watsail;* for in all these ways has the word been spelt, which is now more generally known by the term *Warsail.* Various opinions have been entertained of the origin and import of this term. That the custom of singing the Wassal is very ancient, is uniformly admitted; but in general it has been traced no farther back than the times of the Saxons, to whom the introduction of the rite has been ascribed. The manner in which these singers at present proceed, is as follows:—About four or six men join together, and having provided themselves with a little bowl, they set out on the commencement of the new

THE COCKING STOOL, A PUNISHMENT FOR SCOLDING WOMEN, FORMERLY IN USE IN CORNWALL.

year, to visit the inhabitants of any town or village they think proper. They rarely begin until the candles are lighted; when without ceremony they silently open the door, and in an audible voice begin to sing some barbarous lines that seem to have neither sense nor meaning, any further than they contain a request, that those within will bestow something on

"These poor jolly Wassal boys
Come travelling through the mire;"

And having obtained this, either in meat, drink, or money, and sometimes in all, they retire and repeat the same ditty at the next door.

What could have given rise to a custom so singular, has caused many conjectures. To enter into a detail of these would be an useless task. The general supposition is, that the Wassal is designed to express a wish of health and good neighbourhood; and that it was originally designed to follow the departing year, as a signal that with the hours and days that were now no more, all remembrance of private feuds and domestic quarrels should expire. Hence, whoever presumed to repeat a former difference, or to seek revenge after the Wassal had been sung, incurred a degree of infamy in his neighbourhood, which few were disposed to relish. If this were the design of the institution, it was a noble effort to preserve domestic peace; and it is to be sincerely regretted, that it should have so degenerated, as to retain nothing of its primitive import but the name.

Among the local customs of former years, there was one established in many parts of Cornwall, which enabled the bailiffs of certain manors and towns, to inflict punishment on women who had been guilty of some offence against the rules of decorum and propriety. But unhappily, neither the punishment, nor the manner of inflicting it, is calculated to furnish favourable ideas of their municipal government; the former being wanton, arrogant, and despotic; and the latter mean, ridiculous, and indelicate. This punishment was the *Cucking* or *Cocking Stool*, anciently *Coquine* or *Cockaigne*, which signifies an idle jade, or a base woman. The stool itself, which was considered as a seat of infamy, being attached to certain manors and towns, was placed under the direction of the bailiff. To these stools, such women as had been guilty of scolding, and had otherwise rendered their characters infamous, were brought; and being confined in them, were exposed with bare heads and feet, to the derision and insults of every spectator, for any given time that the bailiff might appoint.

On the manors of Tolskidy in St. Columb, and of Cardenham, in the parish of Cardinham, a custom still more indelicate was established. On these manors, the widow of every tenant was allowed her free bench, so long as she preserved her

chastity. But if any evidence appeared against her, she was immediately deprived of her lands, unless she submitted to the penalty of riding into court upon a black ram, holding its tail in her hand, and repeating the same lines recorded in No. 614 of the Spectator. On both of these manors this custom has been long abandoned; but it is observed by Hals, that "Within the memory of the last age, a widow tenant of this manor who had a base child, performed the thing enjoined, recited the words, and enjoyed her lands again as aforesaid." This custom is said to have been first established by our Norman conquerors.

A carnival which had been held for ages on Halgaver Moor, near Bodmin, of which Carew gives the following account, is generally thought to have originated with the Saxons. "The younger sort of Bodmin townsmen, sometimes sport themselves by playing the box with strangers, whom they summon to Halgaver. The name signifies *The Goat's Moor*; and such a place it is, lying a little without the town, and very full of quagmires. When these youths meet with a suitable person whom they think likely to prolong their sport, they cause him to be solemnly arrested, that he may appear before the mayor of Halgaver to answer such charges as may be brought against him. On being introduced, he is accused with such crimes as his appearance may suggest, such as wearing only one spur, having no girdle, or being slovenly in his dress. These crimes, which constitute felony, being clearly proved against him, he receives the judgment of the court with all due solemnity, and is hurried off to receive his punishment, in which his apparel is generally a greater sufferer than himself, as it commonly terminates with throwing the unfortunate culprit either into the water or the mire." This carnival always took place in the middle of July; and from the manner in which the process was conducted, it gave rise to a proverbial expression, applied to any person seen in dirty apparel—"He deserves to be presented in Halgaver Court."

On the first of May, another species of festivity is pursued in Padstow. This is called *The Hobby Horse;* from canvas being extended with hoops, and painted to resemble a horse. Being carried through the street, men, women, and children, flock round it, when they proceed to a place called Traitor Pool, about a quarter of a mile distant, in which the hobby-horse is always supposed to drink; when the head being dipped into the water, is instantly taken up, and the mud and water are sprinkled on the spectators, to the no small diversion of all. On returning home, a particular song is sung, that is supposed to commemorate the event that gave the hobby-horse birth. According to tradition, the French on a former occasion effected a landing at a small cove in the vicinity; but seeing at a distance a number of women dressed in red cloaks, which they mistook for soldiers, they fled to their ships, and put to sea. The day generally ends in riot and dissipation.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FURRY DANCE, AN ANCIENT FESTIVAL STILL CELEBRATED AT HELSTON.

In the borough of Helston, the eighth of May has from time immemorial, been sacred to a singular custom, which is still observed with much ceremony. In ancient times this pagan festival, which is denominated *The Furry Day*, was celebrated at Penryn on the third of May, and at the Lizard not many years since, on the first of the same month, and also in the parish of Sithney; but it is only in Helston that the custom has survived the revolutions of time.

On the particular origin of this Furry Day, although much has been written, many doubts are still entertained. It is generally supposed, that this was an institution of pagan origin, designed to celebrate the return of spring; but whether it was dedicated to Flora, the goddess of flowers, every one is at liberty to decide, in proportion as he feels himself interested in the issue. Of the rites of this day, Mr. Polwhele, who has written fully on this subject, gives the following account:—"Perhaps the most memorable observance of antiquity remaining in Cornwall, is the Furry of Helston. In the Furry of the Lizard, a few years since, and in the Furry of Helston at this hour, we recognize the gratitude of our pagan ancestors. That Furry is a corruption of Flora, is a vulgar error; though there is doubtless a correspondence, or rather a resemblance, between the festival of Flora and the Furry. I scruple not to deduce Furry from the old Cornish word *Fer*, a fair or jubilee; whence also the Latin word *Feriæ*. That Furry is derived from *Fer*, a fair, seems probable, from that expression in the Furry song—"They both are gone to Fair O."

"At Helston the eighth of May is ushered in very early in the morning, by the music of drums and kettles, and other pleasant sounds, the accompaniments of a song. I need not remark, that it is a general holiday. So strict indeed, is the observation of this jubilee, that if any person be found at work, he is instantly seized and set astride a pole, and hurried on men's shoulders to the river, where he is sentenced to leap over a wide place, which, if he fail in attempting, he of course leaps into the water. There is a ready method, however, of compounding for a leap.

"About nine o'clock the revellers appear before the grammar-shool, and demand a holiday for the schoolboys; after which they collect from house to house more money than is now-a-day collected on a brief from the Tweed to the Land's End. They then *fadé* into the country, (*fadé* being an old English word for go;) and about the middle of the day, return with flowers and oak branches in their hats and caps; from which till the dusk, they dance hand in hand through the streets to the sound of the fiddle playing a particular tune; and thread the houses as they list, claiming a right to go through any person's house, in at one door and out at the other. In the afternoon the ladies and gentlemen used to visit some farm-house in the neighbourhood; whence, having regaled themselves with syllabubs, they returned after the fashion of the vulgar, to the town, dancing as briskly the *fadé dance*, and

entering the houses as unceremoniously. At present a select party only, make their progress through the street very late in the evening; when they quickly vanish from the view, re-appearing in the ball-room. Here meeting their friends, they go through the usual routine of dancing till supper; after which, they all till within these few years, *fadded* it out of the room, breaking off by degrees to their respective houses."

At Bodmin there is still celebrated a festival, which is called Bodmin Riding; which, from the manner of the procession is probably deducible from the pagan worship of the goddess of flowers. But it has degenerated from the design of its primitive institution, being now strongly tinctured with papal superstition. It always takes place in July, on the Monday following the day of Thomas a Becket, in whose honour it seems to be ignorantly continued. The people mounted on horses and asses, ride into the country; and after collecting garlands of flowers, they return, and proceed to the priory, where they present them, according to ancient custom. There can be no doubt that this offering of flowers was at the shrine of Thomas a Becket, which saint has had the honour of superseding the pagan deity.

Many other customs of a nature equally singular, were formerly observed with much ceremony in this county; but few among them are more deserving of notice than those which have been introduced. In some places a few vestiges of these customs still remain; but more generally they have been so far neglected or forgotten, as to leave scarcely their original names as a memorial behind them. And even in those places where they still exist, the more enlightened grow ashamed of them, and the procession is consigned over to the conduct and management of the illiterate and vulgar, who derive more sanction from custom than from authority.

SECTION IV.

Sports, Pastimes, Recreations, and General Character.

Of sports and pastimes, recreations and amusements, Cornwall furnishes but few that are peculiar to the county; while many that are still kept alive in other parts of the kingdom, are banished from this peninsula. The inhuman practice of bull-baiting, though once general in this county, is now almost wholly unknown, except in name. In the town of St. Austell there is a little area, which still retains the name of the Bull-ring, and in another town in the eastern part of the county, The Bull-post is a term that is familiar among the inhabitants. In the former however, nothing but the name has ever been known within the memory of its oldest inhabitants; and in the latter, it is only with the most abandoned, that the practice is recollected without the blush of shame. The town of Penzance seems

to have been the last in this county in which the barbarous practice has afforded mirth to the savage spectators. This took place in one solitary instance not many years since, amidst the grins of unfeeling cruelty; but it is "devoutly to be wished" that it may have taken its departure, to revisit our shores no more for ever.

To tie fowls to stakes, and set them as marks for boys to kill with bats on a Shrove Tuesday, is a practice that was once well known in this county; so that the child was nursed in scenes of blood, and gradually raised to savage maturity, amidst the smiles of an unfeeling populace, and the pangs of agonizing life. It is easy to conceive, that the child who was encouraged to acts of barbarity in its infancy, and was instructed to rejoice at the sufferings of a defenceless fowl tied to a stake, to furnish sport in its death, would be highly delighted to feast his eyes on tortured bulls and dogs, when he became a man. But this shameful conduct has been, we believe, banished from Cornwall for more than half a century; and but few of its inhabitants are now to be found, who do not review the savage deed with feelings of detestation.

To cock-fighting, the gentlemen of this county were formerly much addicted. An established combat drew many from all quarters; and much expence was wasted in making previous preparations for the great event, on which wagers were often made, which the loser would have found more convenient, both for his credit and his family, to have preserved. From the examples thus set, the practice descended to the lower orders, who frequently risked on a battle between two cocks, the money which they wanted to pay their creditors, and to procure bread for their families. But the evil did not terminate here; barbarity was frequently associated with injustice; and the battles which began with cocks, very commonly led to those between men. Riot, falsehood, and profaneness, were the concomitants of cock matches, and the day was divided between triumph and remorse. In the meanwhile the loser, boiling with anger, arising from vexation and disappointed pride, would frequently return to his family like a fiend, to wreak in acts of inhumanity, those displays of vengeance which he ought rather to have felt than inflicted. The winner on the contrary, rejoicing in his success, thought himself entitled to spend the night in drunkenness and other vicious excesses. And during these midnight orgies, new cock matches were frequently made between the successful barbarians, that very shortly inevitably exposed some among them to those pangs, and their families to those domestic miseries, which their rivals and their families were at that moment enduring. In the quarrels which have taken place on the occasion of cock-fighting, many lives have been lost; and within the writer's recollection, a farmer in affluent circumstances was brought to the gallows, for having inflicted a death-wound on his antagonist.

But cock-fightings have for many years past, scarcely been known in Cornwall, except in some obscure villages, among the dregs of society; and even here it is only sanctioned by a kind of languid ferocity, of which even its abettors seem almost ashamed. Hence, in order to shun the public eye, they secretly retire to some obscure pot-house, which few frequent besides themselves; and on returning, the exploits they have performed are only recounted in whispers, which betray a consciousness of guilt, and an apprehension of deserved reproach.

Besides horse-racing, which though less frequent, is practised in Cornwall as in other counties, wrestling forms the most general recreation. In some few places the practice of hurling still continues; but this also is much on the decline, and in all probability it will soon become extinct. At wrestling, the dexterity of the Cornish has for many ages been rendered singularly remarkable; but to what cause this may be attributed, it is difficult to determine. According to fabulous tradition, they have inherited this athletic skill from Corinæus, who overthrew Gog-Magog. Others have conjectured, that these trials of skill and vigour, were first introduced by the Greeks, when in distant ages they traded to Cornwall for tin.

Exclusively of the common holidays which Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas afford, the Cornish are remarkable for their parish feasts, which from pious institutions have degenerated into public revels. These feasts were instituted at the dedication of the parochial church, and were continued to commemorate that event; they were in high esteem among our pious ancestors, who originally kept the anniversary on the day devoted to that saint to whom the church was dedicated. At the same time the munificence of the founder and endower of the church was celebrated in a particular service composed for the occasion. On the eve of the day, prayers were offered in the church, which continued through the night, when hymns were sung in celebration of the saint. It was from these *watchings*, that the feasts obtained the name of *wakes*, which they still continue to bear, though the occasion has long since been abandoned.

It was found, however, in process of time, that the celebration of the feast on the saint's day, greatly interrupted the labours of the week, which in the season of harvest was attended with some serious inconvenience. To prevent this, it was enjoined by the particular authority of the bishop, that every feast should be celebrated on the Sunday after the saint's day. This injunction was followed by another of Henry VIII. which directed that every feast instituted at the dedication of the churches, should be celebrated in all places throughout the realm, on the first Sunday in October for ever. In some places this alteration was adopted; but in others, ancient custom bade defiance to authority, and finally prevailed against law. Degenerating from their primitive purity, these feasts in time became such a

nuisance to public morals, that numerous complaints were made against their celebration. Accordingly, in the year 1627, Walter and Denham, two judges, issued an order at Exeter to suppress these feasts altogether. In 1631 the same was done in Somersetshire: but upon complaint made by Bishop Laud, this total suppression was reversed. The reason assigned for the continuance of the feasts, was stated as follows, sanctioned by the bishop of the diocese, and seventy-two of his clergy:—"That on these feast days, which generally fell on Sundays, the service of God was more solemnly performed, and the church better attended, than on any other Sunday in the year. That the people did very much desire a continuance of them, in which they were joined by the ministers on the following account: namely, for commemorating the dedication of the churches, for civilizing the people, for the composing of differences by the interposition of friends, for the increase of love and unity, by these feasts of charity, and for the relief and comfort of the poor." These reasons were allowed to be valid, and the parish feasts still continue in this county; but the character they sustain is too conspicuous to require any comment.

Of the bonfires which are now partially extinguished in Cornwall, we have already spoken, under the article of Druidical superstition; from which many of these were probably derived. On the ancient Cornish plays some observations have also been made, in which we have seen a shameful prostitution of sacred subjects. But these have long since totally disappeared; so that even tradition scarcely affords any account either of the drama or its name. On raising a maypole on the first of May, some ceremonies were formerly observed; but these also have nearly disappeared.

Besides the holiday which the tinners observe on Midsummer eve and day, there are others to which they lay an exclusive claim. The first of these is on the fifth of March, which they call St. Piran's Day. This, by a custom established from time immemorial, sanctions a suspension from all labour, because St. Piran is supposed to have communicated to their ancestors some important information relative to the tin manufacture. On the last Thursday, which is one clear week before Christmas Day, which they anciently called *Jeu-whydn*, or White Thursday, the tinners claim a holiday, because, according to tradition, on this day black tin or ore was first melted or turned into white tin or metal in these parts. But these days are now regarded with less veneration than they formerly were; many of the tinners knowing little about them, and caring less.

Of the various phenomena which have taken place in Cornwall in different ages, the most remarkable is the submersion of land near Seaton, and in Mount's Bay, of which an account has been already given. Next to this is the phenomenon of the sands, which have been collected on the northern shores of the county, through the accumulation of which, many habitations have been buried, and large tracts of land

have been laid waste. To animadvert on this singular catastrophe in this place, was the writer's original intention; but the first volume being already extended to its full proportion of the whole, the inquiry must be transferred from this place to the parishes in which these encroachments have been made.

In the meanwhile, on taking a general survey of the inhabitants of Cornwall, and making a comparative estimate between what they now are, and what their ancestors were, we shall be immediately led to this conclusion, that they have been "broken from fierce barbarians into men." That the detestable practice of plundering vessels, which are unfortunately wrecked on the shores, still continues in some degree, is a fact that cannot be denied; and perhaps this forms the deepest shade with which Cornwall as a county is at present stained. It is however, but an act of justice to assert, that this abominable practice is confined to a few western parishes; and that even here no deeds of personal inhumanity towards the unhappy sufferers have been permitted in modern times, even by the plunderers themselves. To prevent these depredations, the neighbouring gentlemen generally exert themselves; and every effort is made to wipe off this disgrace from the county. But hitherto, although they have been partially successful, many instances of plunder continue to take place, under cover of darkness, and amidst that confusion which a ship driven on shore by a violent tempest must inevitably occasion. Inheriting from their ancestors an opinion that they have a right to such spoils as the ocean may place within their reach, many among the more unenlightened inhabitants secure whatever they can seize, without any remorse; and conclude without any hesitation, that nothing but injustice supported by power, and sanctioned by law, can wrench it from their hands. While these principles continue to predominate, the plundering of wrecks may be expected to remain; and consequently nothing short of moral and intellectual light in universal diffusion, can accomplish its entire suppression.

The same principle operating on an intrepid and adventurous spirit, leads on the smuggler to what he views in the light of heroic enterprise, independently of all the advantages which he hopes to derive from successful efforts. With the political offence he connects no moral turpitude; and the only criminality that he discovers, consists in the guilt of being detected. But neither the loss of his property, nor the imprisonment of his person, can subdue that erroneously heroic spirit, which the Cornishman is always proud to cherish. Detections, sufferings, and losses, but stimulate him to new exertions; and he only relinquishes his pursuit with stern reluctance, when his credit is annihilated, and imperious necessity compels him to desist.

But notwithstanding these solitary instances, a disposition to plunder is far from being a general feature in the Cornish character, where a conviction of dishonesty is

is associated with the deed. The miners, considered as a body, though grossly improvident, are highly intelligent, compassionate, hospitable, industrious, speculative and brave. Among themselves they use the greatest familiarity, expressing their ideas without flattery or fear. On many occasions their language abounds with lively sallies of poignant wit, and their sarcasms are frequently keen and pointed, without being always either low or vulgar. To strangers they are civil in a high degree; being always ready to communicate the information they desire, and sometimes they astonish those with whom they converse, by the promptitude of their replies, and the quickness of their apprehension.

The captains in general who preside over them, possess all the excellences of the men, without a proportionable share of their vices. In addition to this, their civility is refined into politeness, without assuming the varnish of affectation. A stranger therefore is instantly at home in their presence; and in proportion to his own attainments, he is frequently highly gratified with the vigour of their intellects, the readiness of their calculations, the extent of their scientific acquirements, and their mathematical knowledge. It is much to be doubted, if in any walks of life similar to theirs, a race of men more hospitable, polite, communicative, and intelligent, than the captains of the Cornish mines are, can at this day be found in England.

In the mercantile departments the same spirit of industry, application, diligence, and perseverance is displayed, by which the sons of commerce are distinguished in other counties. Their dealings are in general characterized by moral probity and honour, from which those who speculate in visionary theories might learn a lesson of practical virtue. And among the mechanics in the shops, in which "the pale artist plies the sickly trade," a strong attachment to books and mental improvement may be found. But to the agriculturists and the streamers the same compliment cannot be extended, without making some considerable abatements.

With minds enlightened by science, and actuated by liberal principles, the higher orders display in their conduct towards their inferiors, a degree of respect of which virtuous action forms the criterion. And in domestic life, their demeanour in general is regulated by such principles, as might be expected to result from a consciousness that their example would be influential on society. Easy of access, and communicative without being familiar, they preserve their dignity and respect in the scale of civil society, without exciting either envy or detestation. Hence their requests frequently operate like commands; and they secure obedience to their reasonable dictates, in the same proportion that they abandon unnecessary coercive measures.

Among the various inhabitants of Cornwall, almost all classes are much addicted to reading; and in proportion to the extent of its population, there is probably no

county in England in which so many volumes are read, as in this. To this the public libraries that have been formed, have in a great measure contributed; and the desire of intellectual improvement, when once excited, is not easily suppressed.

But it is not merely with an eye to scientific acquirements, that the inhabitants of Cornwall read and think. In a moral and religious point of view, the alteration in their dispositions and character is still more conspicuous. Convinced that they have an interest in an hereafter, and that while they are inhabitants of time they are candidates for eternity, there is probably no county in this kingdom with the same extent of population, in which there are more religious edifices, and where those that are erected are more crouded with serious and attentive hearers. There is scarcely a parish, and not even a village of any note, in which either the Baptists, Independents, Quakers, or Methodists, have not established public worship; and in many towns, the notes of praise, gratitude, homage, and adoration, ascend from all, as from the varied tones of a musical instrument. These indeed will sometimes jar, and create a momentary discord; but the evils resulting from this temporary dissonance, bears little or no proportion to the benefits which have resulted from the effects of a happy toleration.

Through the blessing of God on the united exertions of all, a comparative revolution may be said to have been accomplished in the morals and manners of the inhabitants of Cornwall. The ferocious recreations which delighted in blood, have been abandoned; and to those who can make a comparative estimate, although drunkenness is still practised, it must be obviously less frequent now than it was fifty years since. Profaneness also, though not abandoned by multitudes, is no longer such a prevailing habit as it formerly was. In families where poverty and discord once reigned, tranquillity and contentment have now taken up their abode; and where religion in any form has been embraced by the parents, children no longer mourn in hunger and rags, while the unfeeling father is spending in idle dissipation, the money that should purchase for them both food and raiment. Even the marks of industry that are found encircling the peasant's door, strongly indicate the change that has taken place in his manners, and probably in his heart. These effects are visible to the eye of every spectator; and no depth of philosophy is required to trace them to their cause.

On taking a retrospective survey of the numerous ages through which we have passed, in travelling from the ancient Druids to the present time, we perceive many changes that have been introduced. But whether we look to the gloomy Druids, the aspiring Romans, the ferocious Saxons, the barbarous Danes, or the tyrannical Normans, the picture in every view presents a train of melancholy shades, on which the contemplative mind cannot reflect without sorrow. Compared with them, the

evils which we endure are of the most trifling nature, while the blessings we enjoy are such as our forefathers never knew. Through the false optics of discontent we may easily invert the order of nature; and, by magnifying temporary evils, and diminishing the favours we enjoy, we may expel gratitude from our hearts, and thus make those calamities to be real, which before were only imaginary.

We have now brought the first volume of this work to a conclusion; including within it, agreeably to our original proposals, the various branches of general history. In reviewing the nations, kings, and heroes, that have risen in succession, and passed like portentous shadows before us, we contemplate the fragility of every thing that is mortal, and the instability of all mundane glory.

Such indeed has been the fate of all the nations that have hitherto peopled the earth! There was a time when they shone forth in all their splendour and proud magnificence. But they have lived their day and disappeared; and in their departure they furnish a melancholy presage of what will hereafter happen. In the constitution of states and empires, the seeds of mutability and dissolution never cease to appear. Like individuals, the most powerful nations seem destined to live their hour and expire.

On a scale still more awful and magnificent, the same causes are at work by slow but more imperceptible degrees. The earth on which we tread trembles beneath our feet; and prognosticates by its convulsions the approaching solemnities of its departure—

> "When all that it inherits shall dissolve,
> And like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Leave not a wreck behind."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

PENALUNA, PRINTER, HELSTON.

SEP 0 - 1932